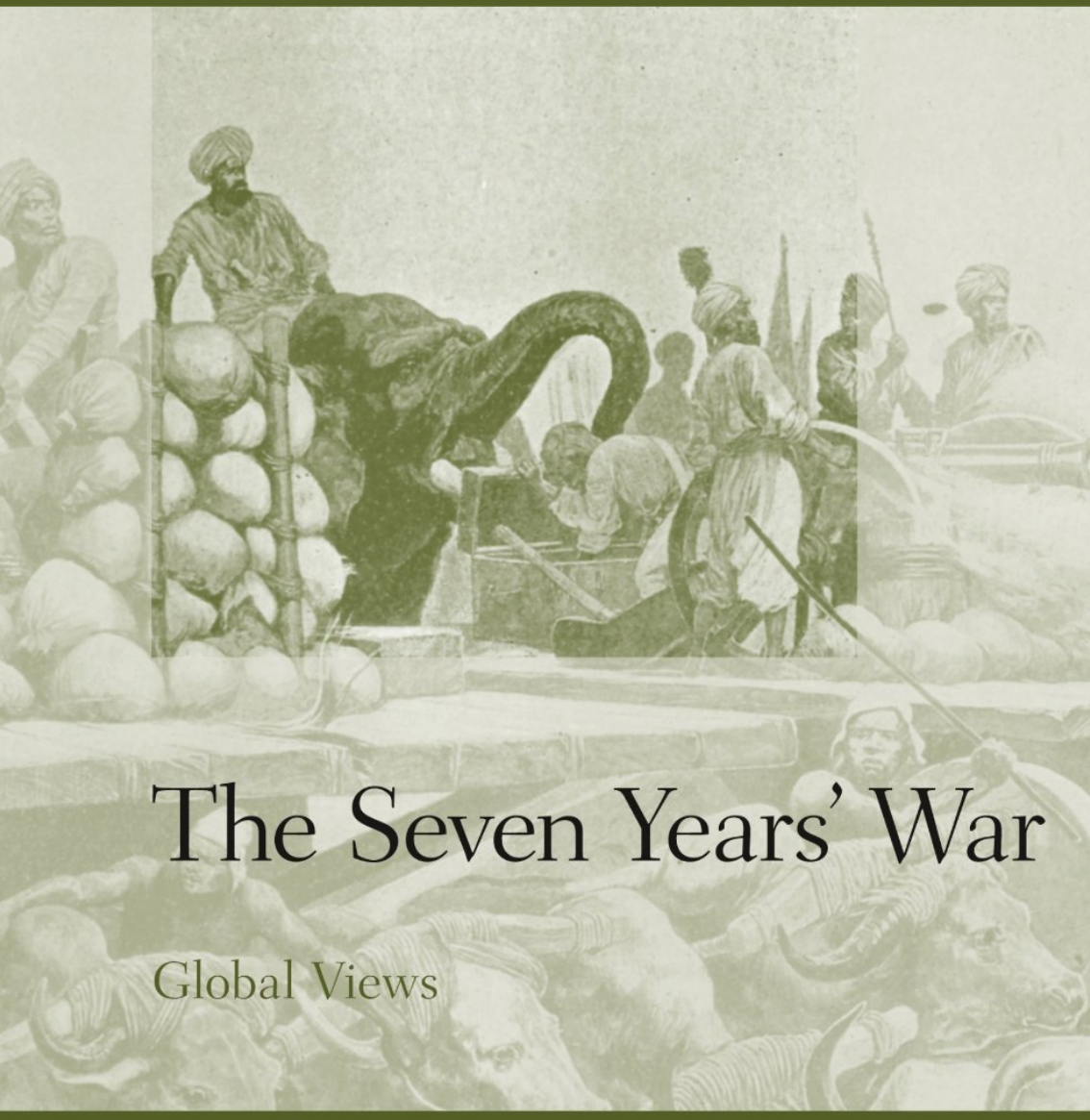
HISTORY OF WARFARE ◆ VOLUME 80



The Seven Years' War

Global Views

Edited by Mark H. Danley and Patrick J. Speelman

BRILL

The Seven Years' War

History of Warfare

Editors

Kelly DeVries

Loyola University Maryland

John France

University of Wales, Swansea

Michael S. Neiberg

United States Army War College, Pennsylvania

Frederick Schneid

High Point University, North Carolina

VOLUME 80

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/hw

The Seven Years' War

Global Views

Edited by

Mark H. Danley
Patrick J. Speelman

BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2012

Cover illustration: Battles of the British Army, No. IV: Plassey: The Nawab's artillery on its movable platform. Richard Caton Woodville, Jr. *Illustrated London News*, vol. 103, no. 2840, Sept. 23, 1893, 384–85.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Seven Years' War : global views / edited by Mark H. Danley, Patrick J. Speelman.
p. cm. -- (History of warfare ; v. 80)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-23408-6 (hardback : alk. paper) -- ISBN 978-90-04-23644-8 (e-book : alk. paper)
1. Seven Years' War, 1756-1763. I. Danley, Mark H. II. Speelman, Patrick J.

DD411.S48 2013
940.2'534--dc23

2012035191

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1385-7827
ISBN 978-90-04-23408-6 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-23644-8 (e-book)

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyright holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

Copyright 2012 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

List of Figures vii
Acknowledgements ix
List of Contributors xvii

Introduction: The 'Problem' of the Seven Years' War xxiii
Mark H. Danley

1. Frederick the Great and the First 'World' War 1
Jürgen Luh

2. "To Encourage the Others": The *Philosophes* and the War 23
Armstrong Starkey

3. Understanding Native American Alliances 47
Matthew C. Ward

4. The War in the Carnatic 73
G.J. Bryant

5. Religious War or Imperial War? Views of the Seven Years' War from Germany and Rome 107
Johannes Burkhardt

6. Sweden and the Pomeranian War 135
Gunnar Åselius

7. The Ottoman Absence from the Battlefields of the Seven Years' War 165
Virginia H. Aksan

8. Pride, Prejudice and Prestige: French Officers in North America during the Seven Years' War 191
Julia Osman

9. *Battre l'estrade*: Military Reconnaissance in the German Theatre of War 213
Ewa Anklam

10. "Féroces et barbares?" Cossacks, Kalmyks and Russian Irregular Warfare during the Seven Years' War 243
Marian Füssel

11. The Seven Years' War in West Africa: The End of Company Rule and the Emergence of the *Habitants* 263
James F. Searing

12. The War in the West Indies 293
Richard Harding

13. The Anglo-Cherokee War, 1759–1761 325
John Oliphant

14. The British Political Press and Military Thought during the Seven Years' War 359
Mark H. Danley

15. The War in Bengal 399
G.J. Bryant

16. Strategic Illusions and the Iberian War of 1762 429
Patrick J. Speelman

17. The British Expedition to Manila 461
Nicholas Tracy

18. The End of the Seven Years' War in Germany 487
Matt Schumann

Conclusion: Father of the Modern Age 519
Patrick J. Speelman

Selected Bibliography 537
Index 549

LIST OF FIGURES

4. *G.J. Bryant*
1. India and Ceylon, circa 1756 105
2. Central Carnatic 106

6. *Gunnar Åselius*
1. The Pomeranian Theater 1757–1762 164

10. *Marian Füssel*
1. Der Russischen Cosacken und Calmücken Muthwill und Tyranney in dem Preuss 262

11. *James F. Searing*
1. Map by John Lindsay, showing deployment of British vessels during bombardment of Gorée. 289
2. Signare of Saint Louis, 1780s. 290
3. View of Saint Louis, 1780s, showing fort and African town. 291

13. *John Oliphant*
1. The Cherokee Country 357

15. *G.J. Bryant*
1. Bengal, Bihar and the Ganges Valley 428

16. *Patrick J. Speelman*
1. The Portuguese Campaign of 1762 460

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have come to fruition without a great many people and institutions who deserve considerable gratitude. First and foremost, I must thank my co-editor Dr. Patrick Speelman. His example of scholarly rigor and erudition has always inspired me, since our first collaboration as doctoral students over a decade ago. The initial conception of this book was his and any effort I might have contributed to its success would not have been possible without his example and encouragement. He has always been the best of colleagues and truest of friends. I must also offer a hearty thanks to each one of our contributors, many of whom exercised patience of frankly legendary proportions as this book's journey to completion took an increasingly complex path of twists and turns. The scholars I have come to know, and the new friends I have made while trying to make my own small contribution towards a more global understanding of eighteenth-century warfare have been among the most impressive historians I have encountered. Of course I must recognize the tenacity, patience, wisdom, historical knowledge, and editorial expertise of our editor at Brill Academic Publishers, Dr. Julian Deahl. He is a credit to the military history field and scholarly publishing in general. I also sincerely thank everyone else at Brill who helped with this publication, including Marcella Mulder and Hylke Faber. The staff of the National Archives of the UK, the British Library, and the staffs of the libraries and archives of the University of Hull and the University of Nottingham were very gracious and offered expert professional help when I visited their institutions to conduct the research for my chapter on the British press during the war.

Several institutions contributed direct material support to my work on this book. During 2006–2007 I was fortunate to receive from University of Memphis a Faculty Research Grant in support of this project, both for the research and writing of my own chapter and in support of my co-editorial work for the entire volume. Anna Rudman Santos, J.D. did excellent work as a part-time research assistant during 2006–2007, helping me with bibliographical work in preparation for the research for my own chapter, as well as with administrative support in the early stages of recruiting contributors and dealing with editorial issues.

Additional support for this project came through two other grants. The Lewis Walpole Library of Yale University graciously provided me a

Travel Grant in 2007, allowing me to study manuscript material relating to Henry Seymour Conway that was crucial in shaping my understanding of the relationship between officers' military reading and the British political press. Walpole Library Executive Director Margaret K. Powell has assembled an impressive staff and I thank them all, especially Susan Odell Walker, Ellen R. Cordes, Cynthia E. Roman, Brian Parker and everyone else who supported my work at the Lewis Walpole Library whether through providing expert research advice, excellent photographic reproductions or impressive administrative support. The Walpole Library is truly a great asset for all those interested in eighteenth-century studies. I was also fortunate to receive in 2007 a Scholar's Grant from the Society of the Cincinnati that enabled me to study various eighteenth-century military texts important in the research for my chapter. The Society of the Cincinnati Library will remain among the most impressive collections anywhere of eighteenth-century printed books relating to the conduct of war. My work there in 2007 allowed me to develop further my understanding of how military writings shaped the strategic outlook of the eighteenth-century British Army. I offer very sincere and special thanks to the Society library, and my good friends and esteemed colleagues, Library Director Ellen McCallister Clark; cataloger E.K. Hong; then-public services librarian Elizabeth Frengel (now of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University), and archivist Valerie Sallis. My good friend and Society of the Cincinnati member William H. Greer, Jr., a strong advocate of the Society's library and a truly dedicated bibliophile, provided his well-known exceptional level of support and encouragement.

My colleagues at the University of Memphis, both in my own department, University Libraries, and in the Department of History, gave invaluable assistance in many forms. The faculty and staff of the Cataloging Department, University Libraries all shouldered additional workloads to create time for my research and ensure that both I and every other user of our library are able to find the books and other library materials needed to be productive scholars. All the members of the Cataloging Department, past and present deserve respect and gratitude, but especially current faculty and staff Terry D. Martin, Lucille Freeman, Connie Carlin, Dr. Robert Ivey, Joann Waddell, Lee Louise Slack, Catherine Swearengen, Gloria Fitzgerald and John Barnett.

My administrators and colleagues on the faculty and staff of University Libraries provided me with exceptional levels of support. Dean of University Libraries Dr. Sylverna V. Ford ensured that my workload of other responsibilities was adjusted so that I could have time to devote to

the book and supported my applications for additional funding. Associate Dean Annelle Huggins ensured that the funds dedicated to my research support were administered effectively.

Other faculty and staff throughout other departments in University Libraries were also instrumental to my work on this book. The personnel of Library Information Systems, especially Steve Canaday and James Hudson, ensured my technology assets were current and always functioning. All the staff of University Libraries Administration Department were essential, but I offer special thanks to Yolanda Hawkins both for helping with the travel arrangements for much of the research my chapter required and for helping ensure my computer resources were up to date. Inez Todd and Nancy Massey also provided exceptional administrative support. The faculty and staff of Interlibrary Loan, past and present, deserve the greatest credit imaginable for locating materials essential for my work. I give special thanks to Clark Nall (now of East Carolina University), Susan Wood, Wayne Key, Paula Phillips and Regina Cade. Many members of the former Acquisitions Department and present Collection Management Department also worked hard to acquire materials from around the world. I still have much to learn, but I would know even less than I do now about eighteenth-century warfare were it not for the expertise in academic library acquisitions and collection development of Ian Edward, Kevin Merriman, Steve Knowlton, and many others in their department. I also offer special thanks to Steve Knowlton for reading drafts and offering editorial advice for my chapter and the book's introduction. The faculty and staff of Research and Information Services were also invaluable, and I thank all of them. Margaret E. Robinson, Head of Research and Instructional Services in University Libraries, was very collegial in readjusting my normal responsibilities in bibliographic instruction so that I had time to work on this book. I also thank all the members of the Circulation Department for their effective and efficient work.

Scholars working in a traditional university setting do not often acknowledge explicitly enough the importance of personnel who maintain the physical infrastructure that makes possible the functioning of a research university. During my work on this book, James Singleton, Coordinator of Building Management, University Libraries, University of Memphis ensured that my physical work environment was maintained up to the highest standards. The physical work environment of a research library can look deceptively simple to maintain to the uninformed onlooker, or even to people who spend much of their days in libraries. I could not achieve any success as a scholar without Mr. Singleton's expertise and

good judgment that comes from his well-earned credentials in the skilled trades and decades of experience in maintenance supervision. Likewise, few academics acknowledge specifically the relationship between successful research and the job of mail services. Because I added to my own personal library copies of many of the works I consulted during the research for my chapter and for the introduction to this volume, I relied heavily on a competent departmental mail service. Mr. T.J. Jackson, Mail Clerk for University Libraries, gave me special attention, always ensuring that I received as quickly as possible copies of many of the books cited hereafter. Many of the footnotes would not be there without Mr. Jackson's competence at handling a very large volume of mail and his attention to customer service.

I must offer special gratitude to Edwin Frank, Curator of Special Collections at University Libraries, University of Memphis. He listened patiently and offered incisive commentary over many a lunch conversation while I described the book's development over the last six years. Mr. Frank's ability to synthesize across time and place is the mark of an excellent historian, and our discussions about armed conflict, political process and cultural change in the early modern world enhanced my ability to make sense of the Seven Years' War.

Of all my colleagues in University Libraries, my department head Elizabeth McDonald, Head of Cataloging, earns the greatest thanks. Throughout my work on this project she was a model of professionalism and collegiality. She was willing to take on extra work and shoulder administrative burdens in addition to her regular duties as Head of Cataloging in order to make my work on this book possible. Over the past six years, she listened patiently to my reports of the ups and downs of the progress on the book, using her experience in both archaeology and librarianship to offer excellent counsel on managing scholarly workloads. As scholar, colleague, and manager she has few equals.

In the Department of History at University of Memphis, Dr. Arwin Smallwood took valuable time to talk with me at length about the comparative issues important in eighteenth-century studies, and thereby increased my understanding of the complexity of ethnic and cultural identity in the eighteenth-century world; these discussions greatly facilitated my ability to think through the issues of scope and scale of eighteenth-century warfare. Dr. Robert Frankle read drafts of the prospectus for the book in its early stages and gave valuable advice. Many other History Department faculty encouraged me in the completion of this work and they all earned my gratitude.

A number of colleagues at various other institutions provided advice and assistance, reading and commenting on drafts of my chapter and of the introduction or helping me think through various historical issues. I was fortunate to have one of the most sagacious and rigorous scholars of the history of books and reading in the eighteenth-century British Army, Dr. Ira D. Gruber of Rice University, read a draft of my chapter. He offered his usual sound analysis and insight; although the publication schedule of the book prevented me from more fully integrating his suggestions, they will provide substance for further thought and work. Indeed, Dr. Gruber's advice over the years has shaped my understanding of eighteenth-century military thought. His generosity is matched only by his scholarly rigor. Dr. Mark Charles Fissel, Fr. R. Hist. S., of The Augusta Arsenal took his valuable time to talk with me about the nature of the military labor market and military entrepreneurialism in the eighteenth-century world, helping me make sense of various complex issues. Likewise, conversations with Dr. David Graff of Kansas State University sharpened my awareness of the importance of the military history of Inner Asia and its relationship to eighteenth-century armed conflict.

Dr. David Ulbrich also read parts of the draft, listened patiently, and offered very helpful commentary. My correspondence with Dr. Pradeep P. Barua of University of Nebraska Kearney better developed my understanding of the interrelationship among various regional conflicts in eighteenth-century South Asia. Dr. Daniel Baugh of Cornell University, whose recently published study of the global Seven Years' War will continue to shape understanding of the conflict for a long time to come, was kind enough to share his opinions on historiographic challenges of studying the French plans to invade the British Isles during the 1750s-1760s. Many other scholars around the world corresponded with both Dr. Speelman and myself in the preparation of this work, and they all deserve thanks. Many friends and colleagues who are fellow-members of the Society for Military History also took time to talk with me about this work. I owe much of my understanding of early modern warfare in general to my conversations with Dr. Jamel Ostwald of Eastern Connecticut State University and Dr. John Stapleton of the United States Military Academy at West Point. During panel sessions at several Annual Meetings of the Society for Military History in which I presented papers drawn from the material that later became my chapter in this book, as well as informal discussions, they offered helpful and insightful comments. So did Dr. Jennifer Speelman of the United States Merchant Marine Academy. Other Society for Military History conference attendees offered useful comments as well.

My former mentors at Kansas State University are still an inspiration after all these years. Dr. Robin Higham provided his usual insight into the issues of world military history, helpfully identifying connections between concepts and events that escape the attention of many others. Dr. Michael Ramsay did similarly. I still owe a great deal to the late Dr. Kenneth W. Jones for acquainting me many years ago with the complexities of South Asian historiography. Dr. Marsha Frey, who introduced me to eighteenth-century European history many years ago, still gives excellent scholarly advice. Similarly, my conversations and correspondence with Dr. Frederic J. Baumgartner and Dr. J. Dean O'Donnell of the Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University about the challenges of defining the scope of global conflict testify to the unending return on the intellectual investment required to earn a Virginia Tech degree.

My colleagues and graduate students at Norwich University discussed eighteenth-century warfare with me to my own benefit, if not theirs, and I am grateful that they shared their perspectives. During June 2010 Norwich University and University of Memphis combined resources for me to attend the Norwich University Master of Arts in Military History residency week as a faculty member of the Norwich University School of Graduate Studies; the ensuring discussions and seminars touched on many topics in early modern warfare and helped sharpen my thinking about global conflict during the mid-eighteenth century. I thank everyone associated with the Norwich University program, but especially Dr. James M. Ehrman, (nicknamed by some colleagues 'The Hammer' for his relentless insistence on clear thinking and on rigorous analysis of historical evidence), Dr. Kelly DeVries, and Dr. John T. Broom. My former student Sheldon Clare, now a Norwich University alumnus and increasingly accomplished eighteenth-century military historian in his own right, also helped sharpen my thinking about the strategic milieu of eighteenth-century Europe. Other Norwich colleagues who have published on eighteenth-century military history were a great help, such Dr. John Grenier, who shared his own expertise on the Seven Years' War. One of the truly great minds in the military history field, Dr. Dennis Showalter, was also gracious in taking time to talk with me about various issues in world military history and how they should shape understanding of eighteenth-century warfare; I am indebted to him for all the generosity he has shown me over the years by helping me try to develop as a historian.

Lastly, my friends and family tolerated my expressions of frustration and joined with me in celebration during the successive ups and downs of working on this book. My father, Edward L. Danley, Jr., and my lifelong

friends Robert Martin, Julie Bolt Martin and Dr. Anthony Martin encouraged me from beginning to end. My good friend Sandra Palon always had kind and encouraging words to say. So did other true friends like Julie Gadd Coll, Kim Herndon, Terry Bruno and of course Ally Arán. My valued friends and esteemed colleagues Eva Guggemos of Pacific University and Moira Fitzgerald of the Beinecke Library combined knowledgeable advice with the encouragement of true friends. I also thank my friend and former comrade-in-arms from my Army days, Dana S. Brown, for drawing my attention to popular history accounts of the Seven Years' War in her native western Maryland area; examining the portrayal of eighteenth-century warfare in contemporary public history increased my understanding of the complex historiography of the Seven Years' War. Dana helped me do that by sharing her opinions about museum visits and public history programming. Indeed, expressions of support were always forthcoming from many of the men and women with whom I served as airborne parachute riggers in the 53rd Quartermaster Detachment, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), 1992–1993 and who have managed to get back in touch with me after all those years. During the intervening time some of them have had to fight another global war of their own, and it is to them that my work on this book is dedicated.

Mark H. Danley
Memphis, Tennessee

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Virginia H. Aksan (PhD University of Toronto 1991) is Professor of History at McMaster University. A specialist in Ottoman military and social history, her recent publications include *Ottoman Wars, 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged* (Pearson/Longman, 2007) and *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping an Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), co-edited with Daniel Goffman, and "Ottoman Military Power in the Eighteenth Century," in ed. Brian Davies, *Warfare in Eastern Europe 1500-1800*, (Brill, 2012). Her current work focuses on the biographies of the friends and ideologues of reformers Selim III and Mahmud II, 1750-1850.

Ewa Anklam (PhD University of Braunschweig 2006) studied recent History, Medieval History and German Studies at the Universities of Thorn (Poland) and Braunschweig (Germany) between 1988-1998. From 1999 to 2001 she acted as a freelance Polish language translator and interpreter for the Braunschweig District Court Circuit. From 2001-2004 she worked as a scholarly employee for the Technical University of Braunschweig on the research project "France and Germany in War (18th -20th centuries): The Cultural History of "Hereditary Enemies"." She wrote her doctoral dissertation on the theme: Knowledge from Visual Judgement: Military Surveillance and Reporting During the Seven Year War. During 2007/2008 Ewa Anklam was a Hans and Helga Eckensberger Foundation scholarship holder and researched the early modern university history of Helmstedt and Göttingen at the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel. From 2008-2011 Ewa Anklam was a research fellow at the Georg-Eckert-Institute, where she was involved in the ANR and DFG project "Competition and Convergence. European Imagery in German and French Textbooks from 1900 to the Present."

Gunnar Åselius (PhD Stockholm University 1994) is Professor of Military History at the Swedish National Defence College in Stockholm. A specialist in nineteenth and twentieth century-military history, his recent publications include *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Navy in the Baltic, 1921-1941* (2005) and *Krigen under kalla kriget* [The Wars of the Cold War] (2007). His current research focuses on the changing role of military history in Swedish officer's education since the nineteenth century.

G.J. Bryant (PhD Kings College, London University 1975) is formerly a Lecturer at Salford University (Greater Manchester, UK); he is now retired.

His area of focus includes the military and strategic history of Europe, 1500-1990, with a specialty in the military history of early British India, 1744-84. His most recent publications include, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750-1800," *War in History*, 7, no. 1 (2000); and "Asymmetric Warfare: The British Experience in Eighteenth-Century India," *Journal of Military History*, 68 (April 2004). He is currently finishing a book entitled, "Early British India: A Grand Strategic History, or The Murky Origins of the Raj."

Johannes Burkhardt (PhD Eberhard Karls University 1971) is Professor Emeritus of Early Modern History, University of Augsburg, Germany. His research focuses upon war, peace, and German federalism in the early modern era. Publications include, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg: Der Siebenjährige Krieg und die päpstliche Diplomatie* (1985); "Die Friedlosigkeit der Frühen Neuzeit: Grundlegung einer Theorie der Bellizität Europas," in *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* (1997); "The Thirty Years' War: Central Europe," in *A Companion to the Reformation World* (2004); and *Vollendung und Neuorientierung des frühmodernen Reiches 1648-1763* (2006).

Mark H. Danley (PhD Kansas State University 2001) earned his undergraduate degree at University of Richmond and his M.A. in History at Virginia Tech. He specializes in eighteen-century British military history. He also holds an M.L.I.S. degree from Louisiana State University. Currently he works as a Catalog Librarian and Associate Professor in University Libraries, University of Memphis, and has also served as an instructor in the Master of Arts in Military History program at Norwich University. His research interests include bringing together the history of information with military history. His current work is on the relationship between strategic thought, decision-making, and military reading in the eighteenth-century British Army. He has also published on twentieth-century naval history and on the cataloging of rare and special eighteenth-century military-related primary source materials. He is regular presenter and panel chair at the Society for Military History Conference and is also active in professional associations in the library field. He served in the U.S. Army in 1992-1993 as an airborne parachute rigger.

Marian Füssel (PhD University of Muenster 2004) is Professor of Early Modern History (and the History of Science) at the University of Goettingen. His doctoral thesis was on symbolic practices of early modern universities: *Gelehrtenkultur als symbolische Praxis. Rang, Ritual und Konflikt an der Universität der Frühen Neuzeit* (*Academic Culture as*

Symbolic Practice. Rank, Ritual and Conflict at the Early Modern University) (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006). He recently published an introduction to the global history of the Seven Years' War *Der Siebenjährige Krieg. Ein Weltkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert* (*The Seven Years' War. A World War of the 18th Century*) (Beck, 2010). His current fields of research cover the Seven Years War, the military history of the 17th and 18th centuries, the history of universities, science and academia in early modern times, the history of violence, media history, symbolic communication, questions of the Enlightenment, and the history and theories of historiography.

Richard Harding (PhD Birkbeck College, University of London 1985) is Professor of Organizational History and Head of the Department of Leadership and Development at the University of Westminster. He was educated at the Universities of Leicester, Wales and London. He is the author of *Amphibious Warfare in the Eighteenth Century* (1991), *The Evolution of the Sailing Navy* (1994), *Seapower and Naval Warfare, 1650-1830* (1999) and *The Emergence of Britain's Global Naval Supremacy: The War of 1739-1748* (2010). He has also edited numerous books and contributed articles or chapters to other publications. From 2000 to 2005 he was editor of the *Mariner's Mirror* and from 2005 to 2011 was Chairman of the Society for Nautical Research. His current interests are in the organizational development of navies, and particularly the evolution of amphibious operations.

Jürgen Luh (PhD Freie Universitaet, Berlin 1993) is a staff member of the Directorate General of the Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg (SPSG), which responsible for science and research. Recently he co-authored with Michael Kaiser, "Friedrich der Grosse: eine perspektivische Bestandsaufnahme" and "Friedrich der Grosse und der Hof," published online at http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquien. Currently he is working on a book on Frederick the Great.

John Oliphant (PhD University of London 1996) was born near Adelaide, South Australia, and became interested in British Imperial history at school. He received his first degree from the University of Adelaide and later took an MA in Imperial History, followed by his PhD in Anglo-Cherokee relations. He is author of *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier 1756-1763* (), well-received articles on the 1762 Cherokee embassy to London, entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and almost a hundred contributions to *The Encyclopedia of the American*

Revolutionary War. Now working on a biography of Brigadier John Forbes, Oliphant earns what passes for a living by teaching bright challenging sixth formers and, as an Associate Lecturer with the Open University, adult learners from 18 to 80. Now resident in East Sussex, not far from the home of Thomas Gage, he gardens, hill-walks, plays very bad chess, and is slowly learning change-ringing at the parish church. He is married to an energetic woman who sings, paints and does everything he can't do, including choose his own socks. They have three grown children scattered from Australia to Russia, all eminently sensible, and not one of whom is an historian.

Julia Osman (PhD University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 2010) is an assistant professor of French history at Mississippi State University. She received her PhD in French History with a secondary specialty in Atlantic History and has published in *Eighteenth-Fiction* and *French History*. She focuses primarily on the French army and its challenges and changes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as North American influences on French military reform. Her current book project, *The Citizen Army of Old Regime France*, traces the intellectual and cultural prehistory of the French Revolutionary army.

Matt Schumann (Ph.D. University of Exeter 2005) is a lecturer at Eastern Michigan University. A specialist in eighteenth-century diplomatic/international history, his recent work includes *The Seven Years War: A Transatlantic History* (co-authored with Karl Schweizer, Routledge, 2008), and "British Grand Strategy and the Euro-Colonial International System, 1754-61," (Ph.D. diss., Exeter, 2005). His current research focuses on European and North American political culture and the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756.

James F. Searing (PhD Princeton University 1985) is a Professor in the History Department at the University of Illinois at Chicago, where he teaches African history. His research focuses on the history of Senegal, combining ethnographic approaches to peoples and cultures with Senegal's historical encounters with Islam, the Atlantic world, and French colonial rule. His publications include *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and *"God Alone is King": Islam and Emancipation in Senegal, 1859-1914: The Wolof Kingdoms of Kajoor and Bawol* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001). His current research examines ethnicity and conversion through fieldwork based study of the Sereer-Safèn, an ethnic

minority in the Thiès region who converted to Islam in the colonial period. Publications related to that project include, "No Kings, No Lords, No Slaves': Ethnicity and Religion among the Sereer-Safèn of Western Bawol (Senegal), 1700-1914," *Journal of African History,* 43 (2002), "Conversion to Islam: Military Recruitment and Generational Conflict in a Sereer-Safèn village (Bandia), 1920-1938," *Journal of African History*, 44 (2003) and "The Time of Conversion: Christian and Muslims among the Sereer-Safèn of Senegal, 1914-1950s," in Benjamin F. Soares, ed., *Muslim-Christian Encounters in Africa*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2006).

Patrick J. Speelman (PhD Temple University 2000) is Assistant Professor of History at the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, New York. He specializes in European warfare and the history of military thought in the early modern era. He has authored *Henry Lloyd and the Military Enlightenment of Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Greenwood 2002), and edited/annotated, *War, Society and Enlightenment: The Works of General Lloyd* (Brill, 2005). His current interest involves the relationship between geography, demography and the strategic history of eighteenth-century Europe.

Armstrong Starkey (PhD University of Illinois 1968) is Professor Emeritus at Adelphi University. His books include *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815* (Oklahoma, 1998) and *War in the Age of the Enlightenment, 1700-1789* (Praeger, 2003) His current interest includes the Enlightenment and early American defense policy.

Nicholas Tracy (PhD University of Southampton 1972) is Adjunct Professor of History, Associate of the Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, and Senator at the University of New Brunswick, Canada, and Member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. His study of the British conquest of Manila in 1762, *Manila Ransomed: The British Expedition to the Philippines in the Seven Years War* (1995), was the launch point of his work on navies in national defense and foreign policies. The author of more than a dozen major scholarly works in the field, including *Navies, Deterrence, and American Independence*, 1988, and *Attack on Maritime Trade*, 1991. He is now engaged with the assistance of a grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada in completion of a study of Canadian naval strategy: *A Two Edged Sword, the Navy as an Instrument of Canadian Foreign Policy*.

Matthew C. Ward (PhD The College of William and Mary 1992) is a Senior Lecturer in History at University of Dundee, Scotland. A specialist in early

American history, his recent publications include *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), and *1759, The Campaign for Quebec, Britain's Conquest of Canada* (Tempus Publishers, 2005.) His current work focuses on violence and crime on the early American frontier.

INTRODUCTION

THE 'PROBLEM' OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Mark H. Danley

Introducing a book on the Seven Years' War is challenging because the war itself was so expansive yet difficult to define. Many historians have acknowledged the war's breadth but few wrestle with how that very breadth tempts one to sidestep problems of definition and instead revert to a more familiar and often narrower focus. Historians working in the English language, as well as some European scholars, tend to portray the Seven Years' War within the context of two aspects: the Anglo-French contest, particularly as it unfolded in North America, and the conflict between Frederick the Great and his enemies.[1] The emphasis on both of these approaches is understandable and generally legitimate. There is little doubt, for example, that the experience of Anglo-American colonial populations during the fighting of the mid-1750s through early 1760s helps explain the formation of American identity.[2] Likewise, the significance of the Seven Years' War for explaining the survival of Prussia as a European power and the confirmation of Russia's importance on the European scene is undoubted. Nor is it illegitimate to regard the Seven Years' War as the last of the great interstate conflicts of *ancien régime* Europe, in many ways setting the stage for the even greater conflagrations brought about by the French Revolution. Further, few can deny that the Anglo-French dimension of the Seven Years' War made it global and not just another European conflict.[3]

---

[1] Examples include Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Pt. 7 of *France and England in North America,* 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1914, orig. pub., 1884) and the classic yet still-useful Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War: A Study in Combined Strategy*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1907 and later editions).

[2] The impressive work of Fred Anderson makes this case, and his approach has been supported by a growing body of work by others. See for example, Fred Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War* (New York: Viking, 2005); idem., *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000); and Warren R. Hofstra, ed., *Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years' War in North America* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

[3] The approach of one recent study reaffirms the validity of this observation, see Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754–1763: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2011).

Indeed, the body of scholarship on the Seven Years' War addressing these two aspects is legion, and dates nearly back to the conflict itself. Yet examining the Seven Years' War only through these two traditional defining lenses defies any hope of truly understanding its global dimensions and denies other perspectives that are equally useful. The intent of the present volume is not to supplant either of the two long-standing approaches, but to combine them with others. The Anglo-French and Frederician dimensions of the war still figure into the analysis of several chapters in this volume. Nor does this book try to offer a comprehensive global history of the war. Rather, the editors hope that the essays herein, taken together, demonstrate the benefits for historians of thinking outside the traditional modes of analysis of the great conflict of the middle decades of the eighteenth century. The chapters in this book bring together narrative and analytical approaches; join operational military history with broader social, cultural, and political history; and expose aspects of the conflict that military historians have often overlooked or downplayed.

Reaching beyond the usual tendency to concentrate on Frederick's campaigns and the Anglo-French conflict in North America, however, exposes some conceptual problems of definition that one might collectively term the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War.' Just what was the Seven Years' War? Who fought in the war, and how long did it last? Seemingly straightforward questions like these are supposed to be stuff of a few paragraphs in a survey textbook. Historians may tend to see them as simple matters of fact that one takes for granted, and that underlie (but do not themselves constitute) the more complex questions of causation, correlation, analysis of outcome and synthesis that scholarly historians seek to answer. Yet as soon as one reaches beyond exclusive attention on the Anglo-French contest and Frederick of Prussia's fight with his enemies, the ambiguities of defining the Seven Years' War; identifying its belligerents; and how long it lasted become apparent. This book does not try to solve all these conceptual problems, but rather offers chapters that elucidate dimensions of various themes, and bring to light aspects of the war that at once go beyond the traditional approaches and still complement them. If one wants to escape historiographical narrowness, it is important at least to examine and explore these conceptual problems. And even if conclusive resolution of all of them is impossible, the very process of exploring them elucidates some common themes that cut across the experience of violence around the world from the early 1750s through the early 1760s. Examining these themes and problems not only introduces the following

chapters, but shows why historians should go beyond long-standing and more narrowly-focused ways of looking at the war.

Problems of 'When'

The Seven Years' War is not the only conflict in world history whose duration differs from what its commonly-known name suggests, and nor is it the only conflict that offers problems of definition.[4] Yet inquiring when the Seven Years' War took place and whether it actually lasted more or fewer than seven years exposes some of the complexities of definition. The issue of where and how the war began has always drawn attention and in fact connects with an important historiographic theme—the matter of how the Seven Years' War figures in various national histories. Scholars of both American and European history, as well as some popular renderings of the American theaters of the Seven Years' War, emphasize the contest in the Ohio Valley region during 1753–1754 as precipitating the larger war.[5] Yet historians must take care not to overemphasize events in North America at the expense of escalation of tension and military action in other theaters. Jürgen Luh, in his chapter in the present volume, confirms the North American origins of the war, but shows that Frederick considered an

[4] Military historians debate whether the Hundred Years' War should be considered a series of sequential related conflicts, just as they might ask whether the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleonic era should be considered an all-encompassing but discretely identifiable conflict. Works like Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1977) consider the period from Valmy to Waterloo conceptually cohesive but acknowledge that it contained multiple discretely identifiable conflicts. Likewise those studying twentieth-century war might debate whether the Second World War should encompass the Sino-Japanese conflict or the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

[5] There is certainly some merit to this, as Fred Anderson has shown and the recent study by Schumann and Schweizer confirms. Of course, Anderson says that the war could not have started *without* the conflict in America which is something different from saying that a world war could have *only* started with a North American conflict, Anderson, *Crucible of War*, xx-xxi; indeed he does say the war started in North America and spread. For other modern arguments that the war started in America see Franz A.J. Szabo, *The Seven Years War in Europe, 1756–1763* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008), 11–12, and Matt Schumann and Karl Schweizer, *The Seven Years War: A Transatlantic History* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 4–44. Daniel Baugh shows in his recent study that the war broke out in North America and became global, yet rightfully shows that this process was not a matter of colonial authorities starting the war and dragging in their home countries' governments. Moreover, Baugh deserves commendation for expressly recognizing that fighting in the Carnatic preceded open fighting in North America, see Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 1–14, 66–71.

alliance with Britain much earlier than some scholars have given him credit for doing and indeed believed that the Convention of Westminster *would* bring war to Europe, not insulate it from the Anglo-French conflict.

Moreover, whenever considering where the war started, historians must recall that fighting between the French and British East India Companies was taking place in the Carnatic around Arcot as early as 1751. Perhaps downplaying the early onset of conflict in the Carnatic exemplifies the possible influence of a desire for 'exceptionalist' histories. Might some Americans have a desire to portray the skirmish between George Washington and Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville as some earlier version of the clichéd 'shot heard round the world'? Of course even though open fighting actually broke out in the Carnatic before it did in the Ohio valley, there is little evidence that the Carnatic conflict rather than the Ohio valley dispute drove the broader war from local to global. Regardless of which campaign can claim proper credit for turning localized conflicts into a global war, few historians have acknowledged that Britons and Frenchman and their respective allies were shooting at each other in South Asia several years before they were elsewhere.[6] In fact, modern historians' concern with explaining the start of the war might help explain the little attention received by other regions that were less important in the outbreak of the war than in the war's ongoing course. The Caribbean is one such theater.[7] Is this because, as Richard Harding says in his chapter in

---

[6] For example, William M. Fowler, *Empires at War: The Seven Years' War and the Struggle for North America, 1754–1763* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005), [1] states squarely that the conflict was a global war and that "hostilities preceded the formal declarations of war by two years" saying the war began in 1754; although he mentions fighting in India he does not acknowledge that the Arcot war had been raging for several years by 1754. For an older example of the claim that the war clearly started in North America and only spread elsewhere later, see Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars, 1689–1762* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 153–55.

[7] Corbett treated the campaigns to capture Guadeloupe, Martinique and Havana, see Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 2 vols. (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), 1: 371–95; 2: 209–26; 2: 252–84; Schumann and Schweizer, *The Seven Years War* accounts for operations in the West Indies and the Caribbean as does Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005) and operations in the West Indies get their share in histories like Frank McLynn, *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004); but the fighting in the West Indies does not usually receive as much prominence as the war in North America and Central Europe; for example Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 306–16, 498–502, addresses operations in the Caribbean but overall gives most attention to North America. More recently, Daniel Baugh has given greater due to the campaigns in the Caribbean region, Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 377–420, 575–81, 598–609.

the present book, the Caribbean before late 1758 just did not enter into either British or French strategic calculations as much as other areas? Yet any historiographic movement towards a more global understanding of the war must include it. Harding's chapter is especially valuable for his ability to show how the Caribbean theater provided its own unique set of operational and strategic challenges for the belligerents, different even from other theaters in which naval power was crucial. The war in the Caribbean deserves a distinct treatment, analysis and understanding as part of the broader global conflict and Harding's chapter provides it.[8] Likewise, other regions that may not have been as important for explaining the start of the war—or at least the start of the Anglo-French dimension of the war—nevertheless became important theaters of operation later. Yet rarely do they get a distinct treatment in larger histories. Also significant in this respect, therefore, are several other chapters in the present volume, particularly those by Patrick Speelman on the Iberian theater, by Gunnar Åselius on Sweden and the war in Pomerania, by James Searing on the war in Senegambia, and by Nicholas Tracy on the campaign in the Philippines. Although each of these chapters is important also for its relationship to several broader themes (as will be explained below), they show that overemphasis on the theaters traditionally seen as crucial in the coming of the war obscures the truly global nature of the conflict.

The debate about where the war started will, however, still inevitably attract attention. Perhaps the views of contemporaries themselves add some important perspective. In fact, some eighteenth-century commentators held to the notion that the peace agreements of 1748 were just a temporary truce while the various European powers rearmed and adjusted the line-up of coalitions. Some modern historians have validated this view.[9]

---

[8] Even if Caribbean concerns were less important in the opening of the war, they were crucial in how several major belligerents ended their participation in the war. Indeed, just as Matt Schumann's chapter in this book shows the complexity of how the war actually ended, so too does Patrick Speelman's Conclusions.

[9] Some military historians who lived and wrote during the eighteenth century, for example, tended to think of the period between the conclusion of a peace treaty and the breaking out of renewed conflict as a period of illusory peace at best; see for instance John Entick, *The General History of the Late War containing it's Rise, Progress, and Event in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*, 5 vols. (London: Printed for Edward Dilly and John Millan, 1763–64), 1: 1–18; for modern views see Szabo, *The Seven Years War in Europe*, 2–16 and Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 35; interestingly, Schumann and Schweizer, *The Seven Years War*, 5–7 takes a slightly different approach, arguing that although major international tension persisted after the peace of 1748, the disputants hoped for resolution by negotiation despite their maintenance of large standing military forces.

This notion helps reconcile the importance of events in North America for driving the European powers into open warfare with the fact that shooting had been going on in India for several years when Lieutenant Colonel Washington mis-stepped in Jumonville Glen.

The Carnatic and the Ohio Valley are not the only theaters that merit attention as a locus of fighting early in war. Few historians would conceive of a discrete Mediterranean theater of the Seven Years' War, but it is nevertheless important to recall the importance of the French capture of Minorca in 1756 for driving France and Britain from undeclared to open war.[10] The importance of Minorca should remind historians that the Anglo-French conflict had western European as well as imperial dimensions. While traditional histories of the Seven Years' War pay heed to the campaign in western Germany, there was more to the Anglo-French confrontation in western Europe.[11] The French threatened invasion of the British Isles throughout the war and even managed a limited landing in Ireland.[12]

If historians might still legitimately debate when the Seven Years' War started, so too might historians still think about when they should consider the war as actually concluded. Countless American history textbooks refer to the Peace of Paris of 1763 as a decisive endpoint of the Seven Years' War, signaling the dawn of a new set of conditions leading ultimately to the American Revolution. Yet the war did not end neatly, as Matt Schumann's chapter shows. Moreover, as Patrick Speelman indicates in the conclusion

---

[10] Szabo, *The Seven Years War in Europe*, 16.

[11] The exhaustive operational treatment of the campaigns in western Germany by Reginald Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany During the Seven Years War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), will likely not be eclipsed; Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War* is notable for bringing together consideration of the assault on Minorca early in the war, the campaigns in western Germany, the British landings on the French coast and the French invasion threat to Britain.

[12] Dull, *French Navy and the Seven Years' War*, especially pp. 50–54, 97–98, 134–38, 142, 151, 159–62, 216, 225–26, 229; the editors' original conception for the present book included a specialized treatment of the French plans to invade Great Britain, but they were unable to locate an author in time. Jonathan Dull's *French Navy and the Seven Years' War* addresses many of these issues, as does Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 16, 171–73, 422–31, 621, 633, but an integration of the strategic, operational and diplomatic conditions that together shaped the Anglo-French confrontation in Western Europe and in European waters nevertheless probably deserves more attention. I thank Dr. Baugh for discussing some of these issues with me during the preparation of the present volume. Also worthy of consideration and admirable is the recent study of the British raids on the French coast during the war by David Hopkin, Yann Lagadec and Stéphane Perréon, "The Experience and Culture of War in the Eighteenth Century: The British Raids on the Breton Coast, 1758", *French Historical Studies* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 193–227.

to this work, historians still have to consider how to relate to the Seven Years' War various regional conflicts that stretched beyond 1763.[13]

Problems of 'What'

Perhaps the core of the "Problem of the Seven Years' War" is the decision of just which sub-conflicts should be included as part of it. The middle decades of the eighteenth century were extremely violent in many parts of the world, and regional conflicts with multiple players abounded. Which of these, or which combination of them together, should historians consider part of the 'Seven Years' War'? Historians have always acknowledged that many expansive conflicts in the early modern world are best understood as conglomerations of multiple sub-conflicts. Jeremy Black articulates this approach with his concept of 'umbrella wars.'[14] One might indeed consider the Seven Years' War as an umbrella conflict. Perhaps the starkest testimony to this element of the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War' is that historians of different nationalities refer to parts of the Seven Years' War by different names. The very fact that the terms 'French and Indian War' and 'Third Silesian War' became part of English-language historical parlance shows that conceptualizations of the various regional conflicts continue to shape assumptions about the scope of the Seven Years' War.[15]

---

[13] One might ask, for example, whether Pontiac's War (1763–1765) in North America and the war between the East India Company and Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh, which only ended with the Battle of Buxar in 1764 and the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765, should be considered part of the Seven Years' War; or, if one prefers the term 'Great War for Empire' (which implies a different scope). Perhaps one best situates conflicts like Pontiac's War in a category that one might call 'afterwars', i.e. related regional conflicts taking place after the conclusion of a general peace of a major conflict; I thank Dr. J. Dean O'Donnell, Associate Professor Emeritus of History at Virginia Tech, for his explanation of the concept of 'afterwars.' He originally applied it to explain the relationship between twentieth-century conflicts like the Russo-Polish war, the Magyar-Rumanian conflict, et. al. to European history, calling them 'afterwars' of World War One; this approach could be applied to eighteenth-century military history as well, specifically to the regional conflicts taking place after the conclusion of the general peace of 1763. Although not unknown, this term might be used more frequently to describe a concept often encountered in world military history. For earlier uses of the term in the sense close to that employed by Dr. O'Donnell and in the sense applied here, see the *Oxford English Dictionary* and especially Frederick L. Holler, *Information Sources of Political Science*, 3d. ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1981), 187; Daniel Baugh parallels the approach of considering Pontiac's War an 'afterwar' by integrating it into the conclusions of his work, see Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 654–56.

[14] See for example Jeremy Black, *A Military Revolution?: Military Change and European Society, 1550–1800* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1991), 27.

[15] For more recent uses of the term 'Third Silesian War' alongside the term 'Seven Years War', and continued use of the term 'French and Indian War' see, respectively, Tim

Although the Anglo-French conflict gave the war its global character, looking through just that lens and the lens of the fight between Frederick and his enemies is not enough. One need not define the Seven Years' War so broadly that it must include every shot fired and blow struck anywhere in the world during the 1750s-1760s, but determining which regional conflicts should fall under the umbrella of the 'Seven Years' War' is not a straightforward problem.

Overlapping Regional Conflicts

In fact, determining which of these regional conflicts, or which dimensions of them, historians should consider part of the Seven Years' War goes to the core of the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War.' It is in this matter that the place of the Seven Years' War in various national histories becomes important. Some North American scholars have pointed to the importance of the conflict in shaping the futures of their own countries.[16] The place of the Seven Years' War in the broader histories and memories of other nations is well worth considering. Gunnar Åselius's chapter in the present volume is valuable not only for bringing into English-language historiography a detailed operational study of the Swedish campaigns in Pomerania but even more so for his explanations of how the Seven Years' War affected Swedish historical memory. Certainly the role of the Seven Years' War in national histories is important and deserves continued attention. So too must historians consider its place in transnational cultural and intellectual movements. Armstrong Starkey's chapter in this book fills an important gap, analyzing the relationship between the war and Enlightenment thought. Likewise, historians could benefit from greater efforts at integrating study of the war into broader understandings of international history and international institutions. The perspectives of diplomatic historians have always been important in Seven Years' War historiography, but usually from the point of view of the main belligerents. Recent studies have examined the role of the major European

---

Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648–1815* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2007), 280, 455, and Alfred A. Cave, *The French and Indian War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004).

[16] Fred Anderson's contentions on this matter are among the best-argued of these approaches, Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, esp. "Introduction", p. xvii-xxv, and "Epilogue", pp. 736–46; but Canadian historians have also considered how the war shaped their national self-image. See Catherine Desbarats and Allan Greer, "The Seven Years' War in Canadian History and Memory," in *Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years' War in North America*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra, 145–78.

neutrals,[17] but historians can and should go further. Johannes Burkhardt's chapter shows the importance of Vatican diplomacy during the conflict and efforts to give the European war religious meaning. Historians of the eighteenth century have long recognized that for all the Enlightenment era's rationalism, religious faith played an important role in eighteenth-century European life. Burkhardt's chapter adds crucial perspective to the question of what issues the Seven Years' War encompassed, showing that inter-state and religious conflict could still overlap in eighteenth-century Europe—yet only incompletely so, thanks to the importance of international bodies, such as various institutions of the Holy Roman Empire.

For all this, historians will still likely ask questions about the Seven Years' War in national histories. This is worthwhile, but connects to the problem of defining the war. From the standpoint of some nations' histories, the long-standing and conventional means of defining the scope of the Seven Years' War (such as the Anglo-French conflict) make less sense. Some excellent examples of such incongruity come from South Asian history. Upon initial consideration, it might seem that the contours of the Anglo-French conflict are indeed the best guide for understanding how the Seven Years' War affected the long-term development of India. After all, historians of South Asia, whether writing from a modern Indian nationalist perspective or a perspective more sympathetic to the British Empire, recognize Plassey as a great turning point in the history of the subcontinent. Yet the concept of India as nation (at least as presently conceived) is itself largely a product of modern nationalism; therefore, from a broader historical perspective the 'national' histories of India's regions are just as important. Each of India's regions has as much of a 'national' history as India itself has. From the point of view of national histories of regions like Bengal, defining the war by exclusive reference to the course of the Anglo-French conflict makes less sense. Examining why this is so helps expose one dimension of the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War' – the ambiguity of how regional conflicts overlapped.

For many historians of the Seven Years' War, the British East India Company's conflict with Siraj-ud-daulah, Nawab of Bengal, and with the French seems to constitute a discrete campaign that culminated at Plassey, Yet as G.J. Bryant reminds in his chapter on the campaign in Bengal and the Northern Circars in the present volume, during mid-1757 Siraj-ud-daulah faced not just the forces of the East India Company under Clive,

[17] Schumann and Schweizer, *The Seven Years War*, 176–86.

but simultaneously faced two other separate threats on the western frontier of his territories. One was from the Afghan forces of Ahmad Shah Durrani and the other from the rebellious governor of Purnea, Shaukat Jang. Both threats were substantial. Indeed, in several narratives and analyses of historians writing from a Bengali perspective, the military effect of these threats is portrayed as important as the threat from Clive. In the modern Bengali historian Jadunath Sarkar's account and analysis of eighteenth-century Bengali political history, for example, the narrative flows from Siraj's attack on Calcutta directly to his victory over Shaukat Jang at the Battle of Manihari, and then to the British attack on Chandernagore and Clive's joining in conspiracy with Mir Jafar.[18] Indian military historians have taken similar approaches. One example is Major P. Sensarma, who writes specifically on the military history of Bengal.[19] Thus an exclusive focus on the Anglo-French dimension not only downplays the South Asian (specifically Bengali) point of view but obscures operational level military considerations that did affect the outcome of the campaign. English and Indian historians alike make much of the ineffectiveness of the Nawab's army at Plassey and the treachery of his generals, especially Mir Jafar, as compared to the Company's troops. Yet fewer recall explicitly that while Siraj-ud-daulah fought at Plassey his most capable forces were still stationed on his western frontier in Bihar under his general Raja Ramnarain, guarding against the Afghans. Indeed, Clive and other company officials knew of Siraj-ud-daulah's preoccupation with the Afghan threat and exploited it in their strategic and operational planning.[20] Moreover, historians focused excessively on the Anglo-French

---

[18] Jadunath Sarkar, ed., *The History of Bengal*, vol. 2, *Muslim Period, 1200 A.D. -1757 A.D.* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2003; reprint, originally published 1948), 468–93.

[19] P. Sensarma, *The Military History of Bengal* (Calcutta: The Author [distributed by Naya Prokash], 1977), 183–200.

[20] Brijen K. Gupta, *Sirajuddaullah and the East India Company, 1756–1757: Background to the Foundation of British Power in India* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962), 116–17. Admittedly some English histories of the campaign in Bengal account for the threats posed by Ahmad Shah Durrani and Shaukat Jang, but often do so with only a sentence or two out of the whole book; see A. Mervyn Davies, *Clive of Plassey: A Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), 184, 196; yet the literature has some balance; one more popular study accounts in greater detail for these non-European threats to the nawab, and in fact draws on modern Indian scholarship, Michael Edwardes, *Plassey: The Founding of an Empire* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1969), 6, 38, 71–73, 119–20. Daniel Baugh does not mention specifically the matter of the deployment of Raja Ramnarain away from the scene of the fighting against the British, but indeed recognizes the operational and strategic effects of the threat from Ahmad Shah Durrani; Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 291. One could nevertheless debate whether the presence of Raja Ramnarain in the east would have substantially altered the outcome of Siraj's confrontation with the British. At the very least, it

conflict to the exclusion of regional perspectives may tend to downplay or ignore conflict in East India after Plassey. G.J. Bryant rightly integrates the conflict in the Northern Circars—crucial for understanding the relationship between revenue collection and military operations—into his account and analysis of the war in both of his chapters in this book.

Some might question why treatment of the war in South Asia is divided into two chapters in the present volume. As Bryant shows, operations in Bengal and operations in the Carnatic affected each other—especially from the British East India Company's standpoint. So it may seem that an understanding of the campaigns in South Asia would be furthered if one considered them all together. Yet Calcutta is almost as far from Madras as Leuthen is from Saint-Malo. Most Western historians of the Seven Years' War would hardly tolerate lumping together the British landings on the French coast, Frederick's campaigns in Saxony and Bohemia and the campaign in western Germany all into one homogenized category of 'the War in Europe,' even though those campaigns all affected one another. Why not apply to South Asia a level of granularity in analysis that Europe often gets regarding the conflict? The present volume moves towards such a more granular approach by encouraging readers to think about multiple South Asian theaters rather than a homogenized concept of 'the war in India,' while still showing how each South Asian theater affected the other.

Still further questions about the overlap of regional conflicts come from the matter of the duration of the conflict in South Asia, especially in Bengal, Bihar, and Oudh (Awadh). One could argue, for example, that from the standpoint of Bengali history, and the history of East and North India in general, the period of continuous military and diplomatic activity most useful for understanding the course of regional and national history should not end with Plassey. After all, the new Nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar, faced a military threat from the itinerant nominal Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II (known as the Shahzada before his *de jure* ascension as emperor in December 1759), who invaded Bihar in early 1759 and again in 1760. Other military threats came from an invasion of Cuttack by the Maratha leader Sheobhat in April 1759 and a rebellion by the governor of Purnea, Khadem Husain Khan, in early 1760. Finally, the invasion of Bengal in mid-1759 by forces of the Dutch East India Company not only complicated the situation further from the Bengali perspective but, as G.J. Bryant points

---

would have given Siraj an alternative to reliance on Mir Jafar. The essential point is that the outcome at Plassey depended upon Ahmad Shah's actions and Siraj's reaction to them in a way many Western historians do not fully recognize.

out, affected the British East India Company's conduct of its own war against the French. British historians have addressed these campaigns and during the twentieth century Indian historians have integrated them into broader investigations of Bengali history, but most Western historians do not consider them part of the Seven Years' War.[21] From the standpoint of Bengali history as well as the history of the British East India Company, the fighting against Shah Alam II, and later against Mir Qasim and his ally, Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh, are chronologically and analytically contiguous with the defeat of the French at Plassey.[22] Indeed, the climax of these campaigns, the Company's defeat of Mir Qasim and Shuja-ud-daula at Buxar in 1764, has as much as claim as Plassey to being the great turning point and marking the beginning of the British Empire in India if one sees regional powers like Oudh as opponents at least as important as the French.

Upon initial consideration it may seem that the motive to downplay or ignore the post-Plassey fighting in Bengal and Bihar comes from overemphasis on the Anglo-French conflict at the expense of Bengali (or Bihari) perspectives. It is true, after all, that the British dispute with Mir Qasim heated up only in 1763, after the end of the Seven Years' War in Europe and was moreover largely over the issue of the British private inland trade.[23] In addition, Bengali historians have emphasized Plassey perhaps more than Buxar as the great turning point in Bengali (and Indian) history.[24] Those concentrating on the Anglo-French conflict may see Plassey as extinguishing the French threat to East India and therefore after 1757 their attention should go towards the Carnatic where, as Bryant shows, French military efforts lasted until Wandiwash. After all, the French presence with Shah Alam II was limited to the French military adventurer Jean Law and a few hundred men including artillery specialists. Yet in the minds of contemporaries, including those concentrating on the Anglo-French conflict at the expense of other perspectives, Law's presence was enough to draw British and French commentators' attention to the campaigns between Mir Jafar

---

[21] On the fighting against the Shahzada/Shah Alam II in 1759 see Henry Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive: The Beginning of Empire* (London: Methuen, 1920; reprint, Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1968), 148–51; for Indian points of view see Atul Chandra Roy, *The Career of Mir Jafar Khan, 1757–65 A.D.* (Calcutta: Das Gupta & Co., [1953]), 136–66 and D.C. Verma, *Plassey to Buxar: A Military Study* (New Delhi: K.B. Publications, 1976), 59–76.

[22] This is evidenced by Dodwell's approach in his classic *Dupleix and Clive*.

[23] Benoy K. Chowdhury, "Political History: 1757–72," Chapter 2 in *The History of Bengal* (*1757–1905*), ed. Narendra Krishna Sinha (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1967), 38–39.

[24] Sarkar's seminal account of Muslim rule in Bengal ends in 1757, as does Sensarma's *Military History of Bengal*.

and the English on one side and Shah Alam II on the other. Modern Bengali historians have also credited Law's presence with Shah Alam as motivation for the British to aid Mir Jafar against Shah Alam's invasions.[25]

Perhaps then the most important question for present purposes is whether historians should indeed consider these campaigns part of the Seven Years' War. Even wrestling with the question illustrates well how the matter of overlapping regional conflicts is part of the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War.' Although G.J. Bryant carefully acknowledges the effects of these campaigns on the Anglo-French contest, this book's chapters on the war in South Asia do not extensively treat the fighting in Bengal and Bihar after 1757. If the editors are indeed allowed to call for further research, perhaps some enterprising historians may succeed in determining how better to integrate understanding of the Company's and Mir Jafar's conflict with Shah Alam II, and the later conflict between the Company and Mir Qasim, with broader understandings of the Seven Years' War.

If the history of Bengal and of India in general shows how over-emphasis on the course of the Anglo-French conflict can lead to privileging some nations' historical perspectives over others, then the case of Russia provides an example of the risks of overusing the other traditional defining lens, the conflict between Frederick the Great and his enemies. John LeDonne treats Russia's war against Frederick II in the broader context of Russian imperial grand strategy, and the resulting analysis is quite different than approaches narrowly focused only on European history. LeDonne sees Russia's conflict with Frederick II's Prussia in the context of a Russian grand strategy formulated and applied throughout the history of the Russian Empire. Russia sought security through creating a system of client states or client powers on the periphery of what LeDonne calls the "Heartland", that is, the inner part of the Eurasian landmass. He interprets Russian accommodation with Prussia earlier in the century through this lens, while Russia's conflict with Prussia during 1756–1763 marks a Russian use of "deep strategic penetration" against what he terms a "recalcitrant

[25] Chowdhury, "Political History, 1757–72,", 27; One contemporary history of the war, that of John Entick, portrays the fighting against Shah Alam II as connected to the Anglo-French conflict, and considers the conflict between the Dutch East India Company and British East India Company as part of the war; see Entick, *The General History of the Late War*, 4: 217–30 on fighting between British and Dutch East India Companies in Bengal in 1759 and ibid., 5: 215–19 on Law's presence with the Shahzada. Entick incorrectly places these latter campaigns in 1761, the error perhaps owing to the fact that his work was a compilation of articles and reports previously published in the *Annual Register* and events from that part of the world would have been reported late; see *Annual Register: Or a View of the History, Politicks and Literature of the Year 1761* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1762), 56–7.

client state". Although Prussia survived, Russia had forced Frederick to take a more accommodating stance after the war.[26] Likewise, LeDonne believes that Frederick's hostility towards Russia can be seen as an example of a broader historical trend of regional powers in what he calls "core areas" on the periphery of the "Heartland" trying to contain Russian expansion.[27]

To be sure, LeDonne does not dismiss the uniqueness of the threat that Frederick, among all Russia's neighbors, posed for the Russian Empire.[28] The overall value of his approach, however, lays in his integrated analysis of Russian engagement with central and western European powers, the Ottomans, the Persians, various smaller powers in the Caucasus, and the Chinese, as well as the Russian expansion into Central Asia. Such an approach is important for understanding the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War.' Indeed, from the point of view of eighteenth-century Russian military history, any exclusive focus on just Frederick's war with his enemies obscures military and political considerations that Russia dealt with concurrently and that LeDonne's approach brings into focus.

Historians should remember that Russia fought Frederick during a time that was also very critical for Russian imperial expansion into Central Asia. Few historians of eighteenth-century European warfare besides Jeremy Black recall that the massive Qing campaigns against the Zunghar (Dzunghar) Khanate, resulting in the destruction of the latter, took place while the Seven Years' War was going on in Europe and India.[29] Yet the conquest of Zungharia changed the Russian relationship with the Zunghars' western neighbors, the Kazakhs. With a powerful Zunghar Khanate no longer there to serve as a buffer between the Qing and Russian expansion into Central Asia, St. Petersburg had increased motive either to incorporate or otherwise come to accommodation with the several Kazakh polities.[30] The Russians already had a *de facto* alliance with the Kazakh Lesser Horde under Abulkhayir and later his son Nuraly, but the leader of the Kazakh

---

[26] John P. LeDonne, *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3, 7–8, 92.

[27] Idem., *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 13–14, 237–39.

[28] Ibid., 351–52.

[29] Jeremy Black, *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Cassell, 2002), 25–37; on these campaigns see Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005), 270–292.

[30] Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 168.

Middle Horde, Ablai, began negotiations with the Qing.[31] Martha Brill Olcott maintains that Catherine II wanted to come to further agreements with the Kazakh Middle Horde, but preoccupation with ending the Seven Years' War inhibited the Russians from doing much.[32] As John LeDonne shows, the Russians nevertheless did deploy regular troops along their Siberian line in response to the Qing advance into former Zunghar lands and the pressure to handle the newly changed relationship with the Kazakhs.[33]

Thus, during the 1750s Russia had military concerns in not just one, but two separate areas of the periphery of the "Heartland". Therefore another traditional lens through which Anglophone and European historians define the Seven Years' War—the conflict between Frederick and his enemies—inherently obscures the national perspective of one of the era's most important rising powers. The Qing destruction of the Zunghars resulted in the deployment of Russian regular troops to the eastern theater right at a time when the Seven Years' War was drawing Russian attention toward what LeDonne calls a "deep strike" into the western periphery of the "Heartland".[34] Yet many histories from the European perspective do little or nothing to account for these concerns when describing or analyzing Russian strategy during the war.[35]

---

[31] LeDonne, *Russian Empire and the World*, 163–65; on the Russian relationship with the Nuraly and the Lesser Horde during the period see Khodarkovksy, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*, 163–68.

[32] Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs*, 2d ed. (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), 41–2.

[33] LeDonne, *Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire*, 115.

[34] Ibid., 85, 87–92.

[35] McLynn, *1759*, pays some attention to Russia; although he takes into account the existence of other regional conflicts around the world (pp. 6–14), he does not consider how the significant change in Russia's relationship with the Kazakhs that had taken place by 1759 affected Russian strategic-level decisions; Corbett's focus on England does not prevent him from considering French, Prussian and Austrian strategic concerns when analyzing the course of the war, but he pays less attention to Russia; when he does consider Russian strategy he does so only in its European perspective – for example when mentioning that Russia had by 1759 "sunk back into her old half-hearted attitude to the war" he makes no mention of the Central Asian concerns that caused St. Petersburg to redeploy forces to that region during that time; see Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 2: 79. Perhaps one may be more forgiving of studies such as L. Jay Oliva, *Misalliance: A Study of French Policy in Russia During the Seven Years' War* (New York: University Press, 1964), which define their scopes in the first place as being oriented towards the European diplomatic perspective; still, although a French perspective on the Franco-Russian relationship could concentrate exclusively on Europe, a Russian perspective of the same subject likely could not. Similarly, one could argue that because Szabo defines the scope of his book as the war in Europe, his concentration on Russia's military concerns in Europe rather than military affairs on its borderlands is understandable. Likewise, although Schumann and

The indirect connection between Russia's fight with Frederick and its relationship with the Kazakhs is only one example of the importance of military and political events in the Eurasian "Heartland" for understanding the Seven Years' War. If traditional views of the Seven Years' War are likely to downplay the effect on the campaign in Bengal of Ahmad Shah Durrani's threat to Siraj-ud-daulah's western border in Bihar, they are even less likely to acknowledge that Ahmad Shah himself could only threaten India at all because he had first secured his own northern flank by allying in the early 1750s with one of the Uzbek leaders vying for control of the Balkh region. As Jonathan Lee shows, it was Ahmad Shah's alliance with the Uzbek leader Haji Bi Ming against the latter's Qataghanid rivals that allowed Ahmad Shah Durrani to attack towards the south in India several times during the mid-1750s.[36] And one such instance of Ahmad Shah attacking to the south turned out to be at just the right time to distract Siraj-ud-daulah in the west while the British were attacking him in the east, in Bengal proper.

Recent monographic work on the Seven Years' War has indeed demonstrated the importance of analyzing diplomacy and military operations across theaters.[37] Given the connections, albeit indirect, between events in various parts of Inner Asia and the Seven Years' War one might ask whether a 'transeurasian' approach to eighteenth-century military history might shed better light on the Seven Years' War as a global conflict. This is not to argue for a definition of the Seven Years' War so expansive as to include even campaigns as far flung as the Qing assault on the Zunghars or the fighting between Haji Bi Ming and the Qataghanid Uzbeks. After all, some regions afflicted with massive armed conflict during the late 1750s-1760s had either only the most tenuous connection to the Seven Years' War or none at all. Even if Ahmad Shah Durrani's actions in 1757 influenced the outcome of the war in Bengal, his extensive campaigns against the Sikhs, as well as the Afghan-Maratha conflict that ended at

---

Schweizer consider Russian political, military, and diplomatic activity in reference to European theaters, the transatlantic focus evident from the title of their book perhaps excuses them from having to consider Russia's Central Asian concerns. Historians interested in the Seven Years' War as a global conflict, however, are still left with a need to integrate St. Petersburg's calculations about military affairs in Central Asia with the czarist government's decisions in the war against Frederick II. At some point others besides Russian historians need to integrate understanding of these issues into accounts and analysis of the Seven Years' War.

[36] J.L. Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy': Bukhara, Afghanistan and the Battle for Balkh, 1731–1901* (New York: Brill, 1996), 85.

[37] Schumann and Schweizer in *The Seven Years War* emphasize to good effect the transatlantic approach referenced the subtitle of their work.

Panipat in 1761 bear much less connection, if any at all, to the Seven Years' War by any definition.[38] More difficult to account for, however, are the extensive wars of another of the successors to Nadir Shah, Karim Khan Zand, which took place during the same years at the Seven Years' War but had only the most tenuous connection to the Anglo-French conflict. A few French privateers operated against British bases in the Persian Gulf region, and Molla 'Ali Shah, the sometimes pro-Zand governor of Bandar 'Abbas, joined with the French in 1759 to raid the East India Company's factory at Bandar 'Abbas. This fighting does not seem to have affected the other theaters of the Seven Years' War but was part of a series of overlapping conflicts in the Persian Gulf littoral that lasted roughly from 1759 to 1763, involving at various times Karim Khan Zand, the Ottomans, the Dutch East India Company, the British East India Company and smaller regional powers like Mir Mohanna, the ruler of Bandar Rig and its environs, and the sometimes autonomous region of the Banu Ka'b under Shaykh Salman Al bu Naser.[39] Thus the overlap between this regional conflict and the Seven Years' War was minimal, or at least less than in the case of regional conflicts in the Indian subcontinent. Therefore any 'transeurasian' approach to the Seven Years' War could aid in better comprehension of Russian and Bengali perspectives, without having to incorporate to the same degree an analysis of every war that took place in Persia, the Indian subcontinent, Central Asia and Southeast Asia during the 1750s-early 1760s.

Rather, just considering any kind of 'transeurasian' approach shows that to comprehend even only the fighting among European powers depends in turn upon understanding events throughout the rest of the world—including some events that European historians are not accustomed to thinking about when studying the Seven Years' War.[40]

---

[38] On Ahmad Shah Durrani's campaigns against the Sikhs during the mid-eighteenth century, see Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani: Father of Modern Afghanistan* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1959), 221–24, 273–307; on the Afghan-Maratha conflict generally during 1758–61 see Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 225–48; on the battle of Panipat see Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 249–67 and Pradeep P. Barua, *The State at War in South Asia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 51–66; I also thank Dr. Barua for discussing with me the relationship among the various regional wars taking place in South Asia during the 1750s-1760s.

[39] On the 1759 action at Bandar 'Abbas see John R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand: A History of Iran, 1747–1779* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 258–59; on the multilateral fighting in the Persian Gulf region see Perry, *Karim Khan Zand*, 150–63; on Karim Khan Zand's campaigns elsewhere during c. 1747–1763 see Perry, *Karim Khan Zand*, 13–94.

[40] Jeremy Black in *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century* deserves credit as one of the few military historians who tries to integrate understanding of military affairs around the world during the eighteenth century, whether or not they involved western powers.

Determining which regional conflicts one should consider part of the Seven Years' War is not easy. Perhaps, for example, further research bringing together the military history of the Persian Gulf region and Iran during the eighteenth century with Ahmad Shah Durrani's wars and with the Seven Years' War would illuminate previously-unappreciated indirect connections that in turn would better inform a global understanding of conflict in the period. Historians should recognize that any resolution of this dimension of the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War'—the overlap of concurrent regional conflicts—will always emphasize one or more national or regional perspectives over others. This may not be avoidable, or even undesirable, but historians of the Seven Years' War should understand and admit more explicitly that it happens.[41]

Therefore, although the present volume does not explicitly adopt a transcontinental approach, the editors acknowledge the importance of other regional conflicts in the Eurasian world for the conduct of the Seven Years' War. That is one reason for the inclusion of a chapter on the Ottomans. Virginia Aksan rightly opens her chapter with a rhetorical question of why a book on a major eighteenth-century conflict that the Ottomans sat out would include a chapter on them. Yet as Aksan shows, it was Ottoman military experiences with Nadir Shah's Persia in the decades before the Seven Years' War that demonstrated to the Porte the fragility of its military options, and pushed Ottoman leaders during the tumultuous 1750s to opt for diplomatic over overtly military efforts. So yet another series of military events in Asian theaters indirectly affected the outcome of the Seven Years' War. Given the hopes Frederick placed on an Ottoman alliance, no matter how forlorn hindsight has shown those hopes to have

---

[41] Perhaps historians also might consider the relationship between the Seven Years' War and slave rebellions in the Atlantic World during the 1750s-1760s; one such conflict, Tacky's War, took place in Jamaica during 1760; historians might look more closely at whether and how it affected Britain's Caribbean campaign (even if it did so only indirectly); on Tacky's War see Richard Hart, *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery: Blacks in Rebellion* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 130–56; military historians studying the eighteenth century generally need to do a better job incorporating slave resistance into their overall understanding of armed conflict during the period, as standard surveys of eighteenth-century warfare often do not consider it; Black, *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century*, 98 mentions slave resistance in the context of non-European resistance to Europeans but does not explore the issue; Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason* (New York: Atheneum, 1988), has only a short section on warfare outside Europe (pp. 280–88). One new work that deserves commendation for an effort to integrate slave resistance (including Tacky's War) into the history of the Seven Years War is Maria Alessandra Bollettino, *Slavery, War, and Britain's Atlantic Empire: Black Soldiers, Sailors, and Rebels in the Seven Years' War* Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2009, see esp. pp. 191–256 on slave rebellions in Jamaica.

been, the Ottoman experiences with Nadir Shah's Persia had an effect on the war.

Likewise, the East India Company's conflicts during the 1750s-1760s included more than just the campaign against the French in India. The 1759 raid on Bandar 'Abbas did not mark the only military action of the British East India Company in the Persian Gulf during the war. For example, in 1761 Company forces fought Shaykh Salman, *de facto* ruler of the Banu Ka'b region, over his raiding of shipping in the area.[42] The strategic arena in which the Company's directors made military decisions, therefore, encompassed more than what historians usually consider part of the Seven Years' War. This further exposes the complexity of how regional conflicts overlapped during the period of the war. Perhaps, however, the deciding consideration in determining which of the Company's military actions during the 1750s-early 1760s should be seen as part of the Seven Years' War might be whether those actions had an effect on overall British imperial strategy, to the extent that one accepts that such a strategy existed.[43] This is one justification for inclusion in the present volume of a chapter on the British capture of Manila. Some of the Company's conquests and actions were reflected in the Peace of Paris while others were not; perhaps historians might consider whether or not a regional conflict affected the overall peace settlement as criteria for considering it part of the Seven Years' War.[44] As Nicholas Tracy shows, the origins of the Manila campaign lay in part with the British East India Company's concerns, yet the operation and subsequent occupation affected the overall peace settlement between Britain and Spain at the end of the war.

Just as effect on the ultimate peace settlement might serve as criteria for considering a regional conflict part of the Seven Years' War, so might the involvement of a major power's regular forces. This approach might help historians account for another major conflict in Asia contemporary with the Seven Years' War, which seems distinct from it but that very well could have overlapped with it in the same way that the regional wars

---

42 Perry, *Karim Khan Zand*, 163; Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, *The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1970), 211.

43 Some challenge the conventional notion that British success emanated from a coordinated global strategy; see for example Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), especially pp. 211–14.

44 I thank G.J. Bryant for suggesting this idea and approach for consideration. Although the criteria for deciding which regional conflicts should be part of the Seven Years' War will always be problematic, the above approach is worth considering.

in the Carnatic and Bengal did. This conflict included the campaigns of Burmese king Alaungpaya against the Kingdom of Pegu during 1755–1757. Both the British East India Company and French East India Company were embroiled commercially and to some extent militarily in Southeast Asia during the 1750s-1760s. When the French aided Pegu against Alaungpaya, the latter sought British assistance and arms. As the event turned out, both the British and French East India Companies prioritized their positions in southern India over Burma, and as a result decided they could not afford to participate directly in the war between Alaungpaya and Pegu, though each company's agents were active in Southeast Asia in the 1750s.[45] Had either side sent even a single regiment of troops, or had any mention of British and French interests in Burma been part of the overall peace negotiations, then perhaps nineteenth-century and twentieth-century historians would have considered the Burmese conflict part of the Seven Years' War as least as much as they do the fighting in the Carnatic and Bengal. That Alaungpaya's campaigns are seen by Western historians as unrelated to the Seven Years' War not only suggests the persistence of the Anglo-French conflict as defining lens, but moreover implies that historians see the participation of both regular forces (land and naval) and Company forces together as the defining criterion for considering imperial embroilment in an Asian regional conflict to be part of the Seven Years' War. Military historians of the eighteenth century might add Southeast Asia to the regions which deserve great consideration regarding the interplay of regional conflicts with the Seven Years' War. As Nicholas Tracy shows in his chapter in this book, even a matter as seemingly far afield from the battlefields of Europe as a succession dispute in the Sultanate of Sulu bears some connection to the Manila campaign of the Seven Years' War. Once again, one certainly need not consider every musket or cannon shot, or every sword cut or thrust made between 1750 and 1765 part of the Seven Years' War. The point is that historians need to recognize that the criteria for defining which regional conflicts are to be considered part of the Seven Years' War are both complex and problematic.

---

[45] On the British and French companies in Burma and the relationship of each to the fighting between Alaungpaya and Pegu, as well as other fighting between Alaungpaya and the Mons, see D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, 3d. ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 403–11. Another area of further research would be the relationship, at least from the point of view of the British East India Company's history but also from the point of view of Burmese and Mon history, between the Seven Years' War and the Burmese-Mon conflict of the 1750s.

Problems of 'Who'

If determining just what the Seven Years' War constituted is more complex a problem than it might first seem, so too is it a challenge to say definitely just 'who' fought in the war. At the center of this question is an important historical theme that cuts through several of the chapters in this volume—the importance of the making and unmaking of coalitions, and their effect on the course and outcome of the war. Taken together, however, the chapters in this volume show that recognizing the importance of coalitions must mean more than walking the well-tread paths of discussing the Diplomatic Revolution, the dramatic reversal of Russian-Prussian enmity and alliance during 1762–63, the vagaries of the Anglo-Prussian alliance and the complexities of British-colonial relations. European historians have always recognized the importance of the Diplomatic Revolution and the change of alliances for the coming of the Seven Years' War, just as American historians recognize the criticality of inter-colonial relations, colonial relations with Native Americans, and colonial-British relations during the period of the war. Some historians have examined to good effect the importance of the major neutral powers of Europe.[46] Yet not all historians recognize the conceptual challenges regarding categories when identifying how belligerents lined up on one side or the other.

The traditional views of the war as a contest between states (in its European context) or and even as a contest between empires (in its global context) are by themselves insufficient. This is so because the eighteenth-century world saw violent and cooperative encounters between people who organized themselves politically in very different ways. Not every polity whose fighting personnel saw combat during the Seven Years' War was a state. Western historians interpreting the war have tended to relegate implicitly these powers to the status of subordinates or adjuncts to the 'real' belligerents, that is, those organized according to recognizable Western terms. Sometimes this approach becomes evident in the name given to the war itself. As Matthew Ward points out in the present volume, the term 'French and Indian War' is a misleading and Anglocentric term in that it makes the 'Indians' seem mere agents of the French. And yet the term is misleading for another reason. It homogenizes the Native American

[46] On the United Provinces, for example, see Alice Clare Carter, *The Dutch Republic in Europe in the Seven Years War* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1971); for a more recent survey and analysis of several of the major neutral European states during the Seven Years' War see Schumann and Schweizer, *The Seven Years War*, 176–86.

peoples of North America to a degree that many Western historians would probably not apply to Western powers. For instance, few would accept the term 'Shawnee and European War' or 'Lenape and European War', with 'European' meant to lump together France, Austria, Sweden, Russia and any other European power cobelligerent with the Shawnee or Lenape against Britain or against Britain's ally Prussia. It is more accurate, therefore, to consider the Lenape (Delaware), the Shawnee, and the Iroqouis each as one part of the constellation of powers around the world. It is only accurate, however, to the extent that one can and should consider each of those groups as an identifiable polity.[47] After all, individual communities within each cultural group could and did make and enforce, sometimes with arms, their own policies. Ward shows the complex dynamics behind the lining up of various Native peoples with and against each other, and with and against either of the European powers contesting control of North America.

None of these observations should suggest that the Diplomatic Revolution is unimportant for the understanding of coalition warfare. The shift of alliances that it marked, after all, is part of what sets apart the Seven Years' War from the sequentially recurring and wide-ranging European dynastic conflicts of 1689–1748. In fact, the main element of continuity in the conflicts stretching from 1689, past the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and though the Seven Years' War to 1815 was of course the Anglo-French dispute, which has given rise to the historical concept of the 'Second Hundred Years' War'.[48] Yet regional powers around the world determined the shape and scope of the Anglo-French dimension of the Seven Years' War as much as did the British and French states, thus underscoring the complexity of how various belligerents arrayed themselves into one coalition or another. The categories of alliance and enmity were not always easily discernible and were certainly mutable, and the strategic context in which belligerents chose sides in some cases needs further explanation. Overemphasis on the Anglo-French conflict to the exclusion

---

47 Timothy J. Shannon appropriately raises the question of what historians should consider 'Iroquois' when asking how the Seven Years' War affected the Iroquois, thus the question of 'who' fought in the Seven Years' War easily connects to the importance of the war in national histories; see Timothy J. Shannon, "War, Diplomacy, and Culture: The Iroquois Experience in the Seven Years' War," in *Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years' War in North America*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra, 79–103, esp. p. 80.

48 On this concept see Arthur H. Buffington, *The Second Hundred Years War, 1689–1815* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929).

of related and parallel conflicts has sometimes obscured the complexity of the matter of who was actually fighting whom and how belligerents formed, broke, and reformed coalitions. Some modern historians do indeed depart from the trend of homogenizing 'Indians' as a group or join Ward in agreeing that most Native Americans were not mere agents of the French, but persist in emphasizing the Indian peoples of the Ohio Valley, New York and Great Lakes region over the Indian nations further to the south.

John Oliphant's chapter on the Cherokee War increases understanding of how Native peoples of North America used both military and diplomatic options to secure their interests during the Seven Years' War. The complexity of political organization among some of the southern Indian nations also highlights the difficulty of explaining 'who fought in the Seven Years' War' by a simple listing of belligerents. One might list the Cherokee as an erstwhile partner and sometime enemy of the British, but how does one account for the participation of members of the Creek nation? As Oliphant shows, although the Cherokees maintained a loose federal structure that facilitated decision-making for the majority of the nation, the Creeks did not. Creek men fought on both sides and the lining up of coalitions nevertheless included the political and military decisions that Creek leaders made on their own terms. Yet because one cannot identify a discrete Creek polity that collectively chose war or peace, it is not possible to compose a list of belligerents that includes the Creek as a discrete entity on one side or the other. Simply observing that individual Creek leaders and their associates fought on both sides risks obscuring the fact their doing so was the result of a nexus of political and military decision-making as complex as decision-making involved in any coalition-building. Likewise, the armies on both sides of the war in South Asia contained bodies of fighting men raised by individual leaders of communities such as the Rohillas that did not constitute a single, unitary and discrete political entity.

Identifying the various powers that fought in the war is also complex for another reason. *De jure* sovereignty and *de facto* sovereignty in the eighteenth-century world did not always coincide; who bore arms in pursuit of whose interests certainly did not depend only on *de jure* relationships. The eighteenth-century world was full of communities, whether single villages, small towns, or entire regions, perhaps nominally under the sovereignty of some state, empire or other polity but effectively independent, able to organize themselves to formulate their own policy, and able to bear arms collectively to enforce that policy. By showing in his

chapter that the clearest beneficiaries of the fighting in West Africa were probably the *habitants*, rather than the British or French governments, James Searing provides a salient example of the complexity of identifying belligerents and coalitions. In West Africa, the period after the French surrender in Senegambia saw more military and political activity; the *habitants* not only had a *de facto* local government but were willing to organize themselves militarily to advance their interests and enforce what amounted to *de facto* limited local sovereignty. Is it not therefore misleading to think of the only belligerents in the war in West Africa as being the British and French? Likewise, Patrick Speelman's chapter also raises issues about the ambiguities of 'who' fought in the Seven Years' War, and therefore the complexities of coalition warfare. Speelman shows how British officers and the Portuguese state could sometimes organize bands of peasants as irregulars to fight the Spanish, but that other times Portuguese peasants organized themselves on a local level to attack British forces. Recognizing the importance of peasant resistance to British forces is probably insufficient to induce most historians to decide they should not consider Portugal a British ally; after all, the Portuguese state was allied to Britain against Spain. Yet both Searing's treatment of the *habitants* and Speelman's assessment of the campaign in Portugal shows that the enumerating of belligerents lined up on one side or another is actually fraught with more ambiguities than one might realize if focused exclusively on the Seven Years' War as a contest between states. Historians of the eighteenth century world have always recognized that even the states with the most centralized governments could never exercise the degree of control and authority over the majority of their populations to the extent that they claimed or would have wished that they could. Acknowledging this fact reinforces the notion that it is insufficient to see the Seven Years' War just as a contest between states, or even between states and their surrogates and partners. When a local group can organize and bear arms on behalf of what they believe are their interests, regardless of whether they are technically the subjects of one power or another, they are in fact exercising some degree of *de facto* sovereignty. When they back that exercise with armed force, historians must consider whether they should number among the belligerents in a conflict.

In fact, the dynamics of coalition warfare sometimes extended down to the level of small groups or indeed single individual commanders. Drawing attention to the actions and decisions of particular individuals may sound conceptually suspect. After all, Western historiography within the last

century has largely eschewed 'Great Man' history.[49] Still, historians have not fully considered the degree to which the Seven Years' War still was shaped by the ability of individual leaders to gather around them bodies of fighting men who would follow them, through persuasion, economic influence, or personal connections—whether that interaction took place within or outside the institutions of the western political state. Scholars of the origins of the war in North America have recognized the theme of the decisions of individual leaders shaping history, whether the emphasis has been on Washington, Jumonville, or Tanaghrisson, the Seneca leader sometimes known as the Half King. Even in Europe, individual military leaders who were nominally part of the armies of dynastic states and therefore theoretically subject to state authority still maintained prerogatives over the forces under their command that amounted to an ability—within limits—to function effectively as warlords. This ability complicated not just the conduct of war but the ending of wars, as Matt Schumann points out in his explanation of the complex situation of sometimes-British sometimes-Prussian officer John Beckwith.

The coalition dynamics of the Seven Years' War expose the need for military historians to develop some conceptual category for leaders with entrepreneurial military competencies that allowed them to mobilize and command forces and at times make and enforce policy both inside and outside the confines of the norms of their societies.[50] In fact, some

[49] Certainly the study of institutions and patterns of broader cultural and economic developments are crucial for understanding all armed conflicts, and the Seven Years' War is no exception. Some American historians might be more likely to accept that a single person's decisions could shape the course of the war if that person is George Washington at Jumonville Glen. It is true also that one obvious candidate for the central 'Great Man' of the Seven Years' War, Frederick II, certainly has his share of hero-worshippers and detractors who focus on him as cause and effect, just as older approaches in British historiography focused on William Pitt as great war minister who alone masterminded the British Empire's grand strategy.

[50] The concept of 'warlord' in its modern historiographic sense would describe some of these men but that concept usually connotes a leader acting outside, or at least alongside (rather than within) established cultural or international norms. It is not therefore sufficient for those in societies such as some Native American groups wherein raising a force by personal influence and using it to exercise independent policy was the norm; an Upper Creek leader like Yahatustunagee of Okchay using his individual persuasive abilities to gather armed men around him and incite others to war was acting legitimately according to the standards of his society; individual leaders in other parts of the world, such as Mir Jafar or John Beckwith, sought legitimacy where they could get it. I thank Dr. Mark Charles Fissel for his formulation of the term 'entrepreneurial military competencies' and thank him, as well as Dr. David Graff of Kansas State University, for helping me think through these issues.

episodes from the Seven Years' War exemplify how the actions of leaders like these blended what historians now identify as the activities of coalition-making and operational-level command. Sometimes coalition dynamics even occurred at the tactical level thanks to the options and prerogatives that military entrepreneurs reserved for themselves, whether acting within, outside or alongside the boundaries of legitimacy. The campaign in Bengal during 1757 provides an example, where both Clive's and Siraj-ud-daulah's day-to-day operational-level calculations (and even tactical decisions) were shaped by the Siraj's suspicion and Clive's expectation of Mir Jafar's imminent changing of sides. The Victorian-era schoolbook image of Mir Jafar as irresolute and treacherous obscures his origins and the earlier part of his life during which his own initiative as a leader resulted in notable military and political successes. He arrived in Bengal in the 1740s as an obscure adventurer and soldier of fortune and acquired a reputation of personal bravery, tactical and operational skill and initiative as a commander in Alivardi Khan's army fighting against the Marathas during the 1740s.[51] Perhaps historians should look at his changing of sides at Plassey less as simple treachery and more as the choice of a *de facto* warlord who knew that political decisions sometimes coalesced even with tactical-level military decisions and exercised his options as he judged most expeditious. The outcome of Plassey depended on not just Clive's, Siraj's and Mir Jafar's decisions but the fact that Mir Jafar had at least some degree of personal loyalty from the troops under his command. Individual entrepreneurial military competencies built through personal loyalties and exercised in the field made and broke coalitions as much as the court politics behind the Diplomatic Revolution.

Other chapters in the present volume further illustrate how this theme played out in various parts of the world during the Seven Years' War. Ewa Anklam's chapter on the activities of light troops illustrates the porous nature of the zone between the regions controlled by rival armies operating in continental Europe. That porous nature gave individual officers options and meant their allegiances could be fluid. Perhaps a more synthetic understanding of the Seven Years' War as global conflict might arise if historians would look beyond the obvious differences of culture, military organization and political structures and find some parallels between men like Upper Creek leader Yahatustunagee of Okchay, the sometimes-British and sometimes-Prussian officer John Beckwith, and

[51] Roy, *Mir Jafar*, 2–8.

Mir Jafar. Indeed, each of these men might share at least something in common with the informal leader of some band of Portuguese peasant irregulars, or a Rohilla chief especially adept at raising troops to serve in the army of one or another Indian prince—men whose particular identities may be lost to western historians but who yet colored and shaped the course of the war. Known today or not, all of them displayed that sort of entrepreneurial military competency that shaped not only the operational course of the Seven Years' War, but the extremely dynamic nature of coalition functioning at all levels from the individual to the grand strategic. Simply counting these types of forces as proxies of a larger power obscures the degree to which their agency, and the political and military decisions of their leaders, shaped coalitions. Who fought with whom and who fought against whom during the Seven Years' War was a very complex matter, and the chapters in this volume draw out some of those complexities.

Power Projection

The nuances of coalition dynamics and the resulting challenges for answering the question of 'who fought in the Seven Years' War' exposes complexities on other themes. One such theme is power projection. Because the war was global, the ability of major powers to project power on the strategic level has always drawn some attention. Granted, the Seven Years' War was perhaps not the first conflict during which European powers sought to exercise political and military forces on the other side of the world.[52] Historians should recognize, however, the extent to which the Seven Years' War saw non-European powers project force by deploying fighting men far from home areas. They also should recognize the degree to which successful power projection by European powers in fact depended upon cooperation with non-Western allies. Matthew Ward's chapter shows the importance of the Native American peoples of the region the French called the *pays d'en haut* (Upper Country)—an area over 500 miles distant

[52] Julian Corbett's treatment of Britain's experience with global conflict, though over a century old, is still significant for its emphasis of a theme still critical for understanding the Seven Years' War: the importance of power projection, and the degree to which Great Britain and France sought to exert their state power literally around the world; Russian historians have also shown how the Seven Years' War marks Russia's success at power projection, or what John LeDonne calls "deep strategic penetrations", see LeDonne, *Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire*, 221–23.

from the main North American theaters, but the home of peoples such as the Ottawas and the Ojibwas. It is not enough to recognize that the French war effort depended upon fighting men willing to travel that far; one must also recognize that the Native American communities who sent them were in effect projecting their own power across considerable distances. Likewise, both sides during the war in South Asia benefitted from Maratha contingents. Indeed, the Maratha ability to exert military force far and wide across the Indian subcontinent is not only important because it facilitated British and French power projection, but testifies also to the importance of the individual Maratha chiefs who made the decision to enter the military employ of one company or the other and mobilize their fighting men accordingly. Additional parallels are apparent in Europe and suggest further the value of 'transeurasian' understandings of eighteenth-century warfare. Russian success depended not just on its successful deployment of regular forces but on the ability of the czarist government to draw upon Kalmyk and Cossack cavalry—forces composed of thousands of fighting men who rode a thousand miles from their homeland.[53] As Marian Füssel notes in his chapter, Cossack contingents in the Russian army were semi-autonomous forces. The complexity of coalition warfare becomes apparent when one considers that the categories of 'client people' and 'ally' overlapped ambiguously, just as in some cases earlier accounts misleadingly implied a subordinate status to an ally who in fact acted in its own interests, as is the case with France's Native American allies. Füssel's approach is also valuable for the potential it offers for historians who wish to think comparatively about irregular warfare in North America and in Eastern Europe during the eighteenth century. Füssel shows that regular forces—whether they encountered the Cossacks and Kalmyks as enemies, allies, or as supposed subordinates—viewed them through a lens of racial assumptions which in turn colored perceptions of their military ability. This reminds one of how Europeans and Euro-Americans saw Native American allies and opponents during the Seven Years' War. The fact that military and political leadership (and leaders' ability to mobilize forces) among the peoples of Russia's periphery depended upon influence and individual decision-making again highlights the complex relationship between the various elements of the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War'. The actions of various powers, whether

[53] On the Kalmyks, for example, see Michael Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met: the Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 220–23.

large, middling and small, in regional politics and diplomacy far from the fields of Rossbach, Minden, or Torgau connect to the importance of individual leadership and irregular forces in power projection. Around the world, power projection depended upon means of mobilizing fighting men far beyond just those of regular European armies and navies. Nicholas Tracy's chapter on the capture of Manila might also underscore this point. As Tracy shows, the operation was a remarkable example of projecting power literally to the other side of the globe. The combined East India Company and British government forces that assaulted Manila included a polyglot assemblage of fighting men of European, Asian and African descent and various combinations thereof. Moreover, the process of assembling it depended on coalition-making at lower levels. Though the Spanish defense was weak, the fact that it depended upon a garrison of Mexicans and Filipinos also testifies to the global nature of the conflict and the complexities of raising forces to serve in a far-reaching empire. The Seven Years' War was global because of the complex relationships between entrepreneurial military competencies, networks of varying alliance and enmity, and variegated levels of *de facto* sovereignty of region and community.

Supra-National Polities

Another reason why stating who fought whom is so complex depends upon yet another issue that traditional approaches to the war often do not sufficiently consider—the importance of supra-national polities. If dissonance between *de facto* and *de jure* sovereignty affects the question of 'who fought in the Seven Years' War' when it comes to various non-state actors, so too does that dissonance between *de facto* and *de jure* status in the matter of two regions in which supra-national polities still persisted in name if not in practical effect. In Europe, the Holy Roman Empire for centuries had not been an independent, discrete imperial power. Yet the imprimatur of Imperial authority still mattered, and indeed Imperial institutions remained important during the war. As Gunnar Åselius shows, secondary powers such as Sweden might invoke prerogatives and obligations held as a guarantor of the post-Westphalia settlement in the Empire when justifying a decision for war. During the negotiations leading up to the Diplomatic Revolution, the Duke of Newcastle for a time conceived of rejuvenating the Anglo-Austrian relationship by a scheme involving the Imperial election. Although ultimately unsuccessful, of course, it

showed that Imperial offices still mattered.[54] More than just Imperial authority mattered; indeed one Imperial institution still directly important for the operational conduct of the war was the Reichsarmee.[55] The clearest evidence of the importance of the Holy Roman Empire and its institutions during the Seven Years' War comes from Johannes Burkhardt's chapter; he shows that belligerents on both sides made use of Imperial institutions to advance policy, with the effect that an overt religious dimension of the Austro-Prussian conflict was downplayed. Thus the Holy Roman Empire, although not a discrete state in quite the same way as France, Austria or Prussia, was still a political entity with a government of sorts that functioned and mattered during the war.

One can find a parallel in South Asia. In that region, the Mughal Empire had by the middle decades of the eighteenth century ceased to function as a unified imperial state able to exert real authority over the entirety of its territory.[56] Yet the badge of Mughal authority still meant a great deal to combatants. Moreover, the collection of Imperial revenue that G.J. Bryant shows was so important for both sides' operation-level decision-making in India was an explicitly Mughal institution. Therefore although most historians, when asked to identify the powers that fought in the Seven Years' War, would include neither 'The Mughal Empire' nor 'The Holy Roman Empire' among them, those two nominal polities still exercised an effect on the lining up of coalitions and on the operational-level conduct of the war.

Belligerents As Coalitions

The matter of supra-national polities in the question of 'who fought in the Seven Years' War' raises the issue of which belligerents were discretely identifiable polities. Perhaps historians should consider whether some belligerents were intelligible as entities only when one considers each such belligerent a coalition itself. Consider the Anglo-French conflict.

---

[54] Schumann and Schweizer, *The Seven Years War*, 33–34.

[55] The Reichsarmee figures in Franz A.J. Szabo's account of the war in Europe, Szabo, *Seven Years War in Europe*, 84–87, 130–31, 175–77, 241–45, 312–13, 393–94, 414–15, et. al.; also see John G. Gagliardo, *Reich and Nation: The Holy Roman Empire as Idea and Reality, 1763–1806* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 35–39.

[56] The nominal Mughal emperor was by the 1750s in practical terms at best able to act as one of a number of regional rulers or warlords, which is a description that perhaps better fits Shah Alam II during his attacks on the domains of Britain's ally Mir Jafar during 1759–1760.

Was that dimension of the Seven Years' War between 'Britain' and 'France'? Although Britons and Frenchmen fought around the globe, only some of them were bearing arms on behalf of the British and French states. On a practical level, the 'Britain' that fought France was a coalition of sorts consisting of the state of Great Britain and the various North American colonies, the East India Company, and other *de facto* polities. The fact that each of the latter enjoyed a kind of semi-autonomy on a practical level meant that the forces actually fighting Britain's enemies were only incompletely responsible to the British state and subject to its authority only by varying degrees. Historians have long recognized the importance of tension between colonial governments and London during the Seven Years' War, or the tensions between the East India Company's directors and the British government. The East India Company's directors faced the challenge of trying to coordinate the quasi-independent Presidencies, whose councils were sometimes at odds over strategic priorities during the Seven Years' War. Yet introductions and conclusions of books on the Seven Years' War still refer to 'Britain' when discussing the course and especially the overall outcome of the war, implying that some single, unitary power as the main combatant in North America, India and other theaters. There is clearly some justification for recognizing the degree to which the British state, especially under William Pitt, did wage a global war, managing the various subgroups over which it was sovereign. Still, the fact that Whitehall was not always in accord on strategic military matters with colonial governments nor with the East India Company should prompt historians to recognize that the concepts of coalition warfare apply to the collective efforts of various polities—subject in *de jure* terms to one authority but semi-autonomous in reality—just as they apply to the collective efforts of various European courts united to one degree or another against a rival coalition. Likewise, one might take a similar approach to the relationship between St. Petersburg and the regions from which it drew its Cossack and Kalmyk forces. Indeed, Marian Füssel's analysis would justify this interpretation.

Recognizing that coalition dynamics applied at multiple levels also helps illustrate the complexity of a related issue addressed above—that of assessing which overlapping regional conflicts or parts therefore should be considered part of the Seven Years' War. The case of the British East India Company's wide-ranging political and military commitments during the 1750s-1760s illustrates this point particularly well. That the Company's war in the Carnatic should be considered part of the Seven Years' War is not in doubt; yet the near simultaneous campaign in Bihar

against Shah Alam II, the fighting in the Persian Gulf, and the campaign in Oudh that ended with the battle of Buxar are more problematic, as noted above. It is, therefore, not enough for historians of the Seven Years' War to think about coalitions as simply the lining up of some states on one side or the other. Who fought whom, and who fought alongside whom, was a complicated question and the essays in this volume touch on some of the resultant complexities.

Challenges of Raising Human Resources

The complexity of coalition dynamics and defining 'who' fought in the Seven Years' War exposes another theme that runs through several chapters in this volume: the strategic-level importance of human resources for the belligerents who fought during the 1750s-1760s. Historians have long pointed to states' ability to raise resources as crucial for success in war during the eighteenth century.[57] The diversity of means by which the participants raised their forces demonstrates that the Seven Years' War was a war of human resources as much as of financial resources. Historians of the Seven Years' War know of the concept that manpower shortages limited strategic options in the familiar case of Frederick II.[58] Yet there are parallels across regions and cultures worth the attention of those interested in global warfare, as the chapters in this book show. Everywhere belligerent and neutral powers, large and small, found their options constrained, their interests affected, and opportunities given not just by the availability of money, but the availability of people. To be certain, money and manpower were connected, as the historians of the Military Revolution in early modern Europe have long shown. Yet they were in others ways as well. G.J. Bryant shows that Europeans' conduct of campaigns in South Asia both depended upon and was in turn shaped by the collection of the Mughal revenue—an institution that did not arise from the Military Revolution in Europe.

The complexity of coalition-making meant that the Seven Years' War was far more than a war of regular armies. Historians have been quick to identify the importance of irregular warfare in North America, but rarely go as far to recognize that around the world during the mid-eighteenth

[57] The best-known example is perhaps found in John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 165–217.

[58] Dennis Showalter, *The Wars of Frederick the Great* (New York: Longman, 1996), 299–300.

century larger powers depended not just on regularly raised forces subject to state authority, but whoever they could convince through money, personal connections or anything else to bring a body of armed men ready to fight. Often these men, of course, were those military entrepreneurs mentioned above, but some powers during the mid eighteenth century depended on these kind of arrangements on the macro and well as micro levels. This phenomenon demonstrates further the value of Virginia Aksan's chapter on the Ottoman situation during the war, and connects well with Matt Schumann's and Karl Schweizer's recent assessment of the connection between Ottoman neutrality and wartime diplomatic maneuvers among the belligerent powers. Schumann and Schweizer mention the Porte's calculation that its military potential during the 1750s-early 1760s was not of sufficient strength to make war a viable grand-strategic option. Aksan shows more closely why this was so and how Ottoman military power had come to depend upon regional armies, raised locally by regional governors and that the resultant limitations therefore helped influence Ottoman policymakers to remain neutral rather than choose military options. Aksan's analysis is especially useful for historians desiring a more global context for the war. Ottoman capabilities may have been too limited to give the Porte a military option during the 1750s-early 1760s, but other powers faced similar concerns. South Asian rulers like Siraj-ud-daulah relied—to their strategic detriment—on forces that bore some resemblance to the regional paramilitary forces of the Ottomans.[59] That military infrastructure constrained Siraj's options just as it expanded the options of *de facto* warlords like Mir Jafar. The importance of overlapping regional conflicts and the complexity and mutability of coalition dynamics both in turn connect, therefore, to the importance of the variety of means by which eighteenth-century powers around the world used to find bodies of armed men to pursue policy.

Other examples of the importance of human resources come from North America. Historians should recall that one main area of dispute that kept the Anglo-French peace negotiations stalled the longest during the closing years of the war regarded France's right to operate commercial fishing vessels in the waters off Newfoundland. Their significance was not so much owing to the fish, but owing to the fact that these commercial

[59] On Ottoman hesitancy to resort to military options see Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years War*, 182–83; on possible South Asian parallels to the limitations of Ottoman regional paramilitary forces, see for instance Ratan Dasgupta, "Mercenaries and the Political Economy of Bengal: 1727–63", *Social Scientist* 13 (4) (April 1985): 17–30.

operations served as a training ground for seamen.[60] James Searing's chapter shows that the desire for skilled 'unfree' riverine labor in Africa was a driving force for conflict in the Senegal region during the Seven Years' War. Maintaining an eighteenth-century European army required not just masses of troops, but officers with technical skills as Ewa Anklam's chapter indicates. Indeed finding and keeping these men could be a 'bottleneck' of sorts for European armies.

Moreover, regular armies in European states did not always function as state authorities hoped that they would—a phenomenon that also highlights the human resources issue. Julia Osman's chapter is particularly important in this regard. By showing that French officers in North America at times prioritized their perceived need to obtain recognition and further careers over strategic and operational military concerns, Osman provides an example of how regular officer corps (supposedly one of the important results of the 'Military Revolution') often brought together men whose personal objectives did not always coincide with those of the state. In this respect, Osman's chapter is mutually complementary with Patrick Speelman's analysis of the campaign in Portugal and Gunnar Åselius' account and analysis of Swedish participation during the Seven Years' War. For in both Portugal and Sweden, officers' actual priorities had to do often with social standing and personal political advancement more than organizing to fight the enemy. Likewise, this editor's own chapter on the British political press and military thought during the war shows that British Army officers thought and wrote about war in a highly politicized context. Those who commanded armies during the eighteenth century had to think about more than just actually fighting wars. Moreover, Armstrong Starkey's explanation of the attention the Enlightenment-era writers like Guibert paid to issues of how armies should raise troops and how they should be treated underscores further the importance of manpower issues. Such a theme is certainly not unique to the Seven Years' War, but it deserves attention. Traditionally the theme of divergence between the perspectives of military officers and other agents of the state has been applied in understanding the low regard in which some British regular officers held American provincial troops.[61] Yet this was just one

[60] Szabo, *Seven Years War in Europe*, 348–50, 354–55, 374–75; Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 2: 179–80, 190–93; Schumann and Schweizer, *The Seven Years War*, 194, 196, 198.

[61] Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 111–41.

example of some parts of a military machine not always functioning quite like other parts—or the central state authorities—wanted them to function. French defense against the British coastal raids during 1758 depended in part, for example, on militia forces and coast-guard forces, the personnel of which were not always enthusiastic supporters of the central government.[62] Perhaps a more global perspective should recognize that around the world those who made the decisions for war and peace had at their hands only imperfect instruments of policy—and this applied whether the decision-makers were monarchs and ministers of European states, Mughal nawabs, Ottoman viziers, or simply some *de facto* warlord about to become embroiled in a regional conflict or even just a village headman somewhere wondering whether he could convince the principal warriors of his community to follow the policy he thought best.

Is there are clear formula for resolving the conceptual 'Problem of the Seven Years' War'? Perhaps there is not. Historians must, nevertheless, keep seeking it. They must conceptualize this wide-ranging conflict not only as decisive for the development of America, the British Empire and the constellation of European states but as a conflagration that brought together, cooperatively and violently, peoples from around the globe who, even as they differed widely in socio-political organization and military means, shared some similar concerns about how to employ armed force in pursuit of policy. Where power actually resided, and at what level someone could make a decision for war or peace was neither clear-cut nor immutable. The complexity of the questions of what the Seven Years' War was and who fought in it should remind historians that by no means was European dominance in the world assured by the middle decades of the eighteenth century. And even though some belligerents' feats at strategic power projection during the Seven Years' War should still impress, the world was still a very large place. The Seven Years' War was as much the war of men like John Beckwith, Serowe of Estatoe, and Kalymk, Rohilla, or Portuguese peasant leaders whose names have gone unrecorded as it was of the Prussian and Austrian officers who led their regiments at Prague, Kolin or Leuthen. Although the essays in this volume do not have all the answers to the 'Problem of the Seven Years' War', the editors earnestly hope that in aggregate they at least convey the point that the very global nature of the conflict calls for rethinking categories and basic concepts of war, peace, alliance, enmity and decision-making in early modern warfare.

---

[62] For this subject see Hopkin, Lagadec and Perréon, "The Experience and Culture of War in the Eighteenth Century," 195–99.

CHAPTER ONE

FREDERICK THE GREAT AND THE FIRST 'WORLD' WAR

Jürgen Luh
Translated by Charlotte Masemann

"Everyone knows," wrote the Prussian king in July 1757, "that the turmoil that is agitating Europe has its beginnings in America, that the struggle that has broken out between the English and the French about the cod fishery and unknown areas of Canada has given the impetus to the bloody war that sends our part of the world into sorrow. This war was so far removed from the possessions of the German princes that it is difficult to see how the conflagration can reach from one part of the world to another that seemingly has no connections with it. Thanks to the statecraft of our century there is no current conflict in the world, be it ever so small, that cannot reach into and divide all of Christendom in a short time."[1] The Prussian king emphasizes that the war broke out in North America because it was he who allowed the first shot to be fired in Europe on 29 August 1756. After 1740, when he had fallen upon Silesia with his troops for the sake of glory and thus unleashed the War of the Austrian Succession, Frederick did not want to be seen again as a breaker of the peace in the eyes of the world.

For this reason he had tried before he marched his troops into Saxony to transfer the blame for the outbreak of war onto his opponents, in the first instance to Austria. On 27 July, 21 August and 2 September 1756 Frederick's ambassador in Vienna, Joachim Wilhelm von Klinggräffen, was obliged to ask Empress Maria Theresa whether the obvious Austrian armaments that were known to Potsdam were set up against Prussia.[2] Theodor Schieder writes correctly that "the purpose of these provoking interventions was

---

[1] Frederick the Great, *Die Werke Friedrichs des Grossen in deutscher Übersetzung*, 10 vols., eds. Gustav Berthold Volz and Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski (Berlin: R. Hobbing, 1913–14), 3: 209ff.

[2] See *Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Grossen* (hereafter *PC*), eds. Johann Gustav Droysen, Max Duncker, Heinrich v. Sybel, Albert Naudé, et al., 47 vols. (Berlin: A. Duncker 1879–2003), 13: 163 (No. 7795), 278f. (No. 7914) and 373ff. (No. 8017).

certainly not to gain accommodating and reassuring answers, but rather to draw statements out of the Empress that could be interpreted as acknowledgements of responsibility."[3] In actual fact the king had already, on 2 August, after the reply to the first request had reached Potsdam, let it be known to Field Marshals Kurt Christoph von Schwerin and James Francis Edward Keith, as well as his brother August Wilhelm, the Prince of Prussia, that he was not considering beginning military operations until the 25th. "There is a great deal of talk of war", as an officer in the circle of the king noted in his diary.[4] The king had also written to Lieutenant-General von Rochow on 22 August, in order to "most graciously assign him command in the royal palace in Berlin during the war,"[5] and on 26 August he told his heir, his brother August Wilhelm that "the sword alone" could decide the current situation.[6] In other words, Frederick's campaign was a foregone conclusion, well before he could have received final word from Vienna. Along with the third and last instruction to Klinggräffen the command was issued to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick "now with all the regiments and corps of the columns standing under his command without further niceties to set out from Halle on 29 August and to cross the Saxon border."[7]

"In order to deflect the odium of being the aggressor",[8] Frederick in addition justified his political behavior in several memoirs. He had his great apologia, already existing in August 1756, sent out to all diplomatic representatives in the middle of September and even had it translated into English in order to explain his behavior to the British public. In this "Explanation of the reasons that caused his Majesty the King of Prussia to pre-empt the attacks by the court of Vienna," Frederick presented his approach as a reaction to a conspiracy against Prussia. He therefore carefully and sophistically differentiated between the true and the apparent aggressor: the king explained, "we understand an attack to be an act that is diametrically opposed to the meaning of a peace treaty. An offensive league, stirring up and urging on towards war against another power; plans

---

[3] Theodor Schieder, *Friedrich der Grosse: Ein Königtum der Widersprüche* (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Vienna: Propyläen Verlag, 1983), 181f.

[4] *PC* 13: 163, note 1.

[5] *PC* 13: 258ff. (No. 7890).

[6] *Briefwechsel Friedrichs des Grossen mit seinem Bruder Prinz August Wilhelm,* ed. and with an introduction by Gustav Berthold Volz, Deutsch von Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski (Leipzig: K.F. Koehler, 1927), 266.

[7] *PC* 13: 280f. (No. 7916); see also Reinhold Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1893), 1: 602. The message to Schwerin 602.

[8] Schieder, *Friedrich der Grosse*, 181.

to overrun the state of another prince; a sudden invasion: all of these different things are equally attacks, although only the sudden invasion presents open hostility. Whoever forestalls these attacks can commit open enmity, but is not the aggressor."[9]

Frederick's intent to transfer the responsibility for the war to Maria Theresa and to acquit himself of all guilt failed, however. The contemporary European public gave little credence to his justificatory writings and posterity, apart from the admirers of the king who wanted to put him morally in the right, also saw Frederick as the person who had unleashed the war. It did the king no good to lay out the three 'dramatic' appearances of Klinggräffen in Vienna in his favor and to try and prove that the instability of Maria Theresa's answers left him no option other than to begin a campaign. Frederick had been obviously the first one on the European continent to reach for his weapons, and it was this, all of his written record to the contrary notwithstanding, that counted in the eyes of the world. This fact has also hidden from view that the war in North America, the war in Europe and soon also on the coast of Africa, in the Caribbean and in Asia, can hardly be separated from one another.

The king did not actually have it wrong in his statement of 1757 "that the turmoil that is agitating Europe has its beginnings in America." Thus, contrary to the statement in German and almost all European histories of the war, the Seven Years' War did not begin on 29 August 1756 with the invasion of Saxony by Prussian troops. It broke out – undeclared – more than two years beforehand, in the border area of British and French Canada, between Lake Erie and the Allegheny Mountains, on 28 May 1754. On this bleak day a small troop of English soldiers and their Indian allies under the command of George Washington from Virginia and the "Half King" of the great Iroquois nation, Tanaghrisson, met a division of French soldiers under the leadership of Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville.

Fred Anderson has vividly described this event in the prologue of his broad-scale and detailed work *Crucible of War*:

> As always in such affairs, no one knows exactly what happened next. Perhaps, as the French later said, the English fired on them without warning. Or perhaps, as Washington maintained, a Frenchman shouted a warning that sent his comrades flying to their arms and firing up into the woods. All that is certain is that the English fired two volleys down into the hollow while the French returned a few ragged shots and tried to retreat into the shelter of the trees. But there was no escape. The Half King's warriors had

[9] Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1900), 24.

> blocked the path, forcing the thirty-odd Frenchmen back into the clearing, where English fire pinned them down. An officer called for quarter, and Washington ordered his men to cease firing. Perhaps ten minutes had passed since the first shot.[10]

It was a one-sided engagement. The British had one dead and three wounded to mourn, while the losses of the French numbered at least fourteen men. Among the wounded was also their commander, the thirty-five-year-old Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville. Since he spoke no English, he had one of his soldiers translate that he came with peaceful intent as an envoy to ask the British to withdraw from the territories of the very Christian majesty Louis XV, the French King. A letter which he had on him would prove his word and would explain all. Washington, however, did not properly understand the words of the translator. He therefore took the letter and went off to study it in peace. He had scarcely turned his back on Jumonville when Tanaghrisson took his battleaxe and split the French officer's skull. Finally the Half King's warriors killed all the remaining French wounded. Washington let him get on with it. He was not in a position to stop him. He and his men marched the remaining enemy combatants back to their camp, Fort Necessity. A few weeks later he had to yield to a French force of superior numbers, led by Nicolas Antoine Coulon de Villiers, Jumonville's brother on 3 July 1754. The French had come to avenge the death of their emissary and to seize or destroy the British fort: "The volley fired by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America set the world on fire" stated Horace Walpole, the youngest son of the British Prime Minister Robert Walpole and the great British chronicler of the years 1745 to 1772 (along with Frederick the Great) in retrospect.

The skirmish between the forces of Washington and Jumonville was the culmination of the British-French rivalry for influence and power in North America after the end of the War of the Austrian Succession. Since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 both Great Britain and France had made great efforts to extend and to reinforce their claims to America.[11] In this context and arising out of their experience of war it was very important for the British first of all to set up on their own side something in opposition to the strong French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. They therefore began in 1749 to make Halifax in Nova Scotia into a large and

---

[10] Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Year's War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 6.

[11] See Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War* (Lincoln, London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 12–19.

strongly fortified naval base. The French in response had concentrated on extending their power inland. Soon after the conclusion of peace they had begun to build new trading posts and forts (among which were La Belle Famille, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, Machault and Duquesne) in order to provide a link between their possession in Canada and Louisiana and thus to confine the British area of influence to the territories along the Atlantic coast.

The French governor, the Marquis de Galissonière, laid out as maxims of trade that free and secure communication between the colonies was absolutely necessary and must be maintained no matter what, since "this chain, once broken, would leave an opening of which the English would doubtless take advantage."[12] In order to substantiate French claims of legal sovereignty, Galissonière sent Captain Pierre-Joseph Céleron de Blainville on an expedition in 1749 in order to have lead plates, which claimed French ownership, buried at strategically important locations. As a result of these measures, a large number of French settlers were moved to the Ohio Valley, while at the same time the soldiers of Louis XV gradually dislodged British inhabitants, traders and trappers from the area between Lake Erie and the Allegheny Mountains.

Great Britain saw that its colonies were being threatened by this French approach and that it itself was being challenged. Therefore instructions came from London to the governors of the colonies to prevent the building of French forts in the area which the British regarded as their territory, stating:

> In case the subjects of any Foreign Prince and State should presume to make any encroachments on the limits of His Majesty's dominions, or erect Forts on His Majesty's Land, or commit any other act of hostility you are immediately, to represent the injustice of such proceeding, and require them forthwith to desist from any such unlawful undertaking.[13]

If this did not occur, the governors were permitted to use force. At approximately the same time as this directive went out from the British government, the Six Nations, the federation of great Indian tribes, who regarded the Ohio Valley as their territory, asked the British to begin a war jointly against the French in order to drive them out of there. Tanaghrisson, the chief of the Ohio Senecas, represented to the British to this end the great

---

[12] Ronald J. Dale, *The Fall of New France: How the French Lost a North American Empire 1754–1763* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 2004), 13.

[13] Ibid, 16.

danger that the French posed. Both the instruction and the request had the consequence that the governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, recruited a small troop under Joshua Fry, George Washington and William Trent, which was meant to erect a new fort at the forks of the Ohio in order to stop the French advance. The French, who arrived at that location a short time later, were however more numerous. They forced the division under Captain Trent into retreat and shortly afterwards built the strong Fort Duquesne from the redoubt begun by the British. Washington's platoon that met Jumonville's troop had been intended to support Trent.

Reports of all these events reached Europe and the political nerve centres of Paris and London only slowly. The news of the skirmish on 28 May and of the ultimate capitulation of Washington to the French on 3 June got to Whitehall only three months later, at the beginning of September 1754. Reaction to it was clear: We will not hesitate, stated the British Secretary of State for the Southern Department and later First Lord of the Treasury, Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle, on 5 September, to take the correct measures in order to defend ourselves and to reclaim the lost territories:

> All North America will be lost if These Practices are tolerated; And no War can be worse to This Country than Suffering of Such Insults as these. The Truth is, the French claim almost all North America, and from whence they may drive us whenever They Please, or as soon as There shall be a Declar'd War. But that is What We must not, We will not suffer: And I hope We shall forthwith take such Measures … as will, for the future, put the labouring Oar, and the Complaint, upon Them.[14]

Newcastle had believed for some time that a swift and decisive military blow in North America would avoid a general war between France and Great Britain.[15] In order to put this plan into play, however, he was dependent on the help of the Duke of Cumberland, the favorite son of George II and at this time the most influential military leader in Great Britain. Cumberland, however, had no interest in a limited action. He wanted to drive the French out of North America completely and therefore to attack their strongholds simultaneously and on a massive scale in four locations: one expedition was to advance on the forts in the Ohio Valley, another to destroy Fort Niagara on Lake Ontario, a third to take over Fort Frédéric and a fourth finally to annihilate the French fortification on the isthmus

[14] Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 67.
[15] Ibid.

of Nova Scotia. In addition a British fleet was to block the mouth of the St. Lawrence River in order to hinder troop transports from France. The Duke accepted a war with France without misgivings. With the aid of the Minister of War Henry Fox he was successful in putting his plan into action. On 16 January 1755 General Edward Braddock, who had been named as commander in chief of all British troops in America, left Ireland with two infantry regiments (the 44th and 48th), with sufficient officers to muster and deploy two further regiments, as well as with baggage train. One month later he arrived in Virginia.

These plans of the British cabinet to escalate the conflict in North America were known at the French court by the autumn of 1754. The ministry in Paris began for its part to organize an increase in the troops in Canada. In addition the French government intensified its diplomatic activities: in an attempt to gain time for military preparations for a war with Great Britain, and in particular for the building of a fleet, Paris sought direct negotiations with the government in London.[16] They wanted to convince Whitehall to set up a neutral zone south of the Great Lakes in the contested territory between the Allegheny Mountains and Wabash River. Going in the right direction to expand its own political options, the French government in 1755 also undertook secret talks with Austria with the view to neutralizing this traditional ally of Great Britain's and to pry it out of the British alliance system.

The idea of changing the time-honored European system of alliances, which would mean no less than a French-Austrian alliance, initially sprang from Vienna. After the unpopular Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 the understanding had reached the court there that it would make sense in order to reach its own political goals, to divide Paris and Potsdam. To this end Vienna had already put out feelers towards Versailles in 1749. Thus in July "the legation Secretary-Mareschal was sent as the precursor of an ambassador and was entrusted to use every opportunity to emphasize the genuine desire of the Empress [Maria Theresa] for an understanding, and to warn against Prussian activities."[17] At the beginning of November 1750 the later Chancellor and great architect of his nation's fate Wenzel Anton Kaunitz was sent as ambassador to France. Nevertheless the negotiations that Kaunitz led in 1751 remained without result. The idea, however, of an

---

[16] See Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War,* 45–49.

[17] See Max Braubach, *Versailles und Wien von Ludwig XIV. bis Kaunitz. Die Vorstadien der diplomatischen Revolution im 18. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: L. Röhrscheid, 1952), 404–52, on French-Austrian dealings. The quotation is from 407.

agreement between both Catholic crowns was not abandoned. The contacts made then were now reactivated.

A direct look at French preparations and British operations makes it evident that already at the beginning of 1755 the war between France and Great Britain could scarcely be avoided, and certainly at the latest after the middle of 1755, when the French ambassador Charles de Levis, Duc de Mirepoix, left the court of St. James, "furiously", so the story goes; after this it was known in France that a British fleet had attacked a French convoy in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the middle of "peace", and had captured two ships.[18]

The way things stood then, a war between France and Great Britain did not necessarily mean a war as well on the European continent. This was closely allied with two facts – with the personal connection that existed between Great Britain and the Electorate of Hanover, since George II, like his father George I, insisted that Great Britain must defend his home Electorate of Hanover in case of war. This precept was a firm element of British policy. As a consequence, England had traditionally allied itself on the continent with the Netherlands and Austria in order to protect Hanover from possible attacks from its great opponents, France, and France's ally Prussia.[19] The Dutch wanted, however, to stay out of the current conflict and the Austrians would rather be fighting for Silesia, lost to the Prussians, than for England concerning Hanover, Flanders or the Rhine.

Moreover, the suspense-packed political situation in Europe after the War of the Austrian Succession meant that war in the American colonies resulted in war in Europe as well. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended this wide-ranging conflict, had really only procured a superficial peace. Below the surface important demands and ideas of the different parties were not answered by the treaty: "By basically restoring the status quo, it solved none of Europe's international problems." Indeed, just after the peace was made, the French foreign minister Antoine-Louis Rouillé and the Duke of Newcastle wished to avoid the outbreak of further war, but "neither was optimistic that it was likely". In addition a significant element was the absorption of Silesia into the Prussian state, which to the minds of all parties was not final, and which allowed for later tensions and

---

[18] See Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War,* 26–39.

[19] See Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory. The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War 1757–1762*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3f.

indeed enabled the outbreak of a new war in Europe. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and the previous Prussian-Austrian Treaty of Dresden truly represented "a mere armistice in an ongoing mid-century conflict."[20]

King Frederick himself believed that his occupation of Silesia was by no means secure. In autumn 1749 he hazarded that peace in Europe would last for five years; In the summer of 1750 he was talking about four or five years. "After the passage of this time he would doubtless see himself attacked unless some event stayed the hands of the Austrians."[21] He thus wrote his brother and heir August Wilhelm in 1753:

> Vous croyez donc, mon cher frère, qu'il n'est pas impossible que l'envie de nos ennemis ne nous suscite une guerre? J'en suis bien aise, cela a toujours été mon opinion. Je ne dis pas que cet évènement est proch, mais je peux assurer positivement qu'il arrivera, et alors tout dépendra des conjonctures: si nous avons autant d'alliés que d'ennemis, nous nous tirerons d'embarras avec honneur, par la bonté de notre discipline et par l'avantage que la promptitude donne sur la lenteur.[22]

The Prussian king was bracing himself for having to pursue another war in the second half of the 1750s in order to secure his Silesian acquisitions, and he worked both politically and militarily towards creating advantageous conditions under which he and his state could achieve this. In this he saw Austria as his principal opponent, and in Russia another antagonist to which he would do well to pay attention.

In Vienna as well there had been thoughts since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle concerning how to alter the map of central Europe to Austria's advantage after the disadvantageous terms of the peace. In 1749 Kaunitz described the state and goals of Austrian foreign policy in the following manner:

> Not to get over the loss of Silesia and to regard the King of Prussia as the greatest, most dangerous and most intransigent enemy of the serene house of Austria; Also on this side to pay our first, greatest and most diligent care, to how to repudiate the enemy activities of this king and to secure ourselves, but also to how he can be weakened, his power reduced and how the lost territories can be returned.[23]

---

[20] See Franz A.J. Szabo, *The Seven Years' War in Europe 1756–1763* (Harlow & New York: Pearson/Longman, 2008). The quotations are from 8, 11 and 8f.

[21] *PC* 7: 142f. (No. 3935); *PC* 8: 410 (No. 4369); Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse,* 1: 558.

[22] *PC* 9: 351 (No. 5785).

[23] *Denkschrift des Grafen Kaunitz zur mächtepolitischen Konstellation nach dem Aachener Frieden von 1748*, ed. Reiner Pommerin and Lothar Schilling, in *Expansion und Gleichgewicht. Studien zur europäischen Mächtepolitik des ancien régime*, ed. Johannes Kunisch (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1986), 165–239, quotation 208.

In his analysis of political relations in Europe Kaunitz counted on the fact "that the interests of the French and English states would run directly counter to one another, and that jealousy on either side would go on for a long time even after the peace." He was already reckoning at this early date that in the future political interest supported by confessional similarities would unite England with Prussia and Austria with France.[24] In order for Austria to face the danger emanating from Prussia and to set up a political and military basis for regaining Silesia, under his leadership Austrian diplomacy began to work on an alliance with France. Count Kaunitz was also considering gaining Russia for a war against Prussia.[25]

In Russia Count Alexander Petrovich Bestuzhev-Ryumin, who had risen to be Grand Chancellor under Tsarina Elizabeth, was the driving force in politics. The Grand Chancellor was of the opinion after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

> that Prussia exceeded its natural bounds by its conquest of Silesia and thereby had become an ambitious expansionist power and a danger to Russia. That a preventative war against Prussia was necessary to reduce the power of Frederick was equally axiomatic to him, and it only remained to find a suitable *casus foederis*.[26]

Indeed he gradually gained support for his goals from the Tsarina and from important political circles in St. Petersburg. During the War of the Austrian Succession Bestuzhev had wanted to enter the war on the side of the Habsburgs against the Prussians, but before it could come to that, Vienna was forced to conclude the Peace of Dresden with Frederick in 1745. In 1749 the Grand Chancellor hoped to find a pretext for war against Prussia in the plans of Frederick's sister Louise Ulrike, the Queen of Sweden. The Queen wished to subvert the parliamentary system of her country, in order to extend the power of the monarchy. These hopes were dashed when the Prussian king strongly dissuaded his sister from putting her plans into practice. Nevertheless, in 1755 Bestuzhev was on the verge of being successful in his policy. Government circles were heading for a preventive war against Prussia.[27] The government in St. Petersburg meant to

---

[24] Ibid., 181; see also 180,187 and 198–202.

[25] Ibid., 193f.

[26] Szabo, *The Seven Years' War in Europe*, 10f. Szabo summarizes the Russian position briefly and well.

[27] For details on Bestuzhev's policies see Walther Mediger, *Moskaus Weg nach Europa: Der Aufstieg Russlands zum europäischen Machtstaat im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen* (Braunschweig: G. Westermann, 1952), 582–627, especially 308f. and 474.

meet the requirements of this war with the conclusion of a subsidy treaty with England with extraordinarily advantageous terms for Russia.[28]

In order to retain Austria as an ally and to distract Russia's attention from Hanover, Newcastle made this treaty with Russia at the beginning of 1755. According to this agreement the Tsarist government would receive £100,000 sterling in subsidies in peacetime and £500,000 in war. In return Russia would keep an army of 50,000 to 70,000 men on its western border and if necessary would have it march into East Prussia.[29] At the beginning of this year Newcastle was not yet thinking of a British-Prussian alliance. He acted within the structures of existing alliances and proceeded from the assumption that an impending war in East Prussia would prevent the King of Prussia from sending soldiers to Hanover. Newcastle soon came to the realization, however, that neither Austria, nor Russia, nor the smaller German territories such as Hessen-Kassel or Braunschweig, with whom he was negotiating, would be able to prevent France's army from occupying Hanover. For that he needed a stronger ally on the continent – and because of both political and geographical position only Prussia presented itself. It was thus only logical to give up the alliance with Austria, as indeed occurred in August 1755. It also only made sense from the British point of view, if those in St. Petersburg could not live with an English-Prussian agreement, to abandon Russia as an ally and replace it with Prussia.

In 1755 all European powers, even Russia, were officially speaking about peace. Unofficially and secretly all of Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and France, however, were counting on war in Europe and one power, Russia, wanted to wage it. One can therefore see, in the British-French conflict overseas, the sparks that were able to ignite the explosive mixture of dissatisfaction, thoughts of revenge and positions of denial that filled the courts and ministries.

Frederick II's instructions to his ambassadors reflect the general political climate between Paris and London as far as it was known in Berlin and Potsdam. Frederick's biographer Reinhold Koser notes that "At the beginning of February it seemed to him [the king] that everything was likely to come to an uneventful conclusion: on the 14th of February he was willing to bet ten to one that both parties eventually would end up in a state of war, based on the ever increasing arms race, without wanting it or knowing how it happened. Again at the beginning of March he greeted a new

---

[28] Walther Mediger, "Friedrich der Große und Rußland," in *Friedrich der Große in seiner Zeit*, eds. Oswald Hauser und Peter Baumgart (Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau, 1987) 109–36, 116.

[29] Anderson, *The Crucible of War,* 127.

and milder turn, which "he wholeheartedly hoped was a sign of a lasting European peace;" the very next entry saw the break as "unavoidable". This last impression held. On 6 April […] [the Cabinet Secretary] Eichel wrote to [Foreign Minister] Count Podewils: "From the reports that came in with today's post His Royal Majesty judges that war between France and England is certain and as good as declared, and was indeed imminent."[30]

Frederick was aware that Prussia would become entangled in this war; as we have seen, he counted on it – it was only a question whether this would take place on England's or France's side and when the war would reach Europe. In the first instance the king leaned towards the side of France. Frederick said in an audience in April 1755 to the ambassador from the court of Versailles, Chevalier de Latouche:

> Do you know, my lord, what conclusion I would reach in the current situation, were I the King of France? I would, as soon as war was declared or as soon as the English had undertaken an act of enmity against France, march a considerable force of troops to Westphalia, in order to hurl it immediately at Hanover.[31]

This answer found ready ears in Paris, where people had been considering such an action for a long time. Nevertheless "one urges the campaign against Hanover with the hope that the King of Prussia would keep this part of operations entirely to himself," as the French foreign minister Rouillé confided to the Prussian ambassador von Knyphausen.[32] In order to comply with this request, however, Austria and Russia would have to appear on the scene against Prussia as a result of the alliance situation. This was known in Paris and Frederick knew that people were observing this there – and this made him mistrustful. The consequence of this French behavior was his turning away from Paris and towards London.

At the beginning of July Frederick heard from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick that the court of Brunswick was now receiving British subsidies so that it would not join France; shortly afterwards he heard that London was also in agreement with Hesse-Kassel. Frederick concluded from this "that England wanted to wage war much more in Europe than it did on the ocean".[33] The British-Russian subsidy treaty of 30 September confirmed this assessment in his mind. Unofficially he knew of this on 20 November; officially the Secretary of State for the Northern Department,

---

30 Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse,* 1: 571.
31 Ibid., 572.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 575.

Robert d'Arcy, the Duke of Holdernesse, on order of King George II, gave the secretary of the Prussian legation in London, Abraham Ludwig Michell a copy of the treaty on 26 November. In addition to this gesture of faith, Holdernesse also offered to renew the English guarantee for Silesia. The king accepted this offer "avec plaisir" and then considered concluding "un traité de neutralité pour l'Allemagne."[34]

It is generally held that Frederick's fear of Russia was the reason for entering into the British advances of the summer of 1755 and ultimately for concluding the Convention of Westminster on 16 January 1756. He would rather have known that the Russians were on his side. This conjecture is based upon a conversation between the king and the Duke of Nivernais that took place after the convention was signed. Frederick is meant to have said, quite ingenuously that "he was ashamed to admit it, that he was afraid of the Russians."[35] But that was just play-acting. It was neither fear of a Russian attack nor of the enormous Russian army that had Frederick entering into an alliance with England. The king had a low opinion of the Russian troops. He had the resolve of knowing that he had a secure ally on his side in the existing constellation of European powers. The War of the Austrian Succession had shown that Great Britain was in a position to compensate for its territorial losses on the European continent with the successes it achieved overseas. Such a powerful ally could, even if a potential war waged alone were to go badly, push through Prussia's *status quo ante* regarding its enemies at decisive peace negotiations. If Russia ere to strengthen the British-Prussian partnership, so much the better. Frederick, however, did not truly believe this, as one can glean from his political correspondence. He believed right at the beginning "that Russia is absolutely lost to us, that the French and Austrian interest will certainly prevail on that court", as he imparted to Whitehall in July 1756.[36]

As a memorandum that has been disregarded for a long time indicates, the British-Prussian alliance loomed very early indeed. Peter F. Stuhr writes, "it was really in early 1755 that secret negotiations were entered into between the courts of Berlin and St. James. In an extant memorandum written in the hand of Prince Heinrich of Prussia, that has earlier passed before the eyes of this author, but cannot be used in this particular instant, it is explained that General Winterfeldt had been sent with secret

[34] *PC* 11: 388 (No. 7090) and *PC* 11: 418f. (No. 7119).
[35] See Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, 1: 579. Quotation 587.
[36] Sanssouci, 20 and 21 July 1756, *PC* 13: 98 (No. 7732).

mandates to Pyrmont to the King of England."[37] Since Frederick II was traveling to the Prussian Rhineland through the Electorate of Hanover, where George II was at the time, it is not entirely out of the question that both monarchs met and entered into an association.[38] The Austrian ambassador in Berlin wrote in any case to Kaunitz in Vienna in June "that a good friend had confided in him that the Prussian court would reconcile with the English." On 6 September one could read in the newspapers of Hanover that before he left Herrenhausen King George II had proposed a toast to the King of Prussia, his future ally, at his own table.[39] The Convention, however, was first negotiated after 7 December, after Holdernesse had told the king about the subsidy agreement with Russia and had offered the guarantee for Silesia. On 23 December Michell reported from London that the idea of a treaty of neutrality was well-received there; on 4 January 1756 a Prussian outline of the Convention was sent to the British capital; on 26 January the signed treaty arrived in Berlin; on 31 January it was ratified by Frederick. At the beginning of February newspapers in Leiden were already spreading the news of the British-Prussian agreement.[40]

It is difficult to believe that none on the British or on the Prussian side had a clear idea of the possible political and military consequences of the Convention of Westminster.[41] Both sides praised "peace and friendship, in the midst of the turmoil that had arisen in America and could reach into Europe." Both sides promised "not to overrun each other's borders with enmity, either indirectly or directly" and undertook on both sides to hold back their allies from ventures against these areas:

> If, against all expectations and in breach of the peace, which the above contracting parties intend to maintain in Germany through this treaty, a foreign power marches its troops into this Germany under any pretext, so the above contracting parties will unite their forces in order to counteract this invasion

---

37 Peter F. Stuhr, *Forschungen und Erläuterungen über Hauptpunkte der Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges. Nach archivalischen Quellen*, pt. 1 (Hamburg: F. Perthes, 1842), 18.

38 See Georg Küntzel, "Über die erste Anknüpfung zwischen Preußen und England im Jahre 1755", *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 12 (1899): 253–56.

39 Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, 1: 577–78.

40 *PC* 12: 1–5 (No. 7167), 10–16 (No. 7173, No. 7174 und No. 7175), 54f. (No. 7219), 69 (No. 7235) and 78 (No. 7243).

41 For a different point of view see Middleton, *The Bells of Victory,* 8, and Adam Heußel, *Friedrichs des Großen Annäherung an England im Jahre 1755 und die Sendung des Herzogs von Nivernais nach Berlin. Dissertation* (Gießen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1896), 25.

> or marching through of such foreign troops and this breach of the peace, in order to maintain peace in Germany.[42]

Prussia was meant to maintain neutrality in a British-French conflict and would receive subsidies only in case of war. Only then would the monies be paid – even if Prussia began the conflict – as indeed happened. Close examination of this passage reveals that the convention outwardly desired peace but inwardly prepared for war, and very consciously. Ultimately it was known in London and Berlin that Vienna and Versailles and also St. Petersburg were negotiating with each other, so that the conclusion of an alliance was only a question of time after the British-Prussian understanding, be it French-Austrian, Austrian-Russian or indeed French-Austrian-Russian. Frederick II was well informed about general political deliberations and decisions by informants from the ranks of his rivals, for example by employees of the chancery who had been bribed.[43] Reaction in Vienna and Paris was as one might expect.[44] On 1 May 1756 France and Austria signed the First Treaty of Versailles, like the Convention of Westminster, an alliance of neutrality and common defense. "The most important secret provisions of the Treaty required the signatories to assist each other if attacked by an ally of Britain and to begin negotiations for an offensive alliance."[45] On this side account was also being made that the war would reach Europe.

In actual fact Paris had long made the decision to go on the offensive. On 12 April a French fleet set out to sea with Minorca as the goal. There 15,000 soldiers were meant to land and wrest the island from the British. The preparations necessary for this undertaking had begun a long time previously. They were observed and the British ambassadors in The Hague and in Madrid, Joseph Yorke and Benjamin Keene, imparted them to London: "It was not until March 9, however, that the inner cabinet decided to send ten ships of the line to the Mediterranean." On 17 May Britain finally declared war on France. Paris had not been able to make up its mind to do so, despite having set an attack in motion, in order not to

---

42 Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, 1: 582.

43 Mediger, "Friedrich der Große und Rußland," 109–136, 117f.

44 For another point of view see Eckhard Buddruss, *Die französische Deutschlandpolitik 1756–1789* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1995), 79: "Sober political analysis leads now as then to the conclusion that France could live quite well with the Convention of Westminster". Since the Duke of Belle-Isle was the only one in the council of state to advocate an extension of the alliance, this raises the question of whether Buddruss' analysis disregards contemporary political psychology too much.

45 Szabo, *The Seven Years' War in Europe*, 15f.

appear as the aggressor.[46] Two days later there was a sea battle between the British and French fleets at Minorca. The war in America had palpably reached Europe.

There are various indication that both King Frederick and King George, as well as the British minister and secretaries who had entered into an alliance in case of war, did not believe that the English-Prussian alliance would preserve peace in Europe. An important indication of this is provided by Prussian armaments. The preparations for war that Frederick II was undertaking were well known in Great Britain. It was therefore no surprise to London that Frederick started the war on the European continent (if Minorca does not count as part of the continent). Thus, for example, King George II advised the Prussian monarch on 13 July 1756 "to proceed with armaments with due care, since Austria would do anything to place the actions of the king in a false light."[47] On 24 July Frederick II sent a report on the Austrian military camp near Eger to the British minister to the Prussian court, Sir Andrew Mitchell, and added an edict in his own hand: "J'en ai reçu bien d'autres encore, il ne me reste plus que prevenire quam preveniri."[48] On 30 July then Mitchell "secretly" reported to the Duke of Holdernesse:

> The Marquis de Valory [the authorized French minister in Berlin] had an audience of the King of Prussia last Monday [26 July], which lasted but a few minutes. […] Count Podewils [Prussian minister of state and cabinet minister] said in my hearing to the King of Prussia that Marquis de Valory had said he would pawn his head that the Empress-Queen had no intention to attack him; to which Podewils replied: "Will your court guarantee that?" Here the King of Prussia interrupted him and said: "You are wrong, France will promise to give no assistance to the Empress-Queen against me, provided I will, on my part, promise to give no assistance to the King of England, but I am resolved to do no such things, I will fulfill my engagements with the King of England."

On the same day Mitchell wrote "very secretly" to Holdernesse:

> The King of Prussia thinks that […] the French (from the present disposition they have made of their troops) will not march into Germany this year, but to render this more certain and at the same time to show the friendship and regard he has for His Majesty, he has declared to me that he will delay

---

[46] See Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War,* 49–51. Quotation 51.

[47] *PC* 13: 121, note 6: From Holdernesse's message directed by George II to the British minister in Prussia, Sir Andrew Mitchell from 13 July 1756.

[48] *PC* 13: S. 112f. (No. 7746), 113.

> beginning his operations till towards the end of August, though he says he is at this moment ready and could be in Silesia in six days.[49]

On 10 August Michell let Frederick II know of the wishes of the British minister:

> If Your Majesty immediately promises support to the Elector of Hanover and provide it at the same time when you begin your operations against the Austrians, the king will no longer be so anxious and thus will be able to show the Cabinet that Your Majesty has indeed recognized the necessity of stealing a march on the enemy, and that Your Majesty also at the same time has fulfilled his obligations to his British Majesty.[50]

London was evidently inducted into Frederick's scheme of beginning the war on the continent already in 1756, and supported his plan in order to obtain the best initial position for the coming conflict.

The deliberations undertaken in London and Potsdam soon after the conclusion of the Convention of Westminster concerning the deployment of an army in the western Holy Roman Empire also support this point of view. Above all, this army and not, for example, the Prussian one, was meant to protect Hanover and the other territories whose leaders were allied with Great Britain—Hesse, Brunswick, Saxony-Gotha and Schaumburg-Lippe, as well as the westerly provinces of Prussia, Kleve, Mark, Ravensberg—from an attack by France. This point of view has not hitherto received much attention, despite the fact that references to it can be found in the political correspondence of Frederick the Great.

The idea of a 'German' army in British pay came indeed from the Prussian king; it depended however on the policy of the government in London of taking the troops of the German princes into its pay, to strengthen its own army, to provide protection against a French invasion of the island of Britain and to secure the Electorate of Hanover. Frederick had submitted this project to Sir Andrew Mitchell in audiences on 20 and 21 July 1756 at Sanssouci, and also gave him a paper for the Duke of Holdernesse and King George, in which point number four suggested the establishment of army of 50 000 men, consisting of the soldiers of Saxony-Gotha, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Kassel and Brandenburg-Anspach. Mitchell reported that

---

[49] Mitchell's reports in: *PC* 13: S. 120ff. (No. 7757), 123.

[50] Albert von Ruville, *William Pitt. Graf von Chatham*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, Berlin: J.G. Cotta'sche buchhandlung nachfolger, 1905), 2: S. 44. This portion of Mitchell's report from London is not included in *PC* 13: 248 (No. 7880).

> Though the King of Prussia does not yet see much appearance of the French attempting anything in Germany this year, he advises nevertheless that His Majesty should strengthen himself as fast as possible, by taking such troops as may be depended upon, into his pay, as in case, he, the King of Prussia, should be attacked by two empresses at once, he will not the be able to give that assistance to His Majesty as he wishes to do.[51]

Five days later the king gave Mitchell a memorandum, which spoke of an army of 74 000 men for the purpose of hindering a French invasion of Germany and for the protection of the Electorate of Hanover.[52] London took up this idea. On 13 August King George II had a query made of the president of the privy council of Hanover, Gerlach Adolf von Münchhausen, whether the Prussian king could assign Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick as the commander of the combined army.[53] In actual fact at the beginning of 1757 Hanoverian troops and those of the united British allies were combined into an "Army of Observation". Its first commander was the Duke of Cumberland. After he had lost the battle of Hastenbeck against the French, however, and Britain had had to conclude the rather inglorious Convention of Kloster Zeven, he was replaced by Ferdinand of Brunswick.

On 29 August the Prussians marched into Saxony. King Frederick's decision to occupy it right at the beginning of the war in order to be able to withstand a potentially longer war was correct and may have been his most important one, in light of the coalition of Austrians, Russians, Swedes and probably also French (here it depends on whether the "western army" financed and held together by Great Britain could hold off the French army) arrayed against him.[54] Frederick had seen clearly for some time that the control of Saxony was of particular importance in a conflict of European powers. His political testament of 1752 makes this evident. He writes therein that the occupation of Saxony would compensate for the weak fortification of Berlin and "the Elbe and the mountains bordering on Bohemia would provide double protection" for the Prussian capital. With this goal in mind Frederick wanted to build up Torgau and Wittenberg into powerful strongholds and to erect "two strong forts, on the one side on the heights of Zittau and on the other side on the heights of Peterswalde," which would block the two roads to Bohemia.

---

[51] *PC* 13: S. 97ff. (No. 7732), 100 und 102.

[52] *PC* 13: S. 121ff. (No. 7758), 125.

[53] *PC* 13: 218f. (No. 7853), 219. See also *PC* 14: 34, note 2.

[54] See also Derek McKay and Hamish M. Scott, *The Rise of the Great Powers 1648–1815* (Harlow: Longman, 1983; reprint, 1997), 192–94.

> Then it would remain only to defend the roads to Karlsbad, Teplitz and Gera [he means the road to Eger via Gera] and they would offer large difficulties to an Austrian army wishing to march through, especially since it would have to bring its own food supplies in carts on wretched, long and almost impassable roads.

The king believed that a skilled general "could defend these last three gateways without effort".[55] That this was perhaps overly optimistic thinking is revealed in hindsight by the progress of the war. Nevertheless Frederick's position that the strongholds of Dresden, Torgau and Wittenberg secured the supplying of the Prussian troops of the Elbe was significant for the waging of the war. This was because in the eighteenth century it was only by water that the necessary quantities of supplies could be transported to the troops from the most important Prussian magazine, Magdeburg.[56]

Saxony was also valuable for another reason, which the king never mentioned although he surely had it in mind: its economic power. This had become quite apparent already at the beginning of the century, when Sweden occupied the territory from September 1706 to August 1707. Charles XII supported about 25,000 soldiers without difficulty at the expense of the Electorate and was in addition able to get new recruits. In contrast to Brandenburg in the north and Bohemia and Moravia in the south, which depended on the agricultural sector, Saxony was a wealthy territory. The yields of agriculture, which an army had to rely on above all in the eighteenth century, if it did not want to go hungry, exceeded the production of neighboring regions by several times. The War of the Austrian Succession had shown that in contrast Bohemia and Moravia were regions that could not reliably feed armies, and the same was true for the provinces of the king, the Mark of Brandenburg and the Neumark.[57] In addition Saxony possessed an exceptionally good industrial infrastructure, a financially proficient bourgeoisie and last but not least a comparatively high population density. In this respect, as Frederick knew, the territory was similar to the most important theatre of war in western Europe, namely Flanders, which boasted even better conditions

---

[55] Friedrich der Große, *Die Politischen Testamente*, trans. Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski with an introduction by Gustav Berthold Volz, 2d ed. (Munich: Treu, 1936), 64f.

[56] See Jürgen Luh, *Kriegskunst in Europa 1650–1800* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 13–128, on questions of logistics, transport, medical supplies and the significance of strongholds.

[57] The Saxon army must also have experienced this for itself. See Winkler, "Die Kriegsereignisse bei der sächsischen Armee in Böhmen in den Jahren 1741 und 1742", *Archiv für die sächsische Geschichte* 8 (1870), 63–81, especially 69.

for supporting early modern armies. In contrast all the Prussian provinces together contained "only five million souls."

Frederick took most advantage, however, of the Saxon contributions that flowed into the Prussian war chest. Along with the tenders from Mecklenburg and Swedish Western Pomerania, this amount came to approximately 53 million *Reichstaler*, more than one third of the amount that the Seven Years' War cost the king (this was about 140 million *Reichstaler*). The income of the Prussian general war chest together with that of the Silesian administration nominally reached in those years only about 60 million *Taler*, of which a good 17 million failed to materialize, since Russian troops were occupying East Prussia and French troops were occupying the larger part of the western Prussian provinces.[58] Since Frederick from the beginning did not believe that he could defend the eastern and western province of his territory in case of a dispute with the powers of the European continent, an occupation of Wettinisch territory was necessary for reasons of financing the war alone. The army of the king was, as Frederick himself admitted, indeed considerable, "but not strong enough to withstand the enemy;" and "in an emergency [the Prussian state lacked] sources of assistance."[59]

By occupying the Electorate of Saxony, the king was successful in compensating to a large extent for the deficiencies in his own territory, namely the yield of the land, the industrial infrastructure, the financial capability of the bourgeoisie as well as low population density. This advantage, which he achieved in 1746, was vital for the further Prussian pursuit of the war. This was because, along with the economic usefulness of Saxony to the Prussian army, the relatively well-developed traffic routes and waterways of the territory, which the Prussians expanded, enabled the timely supplying of the troops most of the time, and, which was especially important in light of the numerous enemies, swift changes in military priorities. Both were advantages that were denied to the enemies of the king to the south and the east. Thus the Austrians were forced to operate ever further from their magazines and first had to go through barren Bohemia and make their way over scarcely accessible mountain ranges on the border of Saxony and in Upper Lusatia, before they could even face Frederick's army.

---

[58] For details see Reinhold Koser, "Die preußischen Finanzen im siebenjährigen Kriege", *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* 13 (1900), 153–217, 329–75.

[59] Schieder, *Friedrich der Grosse*, 69.

It was scarcely different for the Russians in the wide and often barren landscapes of Poland.

The invasion of the Prussian regiments took place in three columns without a declaration of war. The right wing of the army under Duke Ferdinand von Braunschweig pushed into Saxony from the area around Halle-Aschersleben; the centre column under the king marched across the border from around Magdeburg; the right wing advanced from the region of Bunzlau under the Duke of Braunschweig-Bevern. On 9 September 1756 the Prussians occupied Dresden, and one day later they boxed the Saxon army into their camp at Pirna.[60] The attack on the Electorate of Saxony led to an escalation of the war, as one would expect. Austrian troops appeared first on the scene. On 1 October, Field Marshal Browne's Bohemian army met part of the Prussian host under Frederick's leadership near Lobositz. At the end of the day the Prussians owned the battlefield and the victory, since Browne was forced to retreat. Without hope of relief, the Saxon army capitulated on 16 October. The season was well advanced and there were no more clashes. The troops sought their winter quarters.

At the beginning of 1757 (11 January) the Russians entered into the Treaty of Versailles, and eleven days later Austria and Russia concluded an alliance. On 29 January the *Reichskrieg* (of the Holy Roman Empire) was declared against Prussia and on 1 May Austria and France contracted an offensive alliance. The war was now general. Troops met in engagement at Calcutta (2 January), Prague (6 May), Kolin (18 June), Plassey (23 June), Hastenbeck (26 July), Fort William Henry (9 August), Gross-Jägersdorf (30 August), Rossbach (5 November), Breslau (22 November) and Leuthen (5 December).

Frederick was correct and he still is today: "Thanks to statecraft […] there is no current conflict in the world, be it ever so small, that cannot reach into and divide all of Christendom in a short time." Although he pursued his own goals in the war and wanted to maintain his own state and Silesia, the Prussian king was aware that all of his efforts took place within the context of world politics, and that his struggle was part of the global conflict between Great Britain and France. He did indeed let the first shot be fired in Europe (if one does not count Minorca), but not the first shot of the entire war.

---

[60] See Arnold Schäfer, *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges,* vol. 1 *Der Ursprung und die ersten Zeiten des Krieges bis zur Schlacht bei Leuthen* (Berlin: Herttz, 1867), 203–25.

CHAPTER TWO

"TO ENCOURAGE THE OTHERS": THE *PHILOSOPHES* AND THE WAR

Armstrong Starkey

While they were talking, the ship reached Portsmouth. The waterside was crowded with a host of people who were gazing intently at a stout man kneeling, with his eyes bandaged, on the deck of a man of war. Four soldiers stood opposite him and fired three rounds each into his skull with the utmost composure, at which the crowd dispersed evidently quite satisfied.

'What can this all be about?' cried Candide, 'and what devil is it that rules the roast here and everywhere?'

He asked who the stout man was who had just been so ceremoniously disposed of.

'He was an admiral,' they told him.

'But why execute this admiral?' he enquired.

'Because he did not have enough dead men to his credit' was the reply; 'he joined battle with a French admiral, and it has been established that their ships were not close enough to engage.'

'But surely, exclaimed Candide, 'the French admiral must have been just as far from the English as the English admiral was from the French!'

'True enough,' was the answer; but in this country we find it pays to shoot an admiral from time to time to encourage the others.'[1]

Such was the ironic comment of the Enlightenment's central figure, in his most famous book, on the execution of British Vice Admiral John Byng on March 14, 1757. As one of Voltaire's biographers has observed, "pour encourager les autres" was to become "one of the very few phrases from French literature to have gained a proverbial currency in the English language."[2]

Candide is often seen as representing a major turning point in Voltaire's thought and career in which he broke with the early Enlightenment's concept of a benign and orderly universe so eloquently argued in Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*. The Lisbon earthquake of 1755 resulting in the death

---

[1] Voltaire, *Candide*, trans. John Butt (London: Penguin, 1947), 110–11.

[2] Haydn Mason, *Voltaire: A Biography* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1981), 83.

of 100,000 innocent people suggested that the universe was neither orderly nor benign. The Seven Years' War, the most violent and disastrous conflict of the old regime appeared to reveal the dark and brutal elements of human nature almost untouched by the soft, civilizing hand of the Enlightenment. However, Voltaire had been scarcely unaware of the evils unleashed on humanity by war. It would be better to say that the Seven Years' War only intensified his revulsion. Thus when Candide's companion Martin observes that Britain and France "are fighting over a few acres of snow on the borders of Canada, And that they spend more money on this glorious war than the whole of Canada is worth", he echoes Voltaire's bleak letter to Frederick II about the "History of the War of 1741" (a part of the conflict generally known as the War of the Austrian Succession):

> I have attempted to consider that human folly somewhat as a philosopher. I have portrayed Spain and England spending a hundred million waging war against each other over a matter of ninety-five thousand pounds; nations destroying the commerce over which they fight one another; war over the pragmatic sanction which has become like a sickness changing character three or four times, from a fever becoming a paralysis, and from a paralysis becoming a convulsion…a chaos of diverse interests at every moment; that which was true in the spring becoming false in the autumn; everyone crying out peace, peace, and waging all-out war; finally, all the scourges that prey upon the poor human race….[3]

Voltaire was an active participant in the Byng episode. In 1756 the unfortunate admiral had led a British squadron to the relief of Britain's key Mediterranean naval base at Port Mahon on the island Minorca, whose garrison found itself besieged by a French expeditionary force commanded by Voltaire's close friend the Duke of Richelieu. The British were protected by strong fortifications and the French lacked supplies for a prolonged siege. Byng's intervention therefore could have proved decisive, but, after fighting an inconclusive action in which not all of his ships were engaged, he withdrew to Gibraltar, leaving the garrison to its fate. Britain began the Seven Years' War in Europe with a stunning defeat and the navy with humiliation. Public opinion was outraged and Byng's fellow officers almost unanimously condemned his performance. Byng, believing that his conduct was beyond reproach, seems to have been surprised by the outcry. A new ministry, formed as a consequence of the fall of Minorca,

---

[3] *Candide*, 110; Voltaire to Frederick II, King of Prussia, February 9, 1747, in *The Selected Letters of Voltaire*, ed. and trans. Richard A. Brock (New York: New York University Press, 1973), 123–24.

consisted of many of Byng's friends who were more interested in blaming their predecessors in government for the defeat. Nevertheless they had no choice but to proceed with his court martial. He was convicted not of cowardice, but with not having fought hard enough, a verdict that carried an automatic death penalty under the Articles of War. Byng may have been especially unfortunate for he was not the first British admiral in recent times to receive such a verdict. It had been applied to Admiral Thomas Mathews who had failed to destroy the combined French-Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean in 1744. But Mathews had not been executed, so why should Byng?[4] Although there was an automatic death penalty, Byng had good reason to expect that his government friends would save him, but this was a case where good intentions produced bad results.[5]

One of those who intervened on Byng's behalf was Voltaire. He had made many friends during his period of exile in England and never allowed war to sever those ties. Thus when he informed an English friend of his "History of the War of 1741" (1755), he expressed the hope that he had done justice to the Duke of Cumberland, the unsuccessful if heroic commander of the British army in Flanders.[6] He had also voiced sympathy for Admiral Mathews, arguing that a commander should not be prosecuted for his conduct unless it involved treachery.[7] He had known Byng in England and now asked Richelieu to intervene on Byng's behalf. Richelieu (who had certainly profited from Byng's incompetence) provided Voltaire with a letter commending the admiral's behavior, which Voltaire forwarded to Byng. "Honour, Humanity & Equity, order me to convey it into your hands. This noble and unexpected Testimony from one of the most candid as the most generous of my countrymen makes me presume yr Judges will do you the same justice."[8] This letter, which was intercepted by British government officials, was scarcely likely to do Byng much good. Rather it exposed him

---

[4] The most detailed account of Voltaire's involvement in the Byng affair is that of André Michel Rousseau, *L'Angleterre et Voltaire* (*1718–1789*) in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 145 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation at the Taylor Institution, 1976), I, 219–231. Rousseau notes that the automatic death penalty had been instituted in 1739, partly at the insistence of Byng, who had found Mathews' punishment too lenient. 224.

[5] For Byng's court martial I have followed the account of the leading authority on the navy for the period N.A.M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649–1815* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2005), 264–67.

[6] Voltaire to Sir Edward Fawkener, November 5, 1748, in *The Selected Letters of Voltaire*, 130.

[7] A-M Rousseau, *L'Angleterre et Voltaire*, 223.

[8] Quoted by Theodore Besterman, *Voltaire* (Chicago and Oxford: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 401.

to suspicions of treasonable correspondence with the enemy. For all of his good intentions and his humane cosmopolitanism, Voltaire seems to have missed the point. Chivalrous gestures carried little weight in the great conflict looming over Europe. The British public and the navy expected more aggressive performance than that provided by Byng and other commanders in recent years. Had able and energetic Edward Hawke, sent out to replace Byng in 1756, arrived in time, the outcome no doubt would have been different. And performance was different after Byng's execution. Every commander now knew with certainty that the most important thing to do was to engage the enemy. In short, "the others had been encouraged." Nevertheless, those of us who have lived through the events of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries may feel regret for our lack of Voltaires. Later revolutionary regimes have shown no scruples about shooting unsuccessful generals.

André Michel Rousseau in his discussion of this episode finds that Voltaire allowed himself to be drawn into political infighting in British government circles initially at the instigation of Thomas Pitt, brother of William, the leader of the new ministry, who was visiting Geneva. The new ministers were intent on exculpating Byng and blaming their predecessors. The latter were equally intent in focusing responsibility on Byng. Rousseau believes that Richelieu's letter, which found Byng's withdrawal to have been prudent, was a legitimate contribution to the debate, but one that was irrelevant to the political nature of the trial. One may also question Richelieu's competence as a general to provide a professional evaluation of a sea officer. Horace Walpole, who offered an impassioned defense of Byng in his memoirs, gave little weight to Voltaire's intervention and also believed that the court martial was unlikely to be swayed by Richelieu: "they, who had been so ready to censure Mr. Byng on the despatch of his antagonist La Galissonière (Vice Admiral Roland Michel Barrin, marquis de la Galissonière, the French naval commander), were far from being equally forward to give any weight to Richelieu's testimonial in his favour".[9] Voltaire's position on Byng seems to have been in keeping with that of the official shapers of French public opinion, which sought to portray the English as a cruel and bloodthirsty people. Images of the ghosts of Charles I and Byng were displayed on the Champs-Élysées as part of a campaign to promote Anglophobia. Sympathy for Byng flourished in the wake of a

[9] Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, 3 vols., ed. John Brooke (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 2: 213.

sensational French victory. Later, when confronted by the wreckage of French military reputation following the defeat at the hands of Frederick the Great at Rossbach, November 5, 1757, there were those who thought it might be salutary to treat the unfortunate French commander Charles de Rohan, Prince de Soubise in a manner similar to that meeted out to Byng.[10] The incident gained enduring notoriety because of *Candide*, but Rousseau concludes that it also marked the beginning of Voltaire's championship of lost causes and opposition to "judicial murder."[11]

It may be unfashionable to begin a discussion of the *philosophes* and war with Voltaire when recent scholarship provides a broader context for the Enlightenment and recognizes the contributions of many, less known figures. Yet Voltaire represents more than anyone else the way in which the Seven Years' War may have affected a cultural shift in the Enlightenment landscape. One may contrast him with his great contemporary Dennis Diderot, who his biographer Arthur Wilson finds to have been scarcely aware of the Seven Years' War or its implications.[12] Voltaire did think about war. He was not only one of the eighteenth century's leading historians, but an able military historian as well. His *Encyclopédie* article *"Histoire"* made the point that commanders could learn the art of war by studying past campaigns, citing the example of Maurice de Saxe.[13] His celebrated account of Saxe's victory over the British at Fontenoy in 1745 remains the most important contemporary source. Fontenoy may provide a benchmark for Voltaire's shift in thought by 1757. His response to Saxe's victory was that of a proud patriot, thrilled by the accomplishments of French arms and of his friends, notably Richelieu, to whom he assigned a prominent role. In 1745 Voltaire still aspired to the role of a courtier and held the coveted position of Royal Historiographer. The presence on the battlefield of King Louis XV and the Dauphin inspired him to celebrate the victory with his *Poeme de Fontenoy,* published shortly after the victory, which sold 20,000 copies. The Voltaire of this poem may be described as that of royal

---

[10] Edmund Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme francais, 1750–1770: La France à la puissance anglaise la époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998), 79, 418.

[11] A-M Rousseau, *L'Angleterre et Voltaire*, 231.

[12] Arthur Wilson, *Diderot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 248. Diderot wrote nothing specific on war, but he did express his views on the treatment of soldiers and on the threat to liberty represented by standing armies in several of his works. See Antonio Torio, *Diderot et la Guerre* (Villeneuve d'Ascq Cedex, France: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1995).

[13] *"Histoire", Encyclopédie,* VIII, 213.

sycophant rather than historiographer, but does not diminish the value of his serious discussion of the battle in his *Précis du siècle de Louis XV*, which drew on many eyewitness accounts from those present with the French army.[14]

Voltaire's response to Fontenoy demonstrates that he was not a pacifist. He never envisaged a new European order of peaceful states along the lines suggested by the Abbé Saint Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, or Kant. His historical work placed war within the political context of his time. His biography of Charles XII of Sweden acknowledged that king's greatness as a soldier who was, nevertheless, overshadowed by a far greater political figure in Peter I of Russia. Voltaire understood that force might appropriately be used in the achievement of great political objectives. In his own time Voltaire's hopes for the advance of civilization had been centered on the "Enlightened Despots", particularly Frederick the Great. However, by the time of the Seven Years' War, Voltaire's passion for Frederick had considerably cooled. His stay at the king's court had come to a stormy conclusion in 1753, after which he and his niece Madame Denis had been treated in a humiliating fashion at Frankfort. Voltaire would spend the war in his retreats, first in Geneva and then at Ferney across the French border. His relations with the king remained complex: critical of the suffering wrought by Frederick's armies, but compassionate when he suffered defeat and despair. Safely removed from the king's wrath, Voltaire dismissed Frederick's justifications for his Machiavellian actions. In October 1757, while urging Frederick to abandon thoughts of suicide, he continued "I must add, for this is a time to speak out, that nobody will look upon you as a martyr for *liberty*. We must be just; you know how many Courts persist in regarding your entrance into Saxony as an infringement of international law."[15] Frederick could not have been happy with Voltaire's treatment of him as King of the Bulgarians in *Candide*. But he never really gave up on the "Enlightened Despots". Even at the end of his life he could use bloodcurdling language to urge Catherine the Great on in her war against the

[14] I have discussed Voltaire's account of Fontenoy in my *War in the Age of the Enlightenment, 1700–1789* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003), Chapter 4. Voltaire's history of the battle is in *Précis du siècle de Louis XV* in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 52 vols. (Paris 1878; reprint, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967), Vol. 15. See p. 240 for his description of the famous challenges exchanged between the British and French Guard's officers on the day of the battle. See vol. 7 for *Poeme de Fontenoy.*

[15] *The Letters of Voltaire and Frederick the Great,* trans. Richard Addington (London: Routledge, 1927), 241.

Turks.[16] Some writers have criticized Voltaire's inconsistency on the issue of war. The eminent French military historian Émile Léonard observed that Voltaire's anti-militarism varied according to the circumstances and always followed public opinion.[17] Edmond Dziembowski has borrowed d'Alembert's characterization of Voltaire as *"Monsieur le Multiforme"*. In analyzing Voltaire's attitudes towards England during the Seven Years' War, Dziembowski finds three Voltaires: the patriot, openly preferring his own country to that of the enemy; the droll critic, detached from his country's misfortunes; and finally a cosmopolitan and Anglophile Voltaire.[18] It is hard to pin Voltaire down to a consistent attitude. His relationship with Frederick was personal, but complex. Prussia did not threaten France or Voltaire directly, but Britain, or at least its navy, did. He may not have cared about Canada and could even celebrate its loss, but the navy's stifling of French trade struck at his investments. Nevertheless, while a synthesis of his thought may be difficult to achieve, the tone of Voltaire's work was different by the time of the Seven Years' War. He had been confident that civilization was moving forward by increments. Now, perhaps that progress had been reversed.

If Voltaire was not a pacifist, he was, despite his occasional celebrations of the exploits of his friends, an anti-militarist. In this his views seem consistent with that band of French intellectuals we call the *philosophes*. Léonard has argued that the *philosophes*' criticism of war was more an expression of national anti-militarism than a guide for it.[19] There is certainly evidence to support his view ranging from the banning of military uniforms at court, the dilettantism and poor discipline of the officer corps, the rising sympathy for invalid soldiers and deserters, and the deep hostility to service in the provincial militia. The roots of this anti-militarism may lie in the burden imposed by decades of sanguinary and profitless wars during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV. Leonard, himself writing in a period of the decline of French power and military disgrace, deplored this trend. Nevertheless, he recognized that "only two forms of war are popular in France, defensive wars and wars of ideas." He concluded that the Seven Years' War' was neither.[20]

---

[16] Voltaire and Catherine the Great, *Selected Correspondence*, trans. A. Lentin (Cambridge: Oriental Research Partners, 1974), 52, 56, 66–67, 124.

[17] Émile Léonard, *L'Armée et ses problemes au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1958), 217–33.

[18] Dziembowski, 133.

[19] Léonard, 217.

[20] Ibid..

Who Were the *Philosophes*?

There is no doubt that Voltaire was a *philosophe*, but, after saying that, definitions vary. In a famous study Peter Gay argued that the *philosophes* were the party of the Enlightenment. They "were united on a vastly ambitious program, a program of secularism, humanity, cosmopolitanism, and freedom, above all, freedom in its many forms—freedom from arbitrary power, freedom of speech, freedom of trade, freedom to realize one's talents, freedom of aesthetic response, freedom, in a word of a moral man to make his own world."[21] For Gay, the *philosophes* were a family, an army that shared a common experience from which it constructed a coherent philosophy. Others, such as Ira O. Wade have rejected Gay's image of a philosophic army marching under a common banner and offer a wider definition of the term *philosophe*. According to Wade, the term can apply to anyone, "provided that he live in society, that he take an active interest in it, and that he accept some sort of responsibility for its welfare, its coherence, and its continuity"[22] Wade's definition can apply to a rather broader group than that depicted by Gay. Rather than sharing an agenda, Wade's *philosophes* share an *esprit philosophique*. If one accepts Wade's definition, it is unlikely that one will find a coherent response by the *philosophes* to the Seven Years' War.

The *Philosophes* and the Problem of War

Perhaps the best general treatment of the *philosophes*' views on war was provided by Adrienne D. Hytier in an essay published in 1974. Her essay was based on a close reading of the works of the major figures we may associate with Gay's "army". Hytier finds a consensus among these writers (who include among others Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, Holbach, Condillac, Raynal, and Montesquieu) in their response to war. These five points may be summarized as follows: a recognition that war is one of humanity's enduring and self-inflicted plagues (an exception being Friedrich Melchior Grimm whose praise of war being of benefit to civilization resembles that of a nineteenth century Social Darwinist); a belief that there are no real winners in war; sympathy for the common soldier;

---

[21] Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1969), 1: 3.

[22] Ira O, Wade, *The Structure and Form of the Enlightenment*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 1: 3, 24–34.

a declining admiration of courage and glory; and scorn for the "military art"; and a portrayal of conquerors as murderers and criminals. There was intense interest in the causes of war. It was seen as the responsibility of princes pursuing dynastic ambition, but there was recognition of the economic and religious causes of war. Rousseau, in particular, focused on the social structure as the cause of war. As a group, the *philosophes* were not pacifists, but anti-militarists. They had little use for the abbé Saint-Pierre's "Project for Perpetual Peace," a treatise that foreshadowed twentieth century experiments such as the League of Nations and the United Nations. Rather they accepted the inevitability of war, recognized that there are grounds for just wars, but hoped that the progress of civilization would reduce its cruelty.[23]

The *Philosophes* and the Seven Years' War

It appears, however, that the *philosophes* were caught by surprise by the Seven Years' War. There had been hopes that the peace treaty that concluded the War of the Austrian Succession would endure and that the great Enlightenment project would proceed on its course. Now they would be confronted by a conflict that would be global in scale and result in 500,000 combat deaths. The reaction of the *philosophes* seems muted. Dzeimbowski believes that Voltaire was simply traumatized by the war. In his work that describes the development of an autonomous French patriotism disconnected from the monarchy during the war, he concludes that the *philosophes* found themselves on the defensive. Both Montesquieu and Voltaire had used England as a model for their criticism of French institutions. Now Anglophobia became associated with French patriotism. The *philosophes* were thus attacked not only by the agents of the old regime, the monarchy and the church, but were out of step with public opinion at large. Even though the 1750's were one of the most creative periods of the Enlightenment with the beginning of the *Encyclopédie* and the gestation of Rousseau's most important work, there was little direct comment on the war. As we have seen with the Byng case, Enlightenment cosmopolitanism was inconsistent with the passions released by the war. Furthermore, with the exception of the damage done to Voltaire's investments, French intellectuals were not directly affected by the war, which

[23] Adrienne D. Hytier, "Les Philosophes et le problème de la guerre," in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 127 (1974), 243–258.

was fought somewhere else, in Germany or in Canada. It was possible to detach oneself from events that happened far away. This seems to be true of some of the Enlightenment's most important figures. One may read Rousseau's *Confessions* for this period without realizing that there was any war other than that with his perceived enemies among the *philosophes*, notably Baron Grimm. Grimm himself had little to say about the war, but is clear that he was a Prussophile and regarded France's alliance with Austria as an unqualified disaster that overturned the European equilibrium, exposed Germany to devastation, and advanced the interests of an historic enemy, the House of Austria, at French expense.[24]

Domestic issues also preoccupied the *philosophes*. The period 1748–1756 was perhaps the high noon for the French monarchy. Louis XV, the "well loved", who had been present at the great victory of Fontenoy, retained his prestige. Domestic tensions between the monarchy and the parlements, and between the Church and the Jansenists were muted. However, on January 5, 1757 the king was wounded in attack by a deranged individual, Francois Damiens. The event had wide repercussions. The authorities did not believe that Damiens could have acted without powerful accomplices and assumed that the attack was part of a broader conspiracy. The affair reignited conflicts between the king and the parlements, where the Jansenists were strongly entrenched, and between the Jesuits and their critics. Dale Van Kley believes that this affair represented the turning point for the monarchy. The king could no longer maintain a compromise between the contending factions and in the process, the monarchy was "desacralized".[25] This was not a favorable climate for anyone perceived as critical of the monarchy or the old regime. Thus Claude Helvétius, "the literary Damiens" in Van Kley's words, provoked a storm of criticism with the publication of his *De L'Esprit in 1758.* This work was notable for its sensationalist psychology, its belief that all men were equal, and its utilitarianism. In short, it explained the ways of man to man without reference to God. The book was condemned by the Sorbonne and burned by the public hangman. But Helvétius made no reference to the current war, and only discussed war in general terms with examples drawn from Sparta and Switzerland. He sought to define the passions that separated a hero from a

[24] Friedrich Melchior Grimm, *Correspondance Litteraire, Philosophique et Crtiique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Mestre, etc.*, ed. Maurice Tourneux (Paris: Garnier Frères, Libraires—Éditeurs, 1878), II:308–9, III:438.

[25] Dale K. Van Kley, *The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Regime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

common murderer.[26] However, it was not this part of the book that got him in trouble. The reaction to *De L'Esprit* was part of a general assault on the *philosophes*. Dziembowski finds that as early as 1753 the Duc de Noailles warned the king that the *philosophes* represented a threat to the monarchy, a theme taken up by conservative writers in the decade who questioned their patriotism.[27] The pressure on the *philosophes* intensified over the decade. In 1759 the *Encyclopédie* was suppressed. The reasons for the attack could be associated with the war for the *philosophes*' cosmopolitanism made them vulnerable, but domestic issues were probably more significant.

In his *Confessions* for 1762 Rousseau recalled, "I thought that the weakening of the constitution threatened France with impending collapse. The disasters of an unsuccessful war, which were all the fault of the government; the incredible disorder in the public finances; the perpetual disagreements within, until then conducted by two or three ministers at open feud, who in injuring one another were ruining the whole Kingdom; the general discontent of the common people and of every other class…" had led him to consider refuge outside the country. Had the Duc de Choiseul not been chosen first minister "the French monarchy would now be in its death throes."[28] It was his only reference to the Seven Years' War. French military defeat and the monarchy's financial distress prompted Rousseau to consider exile. However, the 1750's was a period of his most creative work starting with his *Discours sur le sciences et les arts* and *Discours sur l'origine de l' inégalité*. In 1758 he broke with the Encyclopedists and, having moved to Montmorency wrote his most significant work: *La nouvelle Héloise* (published 1761), *Émile* (1761), *The Social Contract* (1762). The period of the Seven Years' War thus witnessed the crowning achievements of this remarkable thinker.

During the 1750's Rousseau also addressed international affairs. He was prompted by renewed interest in the Abbé Saint- Pierre's *Project for Perpetual Peace* that had first appeared in 1713–1717. This work may be seen as a blueprint for reconstruction following the disastrous War of the

---

[26] See C.A. Helvétius, *De L'Esprit or Essays on the Mind and its Several Faculties, translated from the French* (London: J.M. Richardson, 1809). In a later work Helvetius concluded that there was no real difference between conquerors and murderers. See Claude-Adrien Helvetius, *A Treatise of Man; His Intellectual Faculties and His Education*, trans. W. Hooper, 2 vols. (London: Verner, Hood, and Sharpe, 1810), especially 1: 316.

[27] Dziembowski, 119–20.

[28] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions*, trans. J.M. Cohen (London: Penguin Books, 1953), 522.

Spanish Succession and as a hallmark of the early Enlightenment. Saint-Pierre believed that peace could be established by a treaty that guaranteed the status quo, and the replacement of balance of power politics by international cooperation and collective security.[29] Many eighteenth century writers scorned Saint-Pierre's ideas as chimerical, but Rousseau was kinder if not convinced of the project's practicality: "Let us not say, then, that if his system has not been adopted, that it is because it was not good. Let us rather say that it was too good to be adopted. Evils and abuses, by which so many men profit, come in of themselves. Things of public utility, on the other hand, are seldom brought in but by force, for the simple reason that private interests are almost always ranged against them. Beyond doubt, a lasting peace is, under present (1756) circumstances ridiculous enough." Rousseau concluded that a league of peaceful nations could only be established by a revolution, an event perhaps more to be feared than desired.[30]

A revolution might be bad, but Rousseau's description of the "present circumstances" was bleak enough: "The public law of Europe has never been passed or sanctioned by common agreement." It is a mass of contradictory rules that "only the stronger can reduce to order: so that in the absence of any sure clue to guide her, reason is bound, in every case of doubt, to obey the promptings of self interest, which in itself would make war inevitable, even if all parties desired to be just."[31] The much-vaunted balance of power was "just firm enough to remain in perpetual oscillation without losing itself altogether."[32] (In 1751 David Hume wrote that Britain's defense of the balance of power often concealed more predatory motives.)[33] At the heart of Rousseau's discussion of the international system was his basic idea: the corruption of European society was the cause of war. In *L'État de Guerre,* written between 1753 and 1758, Rousseau rejected Thomas Hobbes' argument that war was man's natural state. In nature man was weak and peaceful, but war was natural to the great powers and there was little to protect man from its consequences. He restated his belief that international law without sanctions was a chimera, weaker

---

[29] See "Selections from the second edition of the Abrégé du projet de paix perpétuelle by C-.I Castel Saint Pierre, Abbat of Tiron, 1738", trans. H. Bale Bellot in *Peace Projects of the Eighteenth Century* (New York and London: Garland, 1974).

[30] J.-J Rousseau, "Abstract and Judgement of Sant-Pierre's Project for Perpetual Peace (1756)," in *Rousseau on International Relations*, ed. Stanley Hoffman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 100.

[31] Ibid. 60.

[32] Ibid. 62.

[33] David Hume, "Of the Balance of Power", *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, 4 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1854), 3: 371.

than the law of nature itself.[34] Rousseau might have written this even if the Seven Years' War had not occurred, but his sober realism is striking. Émile Léonard, who seems to have dismissed most *philosophes* as promoters of fashionable trends singled out Rousseau worthy of the most profound study. Leonard concluded that he was not only an expression of his times, but a guide and a prophet.[35] Indeed, Rousseau's thought often appears to float free of any context.

Many *philosophes* believed that war was rooted in political and economic systems. Montesquieu had traced the problem of militarism to the institution of monarchy. "The spirit of monarchy", he wrote, "is war and expansion; the spirit of republics is peace and moderation."[36] (Modern readers may find cause for dissent on the latter point.) Monarchy meant that war might be launched for the glory of a single individual, as in eighteenth century Europe's apparently endless wars of succession. This caused rulers to create large armies of mercenaries that imposed enormous tax burdens on the people even in peace- time. For Montesquieu republics and citizen soldiers were the ideal alternative to the existing system. Maurice de Saxe, whose *Reveries on the Art of War,* written during the 1730's, but published in 1757, had also urged a form of universal military service for all citizens. "Would it not be better to prescribe by law that every man, whatever his condition in life, should be obligated to serve his prince and his country for five years? This law should not be objected to, because it is natural and just that all citizens should participate in the defense of the nation."[37] While Rousseau believed that the causes of war were more deeply rooted in a corrupt society, he also idealized the citizen soldier. Mercenaries, he warned, had ruined the Roman Empire and might now have the same disastrous results.[38] In this article Rousseau recognized that advanced technology, notably artillery and fortification, required professional soldiers, but although eighteenth century monarchs were more legitimate than the Roman military adventurers who seized the empire, the employment of mercenaries could be equally disastrous.

---

[34] *L'État de Guerre and Projet de Paix Perpétuelle, Two Essays by Jean Jacques Rousseau*, ed. Shirley G. Patterson (Nerw York and London: G.P. Putnam, 1920), 3–20.

[35] Léonard, 63.

[36] *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans, Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, Harold Samuel Stone (1748; repr. Cambridge University Press, 1989), 132. One has the impression that, for writers of the 1750's, Montesquieu was *the* philosopher.

[37] Maurice de Saxe, *Reveries on the Art of War*, trans. Thomas R. Phillips (Harrisburg, PA: The Military Institute Publishing Co., 1944), 21.

[38] *"Economie", Encyclopedie*, VII:346.

Although the Seven Years' War was fought primarily by regular soldiers, the period seems to have seen the beginning of the "cult of the citizen soldier". There were militia institutions in Europe, but the practice of drafting peasants into the provincial militia in France was deeply unpopular and a principal grievance in the *cahiers* of 1789. Part of the problem, no doubt, was that the peasants did not consider themselves citizens. In England, however, during the Seven Years' War the militia became a popular cause due to fears of French invasion. This inspired the "military career" of Edward Gibbon who served as a captain in the Hampshire militia regiment and found himself "condemned more two years and a half (May 10, 1760-December23, 1762) to a wandering life of military servitude." He recalled, "in the outset of a glorious war the English people had been defended by German mercenaries. A national militia has been the call of every patriot since the Revolution, and this measure, both in Parliament and in the field, was supported by the country gentlemen, or Tories, who insensibly transferred their loyalties to the House of Hanover. In the language of Mr. Burke, they have changed the idol, but they have preserved the idolatry." Gibbon found military life tedious and boring. He saw nothing of the enemy but French prisoners, but, in the end, militia service had an important influence on his life. Not only did it help him as a future historian to understand ancient military maneuvers, but believed that it had made him "an Englishman and a soldier"[39] There were skeptics then as now who questioned whether the militia were as worthy as professional soldiers, but Gibbon's experience testifies that there was something to the *philosophes*' belief that militia service turned men into citizens. Colonial American militia institutions, with all their deficiencies, may have had the same effect.

Britain's successful pursuit of world power and the astonishing resources produced by its financial system were the marvel of the era. Voltaire's criticisms of wars fought in pursuit of trade riches have already been noted. Adam Smith later concluded that Britain had fought the Seven Years' War at vast expense to sustain a monopoly. Its financial system and the institution of the national debt had allowed the country to bear the burden with relative ease, but the debt was insidious. By not financing the full cost of the war through taxation, the government insulated the citizens from its effects and gained a free hand to pursue military adventures. "In great

[39] Edward Gibbon, *The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon*, ed. Dero A. Saunders (New York: Meridian Books, 1961), 131–34.

empires the people who live in the capital, and in the provinces remote from the scene of action, feel, many of them scarce any inconveniency from the war, but enjoy at their ease, the amusement of reading in the newspapers the exploits of their own fleets and armies. To them this amusement compensates the small difference between the taxes they pay on account of the war, and those who they had been accustomed to pay in time of peace. They are commonly dissatisfied with the return of peace, which puts an end to their amusement, and to a thousand visionary hopes of conquest and national glory, from a longer continuance of the war."[40]

Humanity in War

Reginald Savory, in his discussion of the treatment of prisoners of war, the sick, the wounded by the Anglo-German and French armies during the Seven Years' War concludes, "one may agree…that the middle of the eighteenth century was the period during which the conduct of war was, in this respect, the most enlightened. It has never been the same since."[41] Many observers agreed with Voltaire and Holbach that civilization incrementally made war more humane. Even in *Candide* the King of the Bulgarians (Frederick II) saved Candide from the gauntlet "when he learned that Candide was a young metaphysician very ignorant in worldly matters, and therefore pardoned him with a clemency which will be praised in all newspapers and all ages." A leading optimist was Emmerich von Vattel, author of *The Law of Nations* (1758) and the leading expert on international law. "At present", he observed, "the European nations generally carry on their wars with great moderation and generosity."[42] As Hytier concluded, there was growing concern for the welfare of soldiers who suffered from the consequences of war. This "culture of humanity" was not limited to the *philosophes*. Samuel Johnson and John Wesley, deeply religious and conservative men intervened on behalf of French prisoners held in England. Johnson wrote in 1760: "That charity is best, of which the

---

[40] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner, 2 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1976), 2: 919–20. See also pp. 615 and 929 for his comments on the Seven Years' War.

[41] Reginald Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 464.

[42] Emmerich von Vattel, "Of War", in *The Law of Nations, or the Principles of the Law of Nature, Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns*, ed. Joseph Chitty (Philadelphia: T. and J.W. Johnson, 1861), 362.

consequences are the most extensive: the relief of enemies has a tendency to unite mankind in fraternal affection; to soften the acrimony of adverse nations, and dispose them to peace and amity: in the mean time, it alleviates captivity, and takes away something from the miseries of war. The rage of war, however mitigated, will always fill the world with calamity and horror: let it not be unnecessarily extended; let animosity and hostility cease together; and let no man be longer deemed an enemy, than while his sword is drawn against us."[43] Nowhere is the eighteenth century ideal of humane civilization better expressed than in Johnson's stately periods.

The *Encyclopédie*

The *Encyclopédie,* the Enlightenment's greatest project began publication in 1751 and ran to twenty-eight volumes. Although it was viewed with suspicion by its enemies, it was published by royal authority and, even when publication was suppressed in 1759, there was no attempt to prevent its circulation. Still the editors felt the pressure brought to bear by their critics and d'Alembert eventually wilted and withdrew from the editorship. It is probably fair to say that, even though many of the initial volumes were published during the Seven Years' War, the war was not the first thing on the editors' minds. Furthermore we should remember that while many leading *philosophes* contributed to the *Encyclopédie*, it was not exclusively their preserve. The industrious savant Chevalier Jaucourt, now almost forgotten, contributed almost a quarter of the articles to the work. Parts of the *Encyclopédie* were consciously subversive and represent the *philosophes* agenda as described by Peter Gay. Other parts, however, which provide useful knowledge or seek to provide a rational analysis of political and social institutions are closer to Ira Wade's philosophic spirit or the spirit of scientific inquiry. Therefore one finds denunciations of war as a crime against humanity and criticisms of the current practices of military recruitment and cruel treatment of prisoners. Other articles, however, discussed the rules and laws that limited the conduct of war and provided information on the latest thought on military tactics and

[43] Samuel Johnson, "French Prisoners of War" in *"Johnson: Prose and Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 486. see also Samuel J. Rogal, "John Wesley on War And Peace", in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* vol. 7, ed. Roseanne Runte (Madison: University of Wisconsin press, 1978), 332.

technology. As John Lynn has pointed out, the *Encyclopédie* provides a useful overview of the state of military art as it was understood at the mid-century.[44]

No one could have written more pessimistically about war than Jaucourt. He wrote his brief article "Guerre (Droit naturel et politque)" under the influence of the horrors of the Seven Years' War as reported by the gazettes of 1757, the year of the French defeat at Rossbach. Along with most *philosophes* he accepted the idea of a just war: "[A]ny war says Cicero, that is not for defense, for the safety of the state, or for the established faith, is an illegitimate war." Sovereigns recognized the importance of asserting the justice of military action but frequently veiled their true and unjust motives. Jaucourt cited the example of Alexander the Great in this regard, but Frederick the Great seems his more likely target. In his discussion of the law of war, he summarized Grotius's (and Vattel's) realistic position that exposed civilians to the effects of war. Those caught in its midst could expect what has come to be called collateral damage. The law of nature should encourage men to act with the greatest concern for humanity, "but war stifles the voice of nature, of justice, of religion, and of humanity."[45] Jaucourt echoed the *philosophes'* admiration for citizen soldiers and deplored current methods of recruitment that employed force, fraud and cunning. Citing Montesquieu he argued that desertion (a serious problem in eighteenth century armies) was rare among citizens who enlisted freely, but it was understandable in the conditions prevailing in Europe. Sympathizing with the plight of the poor soldier, Jaucourt condemned the death penalty as an effective means of preventing desertion.[46]

Not all contributors were as gloomy as Jaucourt about the extinction of humanity in war. After all, as we have seen, many writers believed that the conduct of war had become more humane since the end of the wars of religion. As a collective work the *Encyclopédie* does not represent a condemnation of war. As one scholar has observed: "Remarkable are the lengths to which career military officers, military scholars and apologists of the military spirit, such as (Lieutenant General) the comte de Tressan, a contributor to the article "guerre", go to put a rational, civilized and

---

[44] See John Lynn, "The Treatment of Military Subjects in Diderot's *Encyclopédie", The Journal of Military History*, 65 (January, 2001), 131–65.

[45] Louis de Jaucourt, "Guerre (Droit naturel et politique)," *Encyclopédie,* VII:995–98.

[46] Jauccourt, "*Enrolement", Encyclopédie,* VII, 706, and "*Déserteur"*, IV:881.

benevolent face on an enterprise that is not so"[47] Tressan certainly believed that officers embraced a humane code of conduct. In his article "*Homme de guerre*", he observed that if through necessity an officer acted as the "rigorous minister of the vengeance of kings," he would distinguish between the necessary evil and the unnecessary and the brigandage that he ought never to tolerate, that amid the cruel spectacles and chaos of war, "pity should always have access to his heart ; and that nothing should ever banish it justice, disinterestedness, and the love of humanity."[48] Was all this self-justifying rhetoric? Savory, cited above, does not seem to think so. There is certainly anecdotal evidence that Tressan expressed a genuine sense of an officer's code of conduct. For example, after the French army's victory over the Duke of Cumberland's "army of observation" at Hastenbeck in 1757, the marquis de Valfons recalled that he had spent three days searching the wooded ravines where the battle had been fought in order to bury the dead and find the wounded who had gone without assistance. "I was sufficiently fortunate to find my cares rewarded by saving the lives of many Hanoverians, Hessians, and French who survived as a result of my zeal, not having wished it said of me that I had neglected so precious a work."[49] We should remember that the writers of military articles of the Encyclopédie reflect not only the military practice of their era, but the moral sense of the officers themselves.

John Lynn's survey of the military articles of the *Encyclopédie* identifies 1,250 out of 74,044 entries as being devoted to military subjects, most of which were on technical matters. Sixty five per cent were written by Guillaume Le Blond, a mathematician and, after 1751, mathematics instructor for the royal children. While he was not a professional soldier his background qualified him to write on subjects such as artillery, fortification and engineering. One may conclude that the *Encyclopédie* reflects the efforts of military writers to submit the "military art" to rational analysis. Thus the *Encyclopédie* as an Enlightenment project and its contributors suggest that the Enlightenment and the term "*philosophe*" require a broader definition than that provided by Peter Gay. By the 1750's it seems that we may employ with confidence the term "Military Enlightenment",

---

47 Pierre Aubrey, "The *Encyclopédie* on war and peace", in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century. Transactions of the Eighth International Congress on the* Enlightenment, 3 vols., (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation at the Taylor Institute, 1992), 3: 1827.

48 Comte de Tressan, "*Homme de Guerre", Encyclopédie*, VII:995.

49 Charles de Mathéi, marquis de Valfons, *Souvenirs du Marquis de Valfons, 1710–1786. Mémoires sur le XVIII siécle* (Paris: E. Paul, 1906), 279.

an intellectual movement related to and in some ways parallel to the great Enlightenment tradition.

Military *Philosophes*

Few rulers ever stirred the imagination of the *philosophes* as did Frederick the Great of Prussia. On his arrival on the throne he appeared to be the model of an enlightened prince. In some ways, such as his religious tolerance, he remained so and they often could look to him as a (testy) friend and patron. Frederick had intellectual aspirations: he was the composer of music, poetry, and philosophic pieces. He praised the Enlightenment's scientific and intellectual achievements: "Perfected physics has carried the flame of truth into the shadow of metaphysics."[50] However, while Voltaire or Grimm may have rooted for him, at least at times, during the Seven Years' War, he was at heart the militarist the *philosophes* deplored. Nevertheless Frederick took care to influence enlightened opinion even with regard to his most cynical acts. Thus he justified his conquest of Silesia as a defense of a legitimate right, no matter how much others might have considered it piracy, and he argued that his preemptive invasion of Saxony in 1756 was a defense against a threatening danger.[51] "The Art of War," he wrote, "is just like any art: used correctly it can be profitable, abused it is fatal. A prince who wages war from unrest, frivolity, or wanton ambition deserves to be punished as much as a judge who murders an innocent man with the sword of justice. That war is virtuous which is waged in order to maintain the authority of the state, preserve its allies, or check an ambitious prince who plots conquests contrary to your interests....There is no finer and more useful art than the art of war when practiced by decent men. Under the protection of the noble defenders of the fatherland the peasant tends his fields, commerce thrives, and all business proceeds peacefully."[52] Only public opinion could judge whether Frederick lived up to these standards during the Seven Years' War and the *philosophes* (whom he cultivated) on the whole seem to have been kind to him. The horrors of the Seven Years' War apparently taught him a lesson and

---

[50] Frederick the Great of Prussia, *Histoire de mon temps,* in *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand,* 31 vols. (Berlin: Rodolphe Decker, 1846), 2: 36.

[51] Ibid., 50–56; Christopher Duffy, *The Military Life of Frederick the Great* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974), 19.

[52] *Frederick the Great on the Art of War,* ed. Jay Luvass (New York: The Free Press, 1966), 44.

thereafter, with the exception of the indecisive War of the Bavarian Succession, he pursued a policy of peace. Gerhard Ritter, describing the peaceful world of late Enlightenment Germany, concludes that Frederick gained followers as a "sovereign of peace".[53]

Within this philosopher king there beat the heart of a wolf. Since war consumed his attention for much of his career, he turned the same rational, critical, and penetrating eye on its science and art as on any of his other intellectual pursuits. He was an avid reader of other military treatises, including those of Turenne, Montecuccoli, and Folard. He invited Folard to visit him to discuss tactics, but the venerable military sage was too ill to accept. But he did meet with Saxe to discuss the nature of war, a meeting of two of the greatest military minds of the century. Frederick wrote numerous confidential treatises for the instruction of his officers. Many of these documents fell into enemy hands and, published in France, were intensely studied by officers throughout Europe. There was a conviction among many that they contained the secret of military success. Frederick's career in the Seven Years' War cannot be encompassed in this essay, but the treatises of 1758 and 1770 mark a change from the aggressive tactics of the 1740's. The Austrians' new and deadly artillery, field fortifications and powerful encampments, along with their shrewd use of terrain had won his respect. Now he recommended that his generals approach this form of war as siege craft.[54] Many believed that Frederick was the master of the art of war at mid-century. But as a social reactionary, he seems out of step with the new spirit working its way through military thought. Montesquieu, Saxe, Rousseau and others foresaw the citizen soldier as a new source of military energy. But that required a social change that this cynical, misanthropic autocrat could never accept.

One of Frederick' most perceptive critics was Henry Lloyd (1729–1783) who served as a staff officer in the Austrian army during the Seven Years' War. His biographer Patrick Speelman concludes that Lloyd was "unique in that he combined the military writer with the *philosophe*."[55] Son of an

---

[53] Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and the Scepter: The Problem of Militarism in Germany,* vol. 1, *The Prussian Military Tradition, 1740–1890*, trans. Henz Norden (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1969), 38.

[54] *Frederick the Great on the Art of War*, 264, 276.

[55] Patrick J. Speelman, *Henry Lloyd and the Military Enlightenment of Eighteenth Century Europe* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood, 2002), 121. Lloyd's collected works are now handily available in *War, Society and Enlightenment: The Works of General Lloyd*, ed. Patrick J. Speelman (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005).

Anglican cleric and educated at Oxford (a nest of Toryism and Jacobitism), Lloyd lacked the connections and means to pursue a British army career. Therefore the only major eighteenth century British intellectual spent his career in the service of continental armies where he gained promotion through merit. This should remind us that in the eighteenth century military professionals were almost as cosmopolitan as were intellectuals. Lloyd's travels brought him into the mainstream of Enlightenment thought, particularly through his relationship with the Italian *philosophe* Pietro Verri. A prolific writer, the core of Lloyd's thought is to be found in his history of the Seven Years' War, the first installment of which was published in 1766 as *The History of the Late War in Germany,* Vol. I and followed by *Continuation of the History of the Late War in Germany, between the King of Prussia and the Empress of Germany and Her Allies, Part II* (1781), a volume devoted to his philosophy of war rather than historical narrative, and finally one that covered the campaigns of 1758 and 1759, incomplete at his death and published posthumously in 1790. In these works Lloyd combined practical military experience, abstract thought and historical perspective to develop a military philosophy that foreshadowed Napoleon. He was unsparing in his criticism of the war's commanders including Frederick who, he concluded was too fond of battle and too accepting of unnecessary risks and losses. The king's battlefield tactics became increasingly predictable and made decisive victory an illusion. Lloyd followed many military writers who thought a general might be successful without fighting battles if proper principles were applied. But the most interesting element in Lloyd is his belief in moral force as fundamental to military success. He rejected the Prussian system of military discipline and argued that armies should be formed on the basis of their national character, which in turn was based upon the constitution of their states. A commander of genius should treat his soldiers with kindness and honor. He should lead them rather than drive them by appealing to their passions and motivate them to greater sacrifice. Lloyd understood that soldiers of despotic princes such as the Russians made well-disciplined and hardy troops, but in the end argued that a passion for liberty, if properly channeled, propelled an almost irresistible force.

French failures in the Seven Years' War produced lively debates among French officers and need not be considered here. One military *philosophe* does stand out as because of the influence of the Seven Years' War and the intellectual currents of the 1750s and early 1760s on his thought. Unlike the relatively obscure Lloyd, Antoine Hippolyte de Guibert was a salon celebrity following the publication of his *General Essay on*

Tactics.[56] Guibert had served as an officer in Germany and Corsica and was influenced by the ideas of his father who had served as a senior staff officer during the Seven Years' War. There are parallels between Guibert and Lloyd, both of whom saw their work as at least partially as a criticism of Fredericean warfare. While they differed on some tactical issues, both captured the vogue for the citizen soldier. "How easy it is to have armies invincible, in a state where its subjects are citizens, where they cherish the government, where they are fond of glory, where they are not intimidated at the idea of toiling for the general good."[57] Guibert embellished his *Essay* in with Rousseauan rhetoric. Like Rousseau he became ambivalent about the possible consequences of the kind of social change required for the achievement of his ideas. In a later work he defended his military proposals, but distanced himself from his political radicalism. R.R. Palmer finds that at the end of his *Defense du systeme de guerre modern*, published in 1779, "Guibert took a parting shot at the *philosophes*, who sometimes showed pacifist inclinations, or at least objected to wars fought by governments then existing."[58]

Conclusion

Biographer Haydn Mason concludes that the Seven Years' War caused Voltaire's "total divorce" with the philosophy of optimism.[59] As noted above, A-M Rousseau argues that the Byng affair began Voltaire's crusade against judicial murder. But Voltaire did not become a crusader against war. The 1762 execution of the Protestant Jean Calas seems to have consumed more of his attention than did the war. A discussion of the *philosophes* and the Seven Years' War defies a coherent argument. Voltaire, for instance, does not seem to have been a devotee of the cult of the citizen soldier. Yet this seems to have been the most important idea on military affairs shared by soldiers and intellectuals in this period. The idea of the citizen soldier seems to have developed in a manner parallel to the

[56] For discussions of Guibert, see Robert Quimby, *The Background of Napoleonic Warfare: The Theory of Military Tactics in Eighteenth Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), 106–74, and R.R. Palmer, "Frederick the Great, Guibert, Bulow: From Dynastic to National War", in *Makers of Modern Strategy Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed. Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 105–13. See also Jacques Antoine Hippolyte de Guibert, *A General Essay on Tactics*, trans. By an officer (London, 1781).

[57] Guibert, *Essay*, xxiii.

[58] Palmer, "Frederick, Guibert, Bulow", 112.

[59] Mason, *Voltaire*, 81.

"autonomous patriotism" described by Edmund Dziembowski. This patriotism implied citizens rather than subjects and that carried implications for military affairs as well. Furthermore, Voltaire's pessimism must be qualified by his hope that civilization might slowly tame the horrors of war. Despite Jaucourt's gloomy pronouncements, many soldiers and intellectuals believed that the conduct of war was becoming more humane and they were proud of it. This view manifests itself in the *Encyclopédie*, a work that provides guidance on the moral and technical aspects of war. These were concerns that could be shared by armchair intellectuals and active soldiers. As noted above many *philosophes* were preoccupied by matters other than war. Connections are hard to establish and on some important issues, such as humanity in war, the question remains: to what extent did the *philosophes* influence military practice or did they follow the lead of the enlightened soldiers of the era?

CHAPTER THREE

UNDERSTANDING NATIVE AMERICAN ALLIANCES

Matthew C. Ward

Native American participation in the Seven Years' War was central to the war's outcome in North America. Between 1754 and 1759 Indian raiding parties descended upon the frontiers of Britain's North American colonies from Nova Scotia and Maine in the north to Georgia in the south. During these years Indian raiding parties killed several thousand Anglo-American colonists, took as many captive, and devastated an area across the frontier an area almost the size of Great Britain.[1] These raids directly affected every British colony in North America with the exception only of tiny Delaware, Rhode Island and Connecticut, but even these colonies were forced to respond to the attacks by providing supplies and men for the British forces that assembled in North America. These raids formed a crucial component of French strategy in North America. The governor of Canada, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, believed that by using Canada's traditional Indian allies to paralyze the British frontier he could neutralize the war effort of the British colonies. He neatly summarized this policy in a letter written in the early summer of 1756 to Jean Baptiste de Machault d'Arnonville, the Minister of the Marine in France. Vaudreuil stressed that there was no possibility of "managing the English. Their enterprises are carried to excess, and… they are making new and greater efforts against this Colony." However, if Canada was "to carry the war into their country… [by] sending parties of Indians into the English Colonies," Vaudreuil argued, "nothing is more calculated to disgust the people of those Colonies and to make them desire the return of peace."[2]

Native American alliances were central to the French because the French population in Canada was so small. By 1750 the population of

---

[1] Matthew C. Ward, "Fighting the 'Old Women': Indian Strategy on the Virginia and Pennsylvania Frontier, 1754–1758," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (1995): 297–320.

[2] Vaudreuil to Machault, June 8, 1756, Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; Procured in Holland, England and France*, 15 vols. (Albany: Parsons Weed, 1853–87), 10: 413.

French Canada was only around 60,000. The British colonies by contrast possessed over one million colonists. However, France's Native American allies could help to counter this imbalance in numbers. Although the Native American peoples of the northeast and Great Lakes region only numbered no more than 100,000 by the 1750s, their ability to descend on the relatively unprotected frontier or backcountry of the British colonies and the fear with which most colonists viewed their attacks made them potent allies.[3]

From this perspective the Indian raiding parties which attacked the British frontier at first appear as little more than pawns of the French. Indeed, this was largely the view of Indian motivation suggested by historian Francis Parkman in the late nineteenth century, and even echoed in the popular American term for the struggle, the French and Indian War.[4] Contemporaries who viewed the destruction of the colonial frontier largely viewed the Indian raiding parties as attacking merely as pawns of the French, failing to comprehend that the Indian raiders had their own motives for these attacks, and merging the French and Indians into one fearsome whole. When Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie summoned the militia to the colony's defense in June 1755, he warned of the threat from "the French and their Ind[ian]s."[5] A month later when Governor Robert Hunter Morris of neighboring Pennsylvania addressed his provincial assembly, he too warned of "the cruel Incursions of the French and their barbarous Indians."[6] To men such as Dinwiddie and Morris, Indians lacked reason and intellect; it was unthinkable that they would act on their own behalf.[7]

However, the Indian war parties that attacked the frontier did not do so merely as agents of the French; most participated in the war for their own specific ends. Indeed, in late 1758 and again in 1760 when French commanders were desperate for Indian assistance, comparatively few Indian

---

[3] Guy Frégault, *Canada: The War of the Conquest*, trans. Margaret M. Cameron (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), 35; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 65.

[4] Francis Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1899); Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1899).

[5] Gov. Dinwiddie to County Lieutenants, June 17, 1755, R.A. Brock, ed., *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751–1758*, 2 vols. (Richmond: The Virginia Historical Society, 1883), 2: 67.

[6] Samuel Hazard, ed., *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* [spine title, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*] (Harrisburg, Pa.: Theophilus Fenn, 1838–53), 6: 486.

[7] Ann M. Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 198.

war-parties participated in the defense of Canada. When the army of British General John Forbes approached the strategically important French post of Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio River, in November 1758, the fort's commander François-Marie le Marchand de Lignery had few men to defend the post. In desperation he sent a message to the nearby Delaware village of Kuskuski begging for support. According to Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post, who witnessed the event, rather than assisting the French the Kuskuski Delawares bluntly informed the commander that "We have often ventured our lives for him; and had hardly a loaf of bread when we came to him; and now he thinks we should jump to serve him." They would not send warriors to the fort.[8] Clearly these Delawares, many of who had earlier participated in raiding parties, were not passive agents of the French. Only by understanding the motivations of Native American groups who participated in the Seven Years' War in North America can the changing fortunes of war in North America be comprehended.

The French had several groups of closely allied Indians who had assisted Canada in the past and served as their most reliable allies. Perhaps Canada's closest allies were the mission Indians many of whom lived in mission towns around Montreal and Quebec. Tied by religion to their French neighbors, these Indians often served on French campaigns. The Hurons of Lorette, outside the city of Quebec, served consistently alongside the French throughout the war. Other groups such as the Kahnawake (Iroquois converts who had moved to the St. Lawrence Valley) still retained many ties with their homelands. They could be highly useful to the French as diplomats and spies as well as warriors. Yet other groups of mission Indians lived scattered across Acadia, the Great Lakes and Illinois Country around missions such as Sainte Geneviève on the Mississippi River. Often encouraged by priests, such as Father Jean-Louis Le Loutre in Acadia, to view war against the Protestants as a holy war, mission Indians were some of New France's most important and reliable allies.[9]

---

[8] Reuben Gold ed. Thwaites, ed., *Two Journals of Western Tours, by Charles* [*Sic*] *Frederick Post*, 32 vols., vol. 1, *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846* (Cleveland.: Arthur H. Clark, 1904), 256.

[9] Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Empires in the Seven Years War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), 218; John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607–1814* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 79–82; D. Peter MacLeod, *The Canadian Iroquois and the Seven Years' War*, *Canadian War Museum Historical Publication* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996); J. Joseph Bauxar, "History of the Illinois Area," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 15, Northeast*, eds. William C. Sturtevant and Bruce G. Trigger (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 596.

Other Indian peoples who lived close to French settlements and whose lives were closely entwined with the French, such as the Algonquins from the St. Lawrence Valley, could also be expected to provide support for the French. These Indians were closely tied to the French by trade and often by intermarriage. Although often living close to French settlements, they did not perceive a threat of French encroachment onto their lands because the French population remained so low. Living in settlements strung along the shores of the St. Lawrence River eastwards from Montreal for almost 300 miles towards the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, French settlers showed little interest in acquiring Indian lands, unlike the teeming mass British colonists to the south who constantly sought to acquire the lands of neighboring Indians.[10]

However important the service of Indians who lived in French missions or who lived close to French settlements, such Indians comprised only a small proportion of the Indian peoples of North America. To maximize their support the French could also expect assistance from Indians living across the Great Lakes region, the region the French called the upper country or *pays d'en haut*, such as Ottawas and Ojibwas and even those from further west on the borders of the northern Great Plains such as the Cree. Over the previous century the French had consciously crafted a close relationship with these western peoples. This was not a one-way alliance, an alliance born from the strength of the French presence; rather on the contrary it was born from French weakness. Unable to dominate the west, the French served a mediators of Indian disputes, offered some protection from raids from the fearsome Sioux on the Great Plains, and provided trade goods and presents. Incapable of awing the Indians, the French adopted a new style of diplomacy, modeled on Indian traditions, which included such traditional Indian practices as the calumet pipe. From this mixing of cultures, what Richard White has termed "the middle ground," the French developed a strong alliance with the Indians of the *pays d'en haut*. Although far removed from the seat of war with the British, the French could also count upon these peoples to provide substantial numbers of warriors in times of war.[11]

---

[10] Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 11–26.

[11] Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 39–47; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 142–82; Philip J. Deloria, "What Is the Middle Ground, Anyway?" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (January 2006): 15–22, Richard White, "Creative

Other groups upon whom the French could count for unswerving support were those who had been driven from their homelands by British colonists. On the New England frontier the French had always maintained a close alliance with Indian peoples such as the Abenaki and Mi'kmaq. Many of these Indian groups had been driven from New England in the seventeenth century as the Puritan colonies expanded. Not surprisingly, these refugees were all too willing to support the French whenever imperial wars enveloped the frontier. From the 1690s onwards the French had developed a strategy of using war-parties of Indian allies to devastate large swathes of the New England countryside in what contemporary French commentators termed *la petite guerre*, a term which would later enter the English language in its Spanish equivalent of *guerrilla*.[12]

These allies of the French served alongside French armies for a variety of reasons. They served in part to maintain and cement their traditional alliances with the French. If they served with the French when their assistance was needed, they could also expect French assistance if threatened by Indian raids from peoples such as the Sioux or when faced with attacks from the British and their allies. They also served for more traditional reasons, to prove their bravery in combat and to acquire booty and prisoners. The combined lure of booty and prisoners could be a powerful attraction for many Indian warriors. In the summer of 1756 only around 300 warriors from the Great Lakes had served with the French in the capture of the British post at Oswego on Lake Ontario. However, following the fall of the British fort those Indian warriors who had participated in the campaign took prisoners from the stricken garrison, some of whom they ransomed back to the French, a few of whom they killed, but most of whom they carried back to their villages as captives. The Indians also seized a considerable quantity of provisions and supplies which they claimed as booty. Tales of the fort's fall and the distribution of prisoners and booty soon circulated around the Great Lakes and encouraged an increasing number of warriors to accompany the French the following year. In 1757 more than

---

Misunderstandings and New Understandings," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (January 2006): 9–14.

[12] W.J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534–1760.* 2d ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 139; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 1–2, Little, *Abraham in Arms*; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada: From Champlain to the Gulf War*, 3d ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 21–29; John G. Reid et al., eds., *The 'Conquest' of Acadia, 1710: Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

three times as many warriors, over 1,000 in total, flocked east to join the French army.[13]

Because the service of these warriors was principally in support of the French, they often served directly alongside French armies. Perhaps 2,000 Indian warriors, from the Great Lakes, St. Lawrence Valley and Acadia, for instance, served alongside the French during the Quebec campaign of 1759, and many others served on campaigns in the St. Lawrence Valley and along Lake Champlain.[14] These warriors' expectations of receiving booty and prisoners and their desire to fight in a traditional Indian manner frequently led to conflicts with French military commanders. Most notably following the capitulation of Fort William Henry in August 1757, Indian warriors from the Great Lakes region, disappointed by the lack of booty and prisoners distributed during the campaign, ransacked the fort and killed and tortured many of those who had surrendered to the French. The 'massacre' of Fort William Henry convinced the Marquis de Montcalm, who had been appointed commander of French forces in Canada in 1756, of the worthlessness of Indian warriors in regular campaigning as well as providing the British with clear evidence of the perfidy of the French and the savagery of their Indian allies.[15]

Montcalm's growing disillusionment with his Indian allies also played a crucial role in Indian involvement in the war. Before the capture of Fort William Henry, Montcalm had allowed Governor Vaudreuil, the civilian and Canadian-born governor, to encourage large numbers of Indians to serve with the French army. However, following the massacre at Fort William Henry Montcalm and Vaudreuil increasingly clashed over the defence of Canada and the role of Indians in warfare.[16] Montcalm's growing disillusion with his Indian allies meant that he was reluctant to allocate precious supplies to them. Those Indians who served alongside the French expected supplies of ammunition and shot to participate in the war; they also required cloth and metal goods to replace the loss of a season's hunting by their service. Gifts were also important to maintain the influence of pro-French headmen in their western villages, yet supplies of

---

[13] Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 78–80.

[14] Henri Raymond Casgrain, ed., *Journal Du Marquis De Montcalm Durant Ses Campagnes En Canada De 1756 À 1759* (Quebec: L.J. Demers et Frère, 1895), 606; Matthew C. Ward, *The Battle for Quebec, 1759* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), 47–48.

[15] Ian Steele estimates between 69 and 184 out of a total of 2,400 prisoners were killed. Steele, *Betrayals*, 119–22, 43–44.

[16] Frégault, *Canada*, 241–43.

all kinds were desperately short in Canada. With scant supplies for his regular troops and militia, Montcalm looked unfavorably on providing France's Indian allies with gifts and presents. As the supply of French trade goods decreased, so active support for the French declined. This was not simply the case of Indian headmen being mercenary in their choice of allegiance and seeking booty and rewards; if the French would not provide compensation for the loss of a season's hunting, Indian warriors had to hunt; if the French would not provide guns and ammunition Indian warriors could not support French armies; if the French would not provide a supply of gifts to pro-French headmen their ability to maintain support in their villages diminished. Gifts and supplies thus played several complementary roles in allowing France's Native American allies to continue their support. When the French commander at Fort Duquesne sought support from the Kuskuski Delawares in 1758, the lack of French gift and supplies was part of a complex network of reasons why they refused further support for the French.[17]

It was not only the decline of the supply of trade goods which dulled the enthusiasm of some Indian headmen for the French cause. As large numbers of troops arrived in Canada directly from France they brought with them smallpox. Soon the disease was ravaging the population of Canada: it would also ravage the population of British North America. As smallpox ravaged the Canadian population many Indian warriors became wary of joining their allies.[18] When the impact of epidemics was combined with a lack of trade goods, many western peoples focused their energies on producing food rather than warriors. The Potawatomis, for instance, were eager French allies in 1755 and 1756, but when Potawatomi warriors returned home bringing smallpox with them and French officers refused to provide the traditional supply of trade goods, let alone any additional sustenance, their support for the French war effort declined precipitously and few Potawatomi joined the French for the remainder of the war.[19]

Indian involvement in the conflict could also be tempered by perceived immediate threats to their homes and villages. Although the Seven Years' War in North America is often viewed as one where the British and their

---

[17] Ibid. 112–13, 37.

[18] D. Peter MacLeod, "Microbes and Muskets: Smallpox and the Participation of the Amerindian Allies of New France in the Seven Years' War," *Ethnohistory* 39 (1992): 42–64.

[19] Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 56.

colonists fought the French and their Indians, Indians fought on both sides during the war and Britain retained some important Indian allies. Some of these Indian peoples, such as the Stockbridge Indians, a band of Mohicans who lived near Albany, New York, were highly anglicized having been acculturated by the activities of Presbyterian missionaries. Others such as the Catawba, who lived on the border of South Carolina and North Carolina, were surrounded by British settlements and reliant upon the British for trade. In New England, in Massachusetts in particular, many Indian peoples whose families had lived alongside white colonists for several generations simply enlisted in the provincial regiments and served alongside Anglo-American troops. For these peoples participation in the war offered both an opportunity to cement their relationship with the British, and a chance to be rewarded with cash payments.[20]

All these warriors made an important contribution to the British war effort, serving in particular as guides and scouts. Without such guides and scouts the British were unable to pose any military threat to the Indians who supported the French. When John Craig, a Pennsylvanian taken captive on the frontier asked his captor, the Delaware war captain Shingas, whether he feared retribution from the British, Shingas laughed heartily. He replied that the Indians had nothing to fear in going to war against the British for the British were nothing but "Old Women." Since the British could not find their way to the Ohio towns without Indian guides, if the Indians refused to help them their towns would be safe.[21] However, as the British began to make use of their Indian allies they were able to threaten Indian villages in the Ohio Country, forcing warriors to remain in the villages to protect their families. While the most infamous British raid on an Indian village during the war was Major Robert Rogers' raid on the Abenaki mission village of St. Francis in October 1759, the British attempted to launch many other raids on Indian villages from 1756 onwards. Most of these raids, such as the raid by Pennsylvania forces on the village of Kittanning on the Allegheny River in September 1756, were fraught with

---

[20] Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992) *passim*; Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 130–32; James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) *passim*.

[21] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 1, 1756; Deposition of John Craig, March 30, 1756, Penn Mss.: Indian Affairs, 2: 78.

danger and were at best pyrrhic victories. More effective were raids by Britain's Indian allies themselves, without the involvement of British and colonial forces, particularly by the Cherokees.[22]

The Cherokees were central to British imperial policy in the south. Living in the southern Appalachians they served as an important counterweight to the Francophile Choctaws. Protecting the southern backcountry from attack, and frequently providing the British with important allies in war, South Carolina governor James Glen wrote in 1754 that they were the "key of Carolina." Over the first half of the eighteenth century they had developed a thriving trade with the British. However, like their Ohio brethren, in Cherokee society the accumulation of wealth was overridden by the importance of gift-giving and consumption.[23] Like their Ohio brethren the Cherokees were divided into pro-French and pro-British factions. However, it was the pro-British faction which initially gained the upper hand. The Cherokees hoped that by offering aid to the British, or rather by offering aid to Virginia, they could increase trade as well as being immediately rewarded with goods and gifts. War against the Indians of the Ohio Valley was also a continuation of a long-standing enmity between the Cherokees and their neighbors to the north. Thus in many ways the Cherokees simply saw an opportunity to receive gifts and presents to continue a war which they had been waging themselves for generations. Consequently, in the early years of the war many Cherokee warriors served alongside British and Virginia troops as well as launching raids of their own into the Ohio Valley.[24]

However, their participation in the war as British allies also caused problems for the Cherokees themselves. The influx of gifts and presents that the Virginians provided for their allies allowed a new warrior elite to rise. This in turn resulted in an increasing jealousy a between the pro-British and pro-French parties. By 1757 Cherokee society was fragmented and factionalized into a pro-British party and a pro-French, or more correctly anti-British party. French officials did all they could to deepen these splits encouraging Cherokee headmen to travel to Fort Toulouse and even

---

[22] Armstrong to Denny, 14 Sept. 1756, Penn Mss.: Indian Affairs, 2: 100 HSP; James P. Myers Jr., "Pennsylvania's Awakening: The Kittanning Raid of 1756," *Pennsylvania History* 66 (Summer 1999): 399–420; Gordon M. Day, "Oral Tradition as Complement," *Ethnohistory* 19 (1972): 99–108.

[23] Tom Hatley, *Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 71.

[24] Ibid. 105–15; John Oliphant, *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756–63* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) *passim*.

Detroit to negotiate.[25] However, ultimately it was the British themselves who alienated the Cherokee. When Cherokee warriors served alongside British troops they were greeted with disdain and contempt; often the presents and gifts which they expected never arrived, or arrived in such a poor state that they proved as much of an insult as a reward. South Carolinians, meanwhile, resented Virginia's growing influence over the Cherokee and desire for the acquisition of Cherokee lands. Indeed, by the summer of 1758 relations between the Cherokee and the British had grown so bad that war broke out on the South Carolina frontier.[26]

Most Indian peoples participated in the Seven Years' War because of pre-existing alliances and connections. For these peoples the Seven Years' War did not mark a major departure from previous conflicts and activities. However, what made the Seven Years' War dramatically different from previous conflicts was both the extent of the involvement of these peoples and the involvement of other peoples who had not previously been involved in warfare against the British, most notably the Native American peoples living in the upper Ohio Valley and on the frontier of Pennsylvania. Before the Seven Years' War warfare had been largely limited to frontier of New England and New York. Despite the image of the early American frontier as a violent and brutal location, much of the early American frontier, particularly in the middle colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania had been relatively peaceful before the outbreak of war in the 1750s and the period has been termed by some historians as the "Long Peace."[27]

This peace was the result of several different circumstances which had broken down by the middle of the eighteenth century. In Virginia, Iroquois raids and wars in the 1660s followed by the violence of Bacon's Rebellion

---

[25] Vaudreuil to Machault, August 8, 1756, April 19, 1757, O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to Colonial New York*, 10: 435–38, 539–40; Deposition of Andrew Lewis on negotiations with Cherokee, July, 1756, Ralph Boehm ed., *British Public Record Office, Class 5 Files*, (Frederick, Md., 1983), Part 1, *Westward Expansion, 1700–1783,* 3: 123–127. David H Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival 1740–1762* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 163.

[26] Washington to John Blair, January 31, 1758, W.W. Abbot, Dorothy Twohig, and Philander D. Chase, eds., *The Papers of George Washington*, 10 vols., *Colonial Series* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983–95), 5: 86; George Croghan to Sir William Johnson, January 30, 1759, James Sullivan, et al., eds., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921–1965) 10: 90–92; H.R. McIlwaine,, Wilmer Lee Hall, and Benjamin J. Hillman, eds.., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 6 vols. (Richmond Va.: Virginia State Library, 1925–1966), 6: 94, 112.

[27] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 152–54; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 35–37.

in 1676 had driven Indian communities out of western Virginia. Western Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley in particular, lay all but empty of native people. The colonists who began to move into the Shenandoah Valley from the 1730s onwards encountered only the occasional Indian party travelling down the warriors' trail. While settlers did not always welcome these parties, and there were occasional misunderstandings, the essential apartheid of white and Indian communities in Virginia maintained peace on the colony's frontier for over 80 years.[28]

If the separation of colonists and Indians had ensured peace on Virginia's frontier, in Pennsylvania it was the relatively close ties between the two communities which served to maintain peace. There were several forces that generated understanding between Pennsylvanians and their Indian neighbors. Pacifist Quakers and Moravians sought both to build frontier communities without alienating Pennsylvania's Indians and also viewed Indians as rational beings who were the intellectual equal of Europeans.[29] Trade also drew Pennsylvanians and Indians together culturally and physically. During the 1740s Pennsylvania's fur trade had grown steadily until furs comprised over forty percent of the colony's exports to London. Trade brought Pennsylvania Indians into Britain's trans-Atlantic trading network and often brought them physically into backcountry settlements to trade.[30] Across the Pennsylvania frontier Indians and settlers lived alongside one another. In mission communities, particularly the communities of the Moravian church such as Gnadenhütten, missionaries and Indians lived and died side-by-side. In the Conococheague Valley in western Pennsylvania, around Shamokin at the Forks of the Susquehanna River, and at Easton at the Forks of the Delaware River, there were sizeable multiethnic communities where interaction between Indians and colonists was commonplace. When Delaware hunter, John Toby, stopped at the house of Robert Hunter in February 1751, for instance, Hunter felt no

---

[28] Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 50–51.

[29] "Minutes of the Proceedings of the People called Quakers in Philadelphia towards regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by pacific Measures," 5; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Joseph D Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York: Scribners, 1976), 164–94; Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 131–32, 44; Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton: King of the Quakers* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1943), 97–102.

[30] Stephen H. Cutcliffe, "Indians, Furs and Empires: The Changing Policies of New York and Pennsylvania, 1674–1768" (Ph.D. diss., Lehigh University, 1976), 187; Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 178–79.

reason to remain at home to protect his family from the Indian whose presence was seen as neither unusual nor intimidating.[31]

Understanding how the long peace unraveled, and how many of the Indian peoples who inhabited the Ohio Valley came to take up arms against the British, is central for an understanding of why the French and their allies were able to devastate the colonial frontier. If the Ohio Indians, the Shawnee and Delaware in particular, had remained neutral, raiding parties from the west heading to the British frontier would have encountered innumerable difficulties; were the Ohio Indians to take up arms against the British, they would enable the French to launch raids deep into the heart of the British colonies, into Virginia and Pennsylvania, which had previously been all but untouched by frontier warfare.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the peace was coming under increasing strain. Following the death of William Penn in 1718, affairs in Pennsylvania fell increasingly under the control of men with less interest in maintaining amicable affairs with Native Americans, most notably first William Keith and then James Logan.[32] By the early 1730s Logan felt confident to undertake the most notorious fraud in Pennsylvania's early history. Logan provided the proprietors with some rough notes of what he claimed was an old Delaware cession to lands the boundary of which was to be determined by a day and a half's walk. In 1737, after much debate, Delaware headman Nutimus agreed to allow the 'Walking Purchase.' In so-doing, Nutimus believed that any walk would be done at a normal pace, the walkers stopping "to eat their dinner, [and] after that smoak a pipe." With horror he now discovered that the Pennsylvanians

---

[31] David Brainerd, *An Account of the Life of the Late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd: Minister of the Gospel, Missionary to the Indians, from the Honourable Society...* (Edinburgh: John Gray and Gavin Alston, 1765), 350, 93; Henry Harbaugh, ed., *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter: With a Full Account of His Travels and Labors among the Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia...* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857), 172–73; Steven C. Harper, "Delawares and Pennsylvanians after the Walking Purchase," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, eds. William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); James H. Merrell, "Shamokin, 'the Very Seat of the Prince of Darkness': Unsettling the Early American Frontier," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830*, eds. Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 16–59; Louis M. Waddell, "Justice, Retribution, and the Case of John Toby," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods*, 132.

[32] Charles E. Hunter, "The Delaware Nativist Revival of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Ethnohistory* 18, (1971): 39–49; Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, 164–67.

intended to use trained runners and laid claim to the heart of Delaware territory.[33]

The Delawares' alienation by the Walking Purchase lay at the heart of their later involvement in the Seven Years' War. The Delawares tried to protest but the Pennsylvanians demanded that any protest had to be lodged through their neighbors the Iroquois who brusquely rejected Delaware complaints. The participation of the Iroquois in this fraud at first seems perverse; however, the fraud offered the Iroquois the opportunity to extend their influence over the Delaware. Under the system of diplomacy termed the Covenant Chain, developed from the late seventeenth century, the Iroquois had agreed to deal with New York as representatives of the British, while the British agreed to recognize the Iroquois as speakers for the neighboring Indian peoples.[34] By the eighteenth century, warfare and epidemic disease had severely reduced Iroquois military power. However, the Iroquois were able to use the Covenant Chain to refashion themselves into the most important Indian diplomatic force in North America, developing what Peter Wraxall, the Indian secretary of New York, termed "the Modern Indian Politics."[35] By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 the French had recognized the Iroquois as subjects of the British crown. While the Iroquois would never have viewed themselves as subjects of anyone, the treaty gave the Iroquois considerable leverage over the British. During their seventeenth century wars the Iroquois had driven many native peoples from their homelands, in particular the peoples from the upper Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region. The British used claims that the Iroquois had conquered the peoples of this region as the basis for their claim to the upper Ohio Valley. This claim in turn gave the Iroquois their great power, for if the British denied their supremacy over peoples such as the Delawares

---

[33] 'In Reference to the Walking Purchase,' Friendly Association Records, 1: 407, Quaker Collection, Collection #1250, Haverford College, Haverford, PA; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginning to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 330–32, 44; Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 41–49.

[34] Richard L. Haan, "Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676–1760," in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrel (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 61–73.

[35] Quote in Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 9; Jon William Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676–1760," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (January 2007): 39–82; Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 167.

and Shawnees they also denied their own claims to the west. By combining the rhetoric of the Covenant Chain with the realities of the Treaty of Utrecht the Iroquois were able to construct for themselves an empire based on diplomacy rather than conquest. The principal victims of what Francis Jennings has termed this "ambiguous Iroquois empire" were the Indians living in Pennsylvania, most notably the Delawares, for the Walking Purchase provided the Iroquois with a clear opportunity to enforce this empire.[36]

In response to Delaware protests about the Walking Purchase, the Iroquois declared that the Delawares were 'women' who had settled on Iroquois land and thus had no power to treat directly with the Pennsylvanians. While the Iroquois had previously designated the Delawares as women, the designation had born no opprobrium but rather represented their status as one of the most important of their tributary tribes. Now the Iroquois sought to rob them of their independence by prohibiting them from negotiating. Awed by the combined might of the Iroquois and the British, the Delawares had no alternative but to remain silent for the time being.[37]

In the wake of the Walking Purchase, many Delawares began to move west and by the early 1750s many had settled west of the Appalachians in the Upper Ohio Valley in villages such as Kuskuski. As they moved west they took with them tales of the cupidity of Pennsylvanian officials. The Delawares' tales by themselves may not have been enough to cause problems for the British and their colonists; but they rang true to many other Indians and seemed particularly prescient because at the same time that the Delawares began to arrive in the upper Ohio Valley, a group of Virginians began to seek lands in the region.[38]

In January 1749 John Hanbury, a wealthy London merchant representing the Ohio Company of Virginia, had presented the Crown with a petition seeking a grant of one and a half million acres on the Ohio River.

---

[36] Francis Jennings, "Pennsylvania Indians' and the Iroquois," in *Beyond the Covenant Chain*, 89; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Long-House: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

[37] Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701–1754* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 185–87; Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), 25.

[38] Michael N. McConnell, "Kuskusky Towns and Early Western Pennsylvania Indian History, 1748–1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (1992): 33–58.

The petition quickly received royal assent and the Ohio Company called a conference at the Indian town of Logstown, ten miles downstream from the forks of the Ohio, to meet at the end of May 1752 to give consent to the construction of a company fort at the forks of the Ohio. The company expected little opposition, arguing that the Iroquois had already ceded the upper Ohio Valley to the British at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1748, a rather different interpretation of the Treaty from the Iroquois who believed they had merely surrendered rights to the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. Such a claim was an even greater surprise to the Ohio Indians who were present, and the conference soon dissolved into bickering. Eventually both the Ohio Indians and the Iroquois merely agreed to consult further about the issue. The conference at Logstown brought to the fore the Ohio Indians' concerns about the long-term aims of the British at the same time that increasing number of Delawares were moving to the Ohio Valley with tales of their treatment in Pennsylvania.[39]

The increasing cupidity of the British for the Ohio Indians' lands also coincided with an increasingly aggressive French policy. During the 1740s British traders, particularly from Pennsylvania, had begun to arrive in the upper Ohio Valley. After the peace of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1748 these traders spread out across the entire Ohio Valley and into the Great Lakes region. The arrival of British traders in the Ohio Valley posed a direct threat to French presence in the region. On the maps of diplomats the French 'controlled' much of the interior of North America, from the Appalachian Mountains to the Rockies, from the Gulf of Mexico almost to the shores of Hudson Bay. In reality, however, the French only physically controlled a relatively small region along the lower St. Lawrence and Mississippi Rivers which was physically occupied by French settlers together with a few isolated settlements in the interior such as Detroit. Elsewhere, while the French could influence and cajole native peoples to support their activities, they could not force or compel them; while they maintained and fostered close alliances and relationships with Indian peoples, this was not the control which many British officials presumed.[40]

---

[39] Orders in Council, February 9, 1749, Petition of John Hanbury, presented February 9, 1749, Account of the Treaty of Logstown, 1752,' *British Public Record Office, Class 5 Files,* Part 1, *Westward Expansion,* 11: 551–553, 555–560, 761–764; Lois Mulkearn, *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954), 1–2, 5, 7–10, 142; Alfred Procter James, *The Ohio Company: Its Inner History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), 14; 'Case of the Ohio Company, 1762,' *George Mercer Papers*, 56.

[40] For the best discussion of the relationship between the French and the Indians see White, *Middle Ground* and also Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism*

Central to the development of French influence was their ability to provide their allies with an abundant supply of trade goods and gifts. The repeated migration of different Indian peoples into the Ohio Valley throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, as they were at first driven west from their homes by Iroquois raids and then returned east to better hunting grounds, led to the creation of large multi-ethnic villages and communities. Within these communities which had been disrupted by the repeated migration, traditional leadership patterns broke down; a headman's power became based upon his personal influence and prestige rather than upon any family or hereditary right. Across the Ohio Valley a headman's ability to provide supporters with more prized gifts provided a principal route to influence and power. This power came not through the ability to bribe or purchase support in a mercenary sense, but rather because in Indian society the exchange of gifts implied the development of a reciprocal friendship and sense of obligation and the more prized the gift the stronger the obligation. As trade grew in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, trade goods assumed a growing importance. Within these fluid societies of the Ohio Valley, new headmen regularly emerged and older leaders found their influence constantly threatened. For these new rising headmen access to trade goods was vital in order to build and maintain their power.[41] When the British bestowed such headmen with titles such as 'king' they failed to comprehend the nature of leadership in these villages. These headmen were leaders not because of any hereditary or absolute right, they were leaders because of their ability to cajole and influence their fellow villagers. A village headman could not guarantee that his fellow villagers would support any decision he made, yet this ability to control and coerce was what the British in particular expected from leaders and kings.

The arrival of Pennsylvania traders in the Ohio Valley threatened to undermine the French alliance with Native Americans. If French ability to influence the Ohio Indians was to diminish, or more particularly if the

---

in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

41 Raymond to La Jonquière, January 5, 1750, *Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*. 34 vols. (Springfield: The Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1915–1940), 29: 154; Wilbur R Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958); McConnell, *Country Between*, 25–27; James H. O'Donnell, III, *Ohio's First Peoples* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004), 28–34; White, *Middle Ground*, 37.

ability of pro-French headmen to influence their fellow villagers was to diminish, then French authority in the region would become tenuous; if new headmen arose to prominence whose allegiance was to Pennsylvania rather than France, French influence would all but disappear. In 1747 the acting governor of Canada, Roland-Michel Barrin, Marquis de La Galissonière, alerted his superiors to the influence of "the presents of the English, and the rumours which they have spread abroad and which have been confirmed by the necessity in which we have been of making use of these Indians and of humoring them… and above all the lack of goods in the posts."[42] The initial French reaction was simply to send an expedition headed by Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville, down the Ohio River to bury lead plates claiming the region for the French. Not surprisingly, Céloron's mission achieved little.[43] In the summer of 1752 the French finally acted decisively. An expedition composed principally of Ottawas, Chippewas, and Ojibwas, accompanied by twenty French troops, was dispatched with orders "to kill all such Indians as are in amity with the English, and to take the Persons and Effects of all such English Traders as they could meet with." At exactly the same time that representatives from Virginia and the Ohio Company were meeting with the Ohio Indians at Logstown and raising suspicions about their intentions, this party descended on a trading post at Pickawillany and destroyed it.[44] The French backed up this show of force by constructing a number of new forts to secure the region. Across the Ohio Valley, Pennsylvania traders packed up their goods and headed home. The loss of access to British trading increased French influence over the Ohio Indians at this crucial point, or rather headmen whose sympathies lay principally with the British found that they were unable to provide their supporters with gifts and presents and that their support began to diminish.

Support for the British further evaporated because the British proved unwilling or unable to protect their supporters. Those headmen whose sympathies remained with the British now sought arms and ammunition;

---

[42] La Galissonière to Maurepas, October 22, 1747, *Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*, 29: 38.

[43] Donald H Kent, *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1954), 9; Rayamond to La Jonquière, April 9, 1750, Ibid., 29: 179.

[44] 'Detail of Indian Affairs,' Donald H. Kent and Sylvester K. Stevens, eds., *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941), 31; 'Journal of William Trent,' *British Public Record Office, Class 5 Files,* Part 1, *Westward Expansion,* 11: 712–728; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 5: 599–600, 674; Macarty to Vaudreuil, December 7, 1752, *Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*, 29: 748.

but the British refused to supply these. When Virginia attempted to build a small outpost at the forks of the Ohio, the French moved quickly to seize the post and began construction of their own post, Fort Duquesne, to control the region.[45] Faced with an increasingly aggressive French presence, those Ohio headmen who continued to support the British had little alternative but to flee to the Pennsylvania frontier for protection.[46]

In desperation some of these Anglophone headmen made a final attempt to force the hand of the British. In May 1754 a party of Virginia militia, commanded by the young and inexperienced George Washington, came across a French party sent out from Fort Duquesne to parlay. One of the Anglophone Ohio headmen who accompanied the party, an Iroquois warrior called Tanaghrisson, encouraged Washington to attack the party and may even have personally killed the French commander, Joseph Coulon de Villiers, sieur de Jumonville, after he had surrendered to Washington. This skirmish in many ways precipitated the commencement of open warfare in North America. The French responded by sending a much larger party to capture Washington's force, which in turn necessitated the sending of General Edward Braddock's army to North America. Thus, in some ways it was the intricacies of Indian diplomacy which propelled the British into the conflict.[47]

The failure of the British to drive the French from the Ohio and the machinations of the Ohio Company divided the most important of Britain's Indian allies, the Iroquois.[48] The Ohio Company's direct negotiation with the Ohio Indians seemed a major breach of the Covenant Chain. When the Albany Congress of 1754, called to coordinate colonial actions against the French and to assuage Indian fears about western lands, also

---

45 Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 42–49; Donald H Kent, *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1954).

46 Duquesne to Machault, November 3, 1754, *Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*. 29: 919; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 6: 130, 140, 149, 159, 257; *George Mercer Papers*, 69–71 ; James Glen to the Earl of Holderness, June 25, 1753, *British Public Record Office, Class 5 Files,* Part 1, *Westward Expansion,* 1: 431–432.

47 Washington to Dinwiddie, 29 May 1754, George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 31 May 1754, Dinwiddie to Washington 4 June 1754, *Papers of Washington*, 1: 110–11, 18, 26–27; Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 50–65; J. Frederick Fausz, "'Engaged in Enterprises Pregnant with Terror': George Washington's Formative Years among the Indians," in *George Washington and the Virginia Backcountry*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra (Madison: Madison House, 1998), 127–29.

48 David Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 14–15.

became the scene for covert negotiations for lands by Pennsylvanian and Connecticut officials, many Iroquois headmen considered the Covenant Chain finally dissolved. The Iroquois now sought the removal of both the British and French from the Ohio Valley, from "lands which belong to us."[49]

In the wake of the Albany Congress the Iroquois divided into pro-French and pro-British factions. Iroquois diplomats sought the confederacy's neutrality in the unfolding conflict between the British and French. While some Iroquois warriors assisted the British, others fought for the French. At the Battle of Lake George in 1755 Iroquois warriors fought on both sides, and seem to have made conscious attempts to avoid directly fighting one another. Divisions and paralysis amongst the Iroquois encouraged the Ohio Indians to participate in raids against the frontier. More importantly, knowing that the Iroquois would be unlikely to intervene, the Susquehanna Delawares felt able to descend on the Pennsylvania frontier and to assert their claims for independence from the Iroquois. Had the Iroquois retained a united voice, had they have openly supported the British, Shawnee and Delaware support for the French would have been more problematic.[50]

Iroquois neutrality thus allowed the Shawnee and Delaware to participate in the war on their terms. Most of the Shawnee and Ohio Delaware war-parties who descended on the frontier had little contact with the French beyond the occasional provision of supplies and ammunition and they sought preservation of their lands from encroachment by any European power. Indeed, accounts from the few Anglophone Indians who remained in the Ohio Valley maintained that there was a "grand Scheme of the Indians, independent of the French… for they apprehended the English extending their Settlements… must sometime end in a total extirpation of them."[51] The attacks of the Ohio Shawnees and Delawares concentrated on the western frontier of Virginia and Pennsylvania. These regions were both the most easily accessible from the Ohio Valley and were the most likely source of any future settlers. Their attacks on south-western Virginia also served to hinder Virginia's attempts to acquire Cherokee allies and enabled them to ambush any Cherokee warriors

---

[49] Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 81, 97–108, quotation 99; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 5: 317, 635.

[50] Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 119.

[51] William West to Thomas Penn, November 8, 1755, *British Public Record Office, Class 5 Files,* Part 1, *Westward Expansion,* 2: 769–70; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 6: 614.

heading north. In many ways this was a continuation of the sporadic warfare between the Ohio Indians and their traditional enemies in the south.[52] These attacks, particularly by the Shawnees, may also have reflected Shawnee animosity at the capture and execution of several Shawnee headmen by South Carolina authorities in 1754.[53]

The attacks of the Delawares who remained in Pennsylvania were much more specific. These targeted lands which had been acquired fraudulently by the Pennsylvania authorities, particularly in the Walking Purchase, lands along the Susquehanna Valley and on the frontier of Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton counties, and were particularly brutal. Once more reports received by British authorities suggested that the Delawares intended, merely with "the assistance of the French," to drive back Pennsylvania settlers.[54]

Other Indians from the Ohio Valley, such as the Miamis, Wyandots, and Potawatomis, also participated in these raids on the colonial frontier. Less motivated by an immediate individual concern about their lands, these raiding parties often set out from the French post of Fort Duquesne and were usually accompanied by Canadian ensigns and militia, generally former *coureurs de bois*. These parties concentrated their assaults more frequently on targets of some military significance to the French, particularly on the supply routes to Fort Cumberland on the Potomac River and on Cumberland County in western Pennsylvania. It was from this region that Anglo-American forces would launch any assault on the Ohio Country and thus attacks sought to hinder British military preparations. Often these parties possessed relatively specific orders from French commanders at Fort Duquesne. A French officer directing a raid against Cumberland County in the spring of 1756, for instance, was given specific orders to destroy the magazines and supply depots in the Conococheague Valley to the rear of Fort Cumberland. However, despite receiving orders from the French, all these parties served for their own motives and not merely at the whim of French commanders.[55]

---

[52] McConnell, *Country Between*, 48–50.

[53] "Case of the Ohio Company, 1762," *George Mercer Papers*, 56; "Account of the Treaty of Logstown, 1752," "Minutes of a Council held at Carlisle," January 26, 1756, *British Public Record Office, Class 5 Files,* Part 1, *Westward Expansion,* 2: 761–764 826–829; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania.*, 7: 4, 381.

[54] William West to Thomas Penn, November 8, 1755, *British Public Record Office, Class 5 Files,* Part 1, *Westward Expansion*, 2: 770.

[55] Gov. Dinwiddie to Gen Shirley, April 28, 1756, *Records of Robert Dinwidde*, 2: 394–95; Washington to John Robinson, April 24, 1756, *Papers of Washington*, 3: 48–51; Abstract of Despatches from Canada, [July], 1756, Vaudreuil to Machault, August 8, 1756, *Documents*

Central to the organisation of these raids was the support of the Shawnees and Delawares. Not only were the Shawnees and Delawares directly responsible for many of the attacks on the frontier, but without their support it would have been difficult for the Indians of the west and Great Lakes to reach the British frontier. Shawnee and Delaware opposition to the British was not built on long-standing ties with the French, but resulted from relatively specific issues, in particular concern for the protection of their homelands on the Ohio from encroachment by both the British and the French. Changing Shawnee and Delaware perceptions explain their changing levels of involvement in the war. From the early stages of the war Pennsylvania had engaged in negotiations with the Indians. Such negotiations were essential for a colony where a large proportion of the population was composed of pacifist Quakers or Mennonites. In a series of conferences held at Easton in Pennsylvania from 1756 to 1758, Pennsylvania authorities negotiated with the Susquehanna Delawares and reluctantly agreed to investigate claims of land fraud and to establish a boundary line clearly delineating the boundary of colonial settlement to prevent its further expansion without Indian approval.[56] However, it was a most unlikely peacemaker who would drive peace negotiations with the Ohio Shawnees and Delawares, British General John Forbes. Forbes had been given command of a small army with which he was to drive the French from the upper Ohio Valley. He realized the importance of building and maintaining alliances with Native Americans. While some British commanders, most notably General Jeffery Amherst, derided the military threat posed by Native Americans, Forbes had a greater respect for Indian military prowess. Anxious to reduce the Delaware threat before his army crossed the Appalachians, and thus to increase the possibility of his army gaining a victory, Forbes confided to his subordinate Colonel Henry Bouquet that "I am in hopes of bringing about a treaty with the Delawares & C

Relative to Colonial New York, 10: 423–28, 35–38; Fernand Grenier, ed., *Papiers Contrecoeur et Autres Documents Concernant Le Conflit Anglo-Francais Sur L'Ohio de 1745 à 1756* (Quebec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1952).

56 "Minutes of the Friendly Association," 11–12, 25; Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740–1776* (Harrisburg.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1953); James H. Merrell, "'I Desire All That I Have Said … May Be Taken Down Aright': Revisiting Teedyuscung's 1756 Treaty Council Speeches," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (October 2006): 777–826; Anthony F.C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

by which wee may gett them to make their Brethren abandonn the Ohio."[57]

While Forbes' desire to undermine the ability of the French to resist his advance on Fort Duquesne drove his enthusiasm for Indian diplomacy, he was also sympathetic to the Delawares' plight. Indeed, he wrote to Bouquet that "the Indian Claims appear to me both Just and Moderate and what no man in their sense or in our situation with regard to the Indians would hesitate half an hour in granting them."[58] His determination to conclude a peace before his army crossed the Appalachians persuaded Forbes to ignore powerful interests such as the Penn family, proprietors of Pennsylvania, and Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent for Indian Affairs, and this may have enabled him to carry out diplomacy where others had failed. With a British army advancing towards the Oho, the French unable and unwilling to provide trade goods and supplies, warriors tired from three years of continual warfare, and a British general prepared to listen to Indian concerns, the peace faction amongst the Ohio Delawares gained the greatest influence and the Ohio Delawares withdrew their support from the French.[59]

Forbes' success both in taking Fort Duquesne and in negotiating with the Delawares proved central to the changing fortunes of war. With many Delawares seeking peace, the British controlling the forks of the Ohio, and a shortage of supplies, Francophile Indians only appeared in limited numbers to support the French on the Ohio in 1759. While many Indians arrived on the St. Lawrence to assist in the defense of Quebec, when few French troops arrived in the west, Ohio headmen purportedly complained that "'tis not the French who are fighting, 'tis we" and support for the French declined still further.[60]

---

[57] Forbes to Bouquet, June 16, 1758, Alfred Procter James, ed., *The Writings of General John Forbes Relating to His Service in North America* (Menasha: Collegiate Press, 1938), 115–16.

[58] Forbes to Bouquet, August 18, 1758, Ibid., 181.

[59] Forbes to Amherst, November 26 1758, The National Archives: Public Record Office, CO 5/55, fols. 4–5; Daniel P. Barr, "'The Land Is Ours and Not Yours': The Western Delawares and the Seven Years' War in the Upper Ohio Valley," in *The Boundaries Between Us: Natives and Newcomers Along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750–1850*, ed. Daniel P. Barr (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2006), 37–40, Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 48–52; Matthew C. Ward, "'The Indians Our Real Friends': The British Army and the Ohio Indians, 1758–1772," in *The Boundaries Between Us: Natives and Newcomers Along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750–1850*, 66–86.

[60] 'Observations on certain Peculations in New France,' 5 April 1761, *Documents Relative to New York,* 10: 1132; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 8: 391–393.

In many ways the disposition of the Ohio and Great Lakes Indians in 1759 summarizes many of the forces which had influenced Indian diplomacy throughout the Seven Years' War. The growing military might of the British convinced some Indian villages to seek neutrality; British guarantees of Indian lands convinced some peoples of their sincerity; others succumbed to the growing shortages of trade goods amongst the French and withdrew or decreased their active support. However, other Indian groups, particularly those in the upper *pays d'en haut* and western Great Lakes were more difficult to convince. Many, such as the Ottawas, seemingly became duplicitous, negotiating with British forces on the Ohio while simultaneously sending warriors to assist the French on the St. Lawrence. When Indian warriors came to assist the French during the siege of Fort Niagara in the spring of 1759 they refused to fight when the French commander would not permit them to hold negotiations with the Iroquois warriors accompanying the British. Yet this was no duplicity, merely a continuation of the tradition of using different clans and villages to maintain diplomatic contacts with both sides.[61]

1759 was the final year in which substantial numbers of Indians appeared in support of the French. In the wake of the fall of Fort Niagara in July and the resulting evacuation of most of the Ohio forts by the French, followed quickly by the fall of Quebec in September isolating Canada from France, few Indian warriors believed that the French cause merited continued active participation, although this does not mean that they abandoned all support for the French. At forts Pitt and Niagara, Indian headmen intensified their negotiations with British officers. However, as the French withdrew their forces Indian headmen urged the British also to withdraw their forces back across the Appalachians. Yet most British officers, still viewing Indians as no more than agents of the French, believed that with the French now defeated the Indians were also a conquered people and Indian concerns went unheeded. Such misunderstanding would lead to renewed fighting in Pontiac's War of 1763–64.[62]

---

[61] Johnson to Amherst, July 25, 1759, *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3: 108–10.; Jon William Parmenter, "Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain: 1758–1766," *Ethnohistory* 44 (1997): 620–21.

[62] Vaudreuil to M. Berryer, March 30, 1759, *Documents Relative to Colonial New York*, 10: 948–50; 'Minutes of a Conference at Pittsburg,' August 7, 1759, Louis Waddell et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 6 vols. (Harrisburg.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951–1994), 3: 507–511; Gregory Evans Dowd, "The French King Wakes up in Detroit: 'Pontiac's War' in Rumor and History," *Ethnohistory* 37 (1990): 254–78.

As the French prepared in 1760 for their final defense of Montreal against three advancing British armies, few Indian warriors came to their assistance. With no supplies and little prospect of victory any Indian warriors who may have supported the French remained in the west.[63] However, most Indians, like most Frenchmen, seem to have expected that when peace was finally concluded in Europe that Canada would be returned to French control and those who continued to support the French were thus prepared to bide their time. Indeed, when news of the Treaty of Paris reached the Ohio Valley in the early summer of 1763, British trader and Indian agent George Croghan reported from Fort Pitt that the Indians were "uneasy, as 'till now they always expected *Canada* would be given back to the French on a Peace… [and] seem a good deal sulky."[64] With French power removed from North America, Native Americans had to adjust to a new regime in which their role as allies and ability to conduct diplomacy were severely limited.

Native American alliances were central to the outcome of the Seven Years' War in North America. Without Native American allies both the British and French would have been unable to wage war effectively. These alliances revolved around a series of influences which the British, in particular, often failed to understand. While some Indian concerns, such as protection of their homelands from the encroachment of British settlers or the desire to support a traditional ally, were readily comprehensible to British officials, others such as the role of gifts and presents within Indian society or the struggle against Iroquois dominance went largely misunderstood. With the exception of a few men like Sir William Johnson or George Croghan who had close ties to the Indian peoples of the Ohio Valley, British officials rarely grasped the ways in which loyalties and allegiances could shift in the multi-ethnic communities of the Ohio Valley. Indian villagers could no more be expected to have a unanimous perspective than could frontier settlers. Yet by bestowing Indian headmen with the title of 'king' British officials revealed their lack of understanding of Indian affairs. When the 'subjects' of these kings did not obey their 'rulers', British officials presumed they were being treacherous or disloyal. By viewing those Indians who supported

[63] Vaudreuil to Berryer, May 3, 1760, Levis to Marshall de Belle Isle, August 7, 1760, *Documents Relative to Colonial New York*, 10: 1075–77, 102–103.

[64] Croghan to Johnson, April 24, 1763, *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 10: 660.

the French as little more than French pawns, most British officials were unable to comprehend Indian actions. It is little wonder then that, as David Curtis Skaggs has noted, the Seven Years' War on the American frontier merely marked the beginning of a "Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes."[65]

[65] David Curtis Skaggs, "The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754–1814: An Overview," in *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754–1814*, eds. David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 1–20.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WAR IN THE CARNATIC[1]

G.J. Bryant

India ranked third (after Europe and the Western Hemisphere) in the grand strategic priorities of the French and British governments in the Seven Years' War. Consequently, it was given less attention and fewer resources than the other war theatres.[2] Unlike North America and the West Indies, India was not seen as a subject for conquest and settlement, rather as an area for commercial investment; and, even in this respect, it was not nearly as important as Europe and the Western Hemisphere (in 1752–4 English trade with Europe, in terms of value, accounted for 63% of total exports and 46% of total imports; the Western Hemisphere 30% and 40%; and the Orient 6% and 13% respectively).[3] From their penetration of the Indian Ocean at the beginning of the sixteenth century, first the pioneering Portuguese, then the Dutch, English and French had competed, mostly peacefully, for the domination of the Indo-European trade. By the early eighteenth century, Portuguese power and enterprise was moribund and the Dutch had largely retreated to the East Indies, leaving Britain and France as the main European commercial rivals in India, with the English

---

[1] The Seven Years' War in India is notable for the lack of modern scholarship relating to its course and interpretation. For details one has to fall back on accounts dating back from before the end of the Raj in 1947. From the contemporary period there were contributions from participants, somewhat self-serving on the French side. Robert Orme, a Madras civil servant who returned to Britain shortly before the siege in 1758, in subsequent years amassed a large quantity of records and personal responses from former colleagues to produce his judicious *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, 4th ed., 3 vols. (London: Printed for F. Wingrave, 1803). Cambridge published an edited version of General Stringer Lawrence's journals in 1761, *An Account of the War in India between the English and the French on the Coast of Coromandel from 1750 to 1760* (London: printed for T. Jefferys, 1761). The French continued their squabbles back in France: Thomas-Arthur, comte de Lally, *Memoirs* (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Guillaume Desprez, 1766), and *Mémoire pour Bussy au sujet du mémoire que Lally vient de répandre dans le public* (Paris: M. Lambert, 1766).

[2] Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22, 46.

[3] Walter E. Minchinton, *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1969), 108–9.

East India Company, by virtue of its more dynamic approach and its superior capitalization, ahead of the French (French trade in the East was worth only a quarter that of the British and their shipping and military costs were proportionately much higher).[4]

Since, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the British and French governments during the War of the Spanish Succession did not manifest any significant strategic interest in India, they allowed their respective East India companies, for mutual financial benefit to designate India as a neutral zone. This was not repeated during the War of the Austrian Succession or Seven Years' wars in the mid century, which suggests that a more militant and confident mercantilism had developed between the European antagonists engaged in the so-called "Second Hundred Years' War".[5] It also indicates that the British and French governments now had a conception of their power having an integrated global reality extending to worldwide trade as well as overseas settlements and naval bases. So, to attack their opponent in places where it was weakest was to weaken it as a whole – this seems to have been in the minds of both Pitt and Choiseul during the Seven Years' War. Gains in one theatre could be offset against losses in others in any peace negotiations – not necessarily a welcome development for the East India companies if their interests were sacrificed to satisfy more important national needs elsewhere.

The Seven Years' War in India, particularly in the south eastern province of the Carnatic, was really only the final phase of a much more protracted Franco-British armed struggle among the Europeans for pre-eminence there. It started in 1746 as an oriental extension of the War of the Austrian Succession. When peace was restored in Europe in 1748 and, supposedly, in India on the basis of the *status quo ante*, the French and British companies went on fighting a proxy war against each other by acting as auxiliaries in a struggle between local Indian princes for control of the Carnatic and the Deccan. Constitutionally and politically, the two provinces were linked since the Subadar (Imperial Viceroy) of the Deccan had authority over the Nawabs (Deputy Governors) of Arcot, the seat of government in the Carnatic. The outbreak of war in Europe again, in 1756, allowed the French and British once more to confront each other directly in India by attacking each other's Indian Ocean trade and principal settlements in the

---

[4] Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 156–57.

[5] Nancy F. Koehn, *The Power of Commerce: Economy and Governance in the First British Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 8, 15–16.

Carnatic (and, this time, in Bengal). By then, the local Indian princes in the Carnatic and the Deccan had become so dependant on either French or British military aid that they, their lands and their peoples got drawn into the European struggle. It was all over, bar some mopping up operations in the Carnatic, when Colonel Eyre Coote captured Pondicherry (the principal French settlement in the East, on the coast 80 miles to the south from Madras), on 15 January 1761, two years ahead of the formal end of the war in Europe.

From their first arrival in India, through a mixture of intimidation and presents, as well as recognition by both sides that they could mutually gain financially from it, the European companies had got permission from the local Indian authorities and Delhi to establish sovereign, lightly fortified river and coastal commercial bases in India. For the first two hundred and fifty years the companies remained minor players in Indian politics, aiming only to ensure the security of their 'factories' (commercial bases run by 'factors' or agents) and to secure tariff concessions to favor their trade. The extension of British and French control over increasing expanses of Indian territory after 1750, or rather their acquisition of land revenue collecting rights over it, can be seen not as their original goal but as a by-product of the mid-century wars the Europeans fought against each other in India and the desire of some Indian princes to exploit European military power for their own purposes. The land revenue was vital to the companies and to the princes to meet the immediate costs of prosecuting the Seven Years' War in India; and the domination of the lands producing it, especially of the forts that peppered the Indian countryside, facilitated military operations. This was, nonetheless, the period when dreams of permanent territorial dominion in India were awoken in the minds of a few senior company administrators in the East, notably Joseph Dupleix (Governor General of all French settlements in India, 1742–54) and Robert Clive (British Governor of Calcutta, 1757–60 and 1764–66).[6] Such ideas were, at first, repudiated at home by both the British and French companies and their governments as outside their commercial remit and beyond their competence. The Directors were also deterred by the enormous costs and administrative problems of raising and maintaining the necessary standing armed forces to achieve and maintain dominion without any certain promise of immediate financial returns (a far more important

[6] Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient*, 156; Thomas G.P. Spear, *Master of Bengal: Clive and his India* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 102–3.

concern for a company than a state) and, finally, they also had to consider the formidable military opposition it was assumed the Indian states could mount against them.

However, by the mid eighteenth century, with the Mughal Empire apparently in progressive decline, the political scene in India was becoming increasingly fractured and unstable and therefore threatening to the tranquility of the European settlements and security of their trade, stirring them to try to establish stronger political and military power bases there against the backwash of internal disruption and against each other. Within the Empire, the appointed Indian regional governors in Awdh, Bengal, the Deccan and the Carnatic for some time had been successfully asserting increasing autonomy from Delhi and attaching *ad hoc* dynastic links to their offices. But dynastic succession in the Islamic political tradition was not as clear-cut as the rule of primogeniture practiced in Europe. Muslim rulers usually nominated their successors from amongst their, sometimes numerous, brood of sons who, often born from different mothers, were half-brothers to each other and therefore they and their supporters were less likely to wholeheartedly accept the duty of fealty to the successful heir. There was, as a result, a greater tendency towards contested successions than in Europe, breeding assassination plots and civil wars that could be exploited by neighboring power-players, which, in this case, included the French and British who wished to guard and improve their positions against each other.

In other parts of India, outside the Empire, there were three other indigenous military powers that were also ready to exploit the Mughal decline. In the west, since the 1680s, the militant Hindu Maratha clans, centered on Poona, had steadily expanded their territories at the expense of the Empire and established a loose confederation. Their large light cavalry forces had become a feared scourge throughout much of India, demanding 'chout' (a kind of protection money) from local communities, even whole states. They also hired themselves out as mercenary bands – they fought on both sides in the Seven Years' War in the Carnatic. Then, in the south, from the later 1750s, a dynamic illiterate soldier adventurer, Haidar Ali Khan, seized control of the relatively quiescent state of Mysore, adjacent to the Carnatic in the west, and set about expanding his prize at the expense of his neighbors. He created, perhaps, the best disciplined and organized indigenous military power in India at the time and played a fringe role in the later phases of the Carnatic war when he became the final hope for the beleaguered French. Finally, looming over northwest India, were the Afghans, who periodically debouched from the Khyber Pass on to the Punjabi plains

on extensive plundering raids sometimes as far as Delhi and beyond. They were suspected of harboring dreams of more permanent political control in the area. In 1757, the threat of such a raid penetrating even to Bengal, fatally helped to unsettle the Nawab, Siraj-ud dowla, when facing a rampant Clive, leading eventually to his defeat and dethronement at the battle of Plassey in June 1757.

Politically, the Indian theatre was arguably the most complex in the Seven Years' War. Aside from the constantly fluctuating nature of the highly personalized interactions of the princes, who sometimes tried to play the Europeans off against each other, but at others enlisted their military power to join them against their rivals, the political relationships within the European camps were also not simple. Formally, as far as the Indian princes were concerned, they were dealing with the East India companies not the European governments who sponsored or licensed them. The English East India Company enjoyed considerable constitutional independence from the British Government in determining its political and military strategy in India, but was reliant on Parliament and the monarch for periodic renewals of its royal charter. The charter granted it monopoly trading powers amongst British merchants beyond the Cape, and the right to raise forces for service in the East and political powers to negotiate with local authorities there on matters relating to its position and rights. The Company was also dependent on the British Government during a European war, involving a trading rival such as the French, for enhanced protection by the Royal Navy on the high seas and possibly military supplements (first afforded in the Austrian Succession War and repeated in the Seven Years' War) to help defend its bases in India. While the relationship between the English Company and the British Government at this time might be seen as a partnership, the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales, though it had similar powers east of the Cape and similarly occasionally received Royal military and naval support, was much more under the thumb of Versailles. Consequently, its direction and policy were more subject to court politics and possibly the wider grand strategy of the French Government at all times. This may have harmed its commercial interests occasionally, but it also led its agents at Pondicherry, more naturally, to dabble in Carnatic political affairs from the 1730s with the aim of gaining a more favorable local influence than their British rivals. The British factors at Madras were more focused on trade and tended to keep only a watching brief on 'country' politics. And the British Government was also more single-mindedly mercantilist in its grand strategic thinking than the French, who were distracted by their ambitions for Continental

power, in the priority they gave to preserving and promoting the trade of its overseas merchants in order to build up national wealth and therefore potential power.[7]

Both companies experienced difficulties in establishing a coherent and responsive line of command between Europe and India. Ultimate responsibility for policy naturally resided at the companies' headquarters in London and Paris, but execution was in the hands of their subordinates nearly 10,000 miles or, on average, six months sailing time away; so an exchange of views and orders usually took a year. And the flow of information was not continuous since climatic conditions around India interrupted sailings for significant periods at certain times of the year. While their concerns remained largely commercial this was not a major problem, since trade patterns did not change quickly and the Directors in Europe could lay down business and accounting protocols for their agents in the East to follow when responding to evolving market conditions. But when political and strategic issues came to dominate company affairs, as in the Austrian Succession and Seven Years' wars and increasingly thereafter, attempts by London and Paris to control affairs in India could lead to missed opportunities and general confusion when their Councils in India had to deal with a rapidly changing grand strategic situation and were confronted by redundant or ambiguous instructions from home. The alternative was to give considerable devolved political responsibility to the company Governors and their Boards in India. This was a risky course of action if their agents in the East were out of their depth in dealing with vital political issues, which was not unlikely since the companies' servants at this time were selected for their potential as merchants or through patronage; and promotion up the line normally went according to seniority in the service not demonstrated ability. Another hazard was the possibility of agents pursuing a risky and costly militant policy for reasons of personal financial gain or glory, which could plunge the companies towards bankruptcy – a danger that afflicted both of them after 1750. The companies might have had state-like powers in the East, but they could not be so relaxed as national governments in amassing debts to prosecute wars – their shareholders (particularly the British ones) expected a healthy annual dividend and would punish the Directors if it were not delivered. So securing local (preferably instant) finance for their wars was always a major strategic priority for the companies and since this had to come from

[7] Middleton, *The Bells of Victory*, 27.

land revenue, control of territory in India assumed a higher priority in military operations than it possibly did in European wars.

There were also co-ordination problems between the companies' various settlements scattered around India, as also between the commanders of the armed forces (some of whom were kings officers and did not take kindly to being ordered around by merchants) and the civilian authorities: both companies tried to maintain the principle of civil supremacy in the conduct of their political affairs in the East. The French, early on, went for centralized control of all their company's settlements by appointing a civilian Governor General at Pondicherry on the Coromandel Coast in the Carnatic; even then, serious disabling civil-military disputes broke out at times during these wars and contributed to the eventual defeat of the French in 1761. The British company experienced similar problems, but was reluctant to consolidate power in the hands of one man or council; in fact, the British Government had to do it for them in Lord North's India Act of 1773. So, during the Seven Years' War, three independent councils, at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, handled the English East India Company's business and political affairs in India. Naturally, they were ordered to collaborate in facing the common enemy – the French. But only Madras had a significant French threat on its doorstop; the other two Presidencies had concerns with local 'country' powers that sometimes loomed higher on their horizons, resulting in them being less than wholehearted in their support of their sister Presidency in the Carnatic.

While during the War of the Spanish Succession the English and French companies agreed to observe neutrality towards each other's shipping in the Indian Ocean, in the Austrian Succession War in the 1740s, the British Government, with the agreement of the East India Company, rejected the French offer of local neutrality in the East and sent a Royal Navy squadron to predate on French shipping.[8] The French responded by sending out a substantial military force and, brushing aside the opposition of the local Nawab, extended the conflict to the mainland in the Carnatic by capturing Madras (1746). This provoked the British Government to send an enhanced naval-military force to besiege Pondicherry, where it lay frustrated short of success when news arrived halting operations during peace negotiations in 1748. It was indicative of the differing grand strategic priorities of the

[8] "Report of the Court of Directors to the General Court on Madras and the War of the Austrian Succession", 21 March 1749, General Court Minutes, Mss. Eur. 256, 152, The British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections (hereafter BL: OIOC).

French and British that, in the peace treaty, Paris gave Madras back to the English East India Company in exchange for Cape Breton Island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence in Canada.

Though campaign accounts of the Seven Years' War in the East tend to focus on land operations, possession of superior naval power played an equally important role in determining the outcome. It was needed, fundamentally of course, to transport troops out to India and to guard sea-lanes for continuing national trade to and from Europe, and to attack enemy trade. The knowledge of the companies' councils in India that reinforcements could be on their way (for themselves and for their opponents), but with little precise indication when they might arrive or whether they would all arrive together, introduced a major unknown in their grand strategic planning. Naval power was also essential to assert command of the seas around the Indian coasts to keep open communications between far-flung settlements and to aid land operations by blockading enemy coastal bases, or breaking those put forth by the other side. Because campaigns were usually conducted close to the coast (in the Carnatic), it also served to keep armies in the field supplied, and to land extra forces in an emergency. Front line naval forces had to be provided by the European governments, but the companies' ships were also armed and provided useful auxiliary support, particularly valued by the French whose Royal ships were usually outnumbered by the British. Indian states had little heavy naval power and so ceded command of the local seas to the Europeans by default.[9] Two other factors governed the effective deployment of naval power in Indian waters – the seasons and the need for protected refitting bases in the East. Both Madras and Pondicherry were open roadsteads and the annual onslaught of the onshore monsoon from early October to early January made the Coromandel Coast very perilous for any shipping. Navy commanders usually withdrew for refitting and resupply during the monsoon – the French to Mauritius (Ile de France), near Madagascar, where they had built a well-protected base around a natural harbor, and the British to Bombay that also had refitting yards. In the absence of up-to-date intelligence of what their adversary was doing, the naval commanders also had to weigh up the pros and cons of risking an early return to the Coromandel Coast to gain a possibly critical advantage in supporting land operations. Disputes over this were to cause considerable friction between companies' civilian councils and the Royal naval commanders,

[9] Middleton, 24–5.

who were completely beyond their control. The British admirals were usually more amenable than the French to the requests of the company representatives.

It was difficult for the companies to create military power in India. From earliest times they had always imported a handful of European troops, bulking them out by adding locally raised Indian levies, to give their civilian governors some respectability in the militarized Indian political culture. They were ill disciplined and served only to guard the companies' warehouses and commercial convoys up-country; they were never trained nor intended for field operations against other Europeans or Indian princes. Once the companies (from 1746) contemplated formal campaigning in the field against each other (and their Indian allies) in the Carnatic, they needed to bring out more Europeans to create expeditionary forces and to train them up to follow disciplined tactical evolutions under fire. But they found it difficult to persuade sufficient numbers of men to join their armies; and those that did were often the dregs of society. In both mid-century wars the French and British governments were prevailed on to give the companies extra military support, but it rarely amounted to more than a couple of regiments at any one time, plus the marines on board the royal ships (both were always below establishment – through disease rather than campaign casualties).

The other major source of manpower for the companies' armed forces was the large indigenous mercenary military labor market that existed on the sub-continent. Though there were doubts amongst the European officers about the likely loyalty of Indian recruits to the companies' services, they found that they had no objections to serving in a European officered army, even in fighting against other Indians. Many of the Hindus, who formed the bulk of the Indian contingents, were born under caste conventions requiring them to become warriors. European service was attractive because the pay was more regular than in an Indian army and service was continuous. The Europeans also doubted whether Indian recruits could be raised to the more exacting disciplinary and tactical requirements of a Western style army than were customary in Indian, or 'country', armies, as they were known.[10] These concerns were dispelled to some extent during the Seven Years' War, though in the only major set-piece battle, at Wandiwash on 22nd January 1760, both the British and French kept their

[10] G.J. Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750–1800," *War in History* 7, no. 1 (Jan. 2000): 2–28.

sepoys (indigenous troops, the name possibly derived from the Persian 'sipahi' meaning soldier) in the second line or in reserve. However, in the post-war epic battle of Buxar in 1764 (in Bengal/Bihar), victory in which entrenched British power in northeast India, Colonel Hector Munro successfully interwove his sepoy battalions with the Europeans in the first line; admittedly, on this occasion, the opponent was a 'country' army, but parts of it were trained in the European manner with European officers and it massively out-numbered the British Bengal field force.

All 'country' armies set great store by cavalry, which were given a more exalted role, as a shock arm, than fire-powered infantry.[11] The company armies raised very few cavalry units of their own because in battle they relied almost totally on infantry backed by far more effective field artillery than the Indians could create. Also, cavalry cost twice as much per man than infantry to form and support; and suitable horses were hard to come by on the eastern side of India. The companies preferred to source cavalry, when needed, by hiring whole units of indigenous mercenaries such as the Marathas who, though they continued to fight in their own irregular manner and were difficult to integrate into the European battle order, were nonetheless brave warriors and very valuable as auxiliary horse for skirmishing, cutting off convoys and predating on the country from which the enemy might be getting its supplies. The Carnatic princes, who allied themselves to the opposing European combatants at this time, also provided 'country' cavalry. These troops were very inferior, probably demoralized by the ancillary role they were given in the French and British operational plans and because their pay was always chronically in arrears. All in all, the field forces that were sent out into the Indian hinterland by the companies, even when supplemented by Indian mercenaries and allied local levies, were always significantly smaller than those found in Europe during the Seven Years' War and, indeed, greatly smaller than contemporary 'country' field armies. The Europeans in India relied, successfully much of the time, on the superior discipline, clearer structure of command and tactical sophistication of their soldiers to balance the greatly superior numbers of local 'country' forces.

At first, in the 1740s, the war aims of the two companies were limited to protecting their trade and enhancing their own commercial opportunities by attacking that of their rivals. From 1746 the British Royal Navy squadron

[11] G.J. Bryant, "The Cavalry Problem in the Early British Indian Army, 1750–1785" *War in History* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1995). 1–21.

concentrated on sweeping up French merchant shipping in the Indian Ocean. And the French when they captured Madras (in 1746), in anticipation of having to hand it back with the peace, set about dismantling its fortifications to deplete the British company's resources in restoring them. They also did their best (but not very successfully) to pressurize the Indian merchants and bankers domiciled in Madras to switch their operations to Pondicherry.[12]

After the war, in 1748, the British authorities in the Carnatic, confident in their company's superior trading position in the East and echoing the known desires of the Directorate in London, wanted to resume rivalry with the French solely on a commercial level. But the bold and ambitious French Governor General, Joseph Dupleix, a born intriguer, believed he could more than balance British commercial superiority by exploiting his closer political contacts with two local Indian princes, Muzzafar Jang and Chanda Sahib, giving them military assistance to realize their ambitions against their rivals to become, respectively, Subadar of the Deccan in far off Aurangabad (800 miles north of Pondicherry and 400 miles inland) and Nawab of the Carnatic. In return, he expected the French to be given a preferential trading position and the grant of land revenues to support a permanently enlarged military establishment. He also, no doubt, rightly expected and got, national recognition (he was later made a marquis by Louis XV) and lavish presents from his grateful Indian 'clients' for his exploits. After the war the authorities in Paris, with some reservations, supported him, sending out twice as many recruits for their company's forces as London did for theirs. British naval superiority could not be seen as balancing this as it could not be used aggressively against the French while Britain and France were at peace even though their companies had joined opposite sides as auxiliaries in the war between two Indian princes. Their military forces did, however, fight each other under the mantle of acting as mercenaries in 'country' armies.

At first, Dupleix seemed to be successful. With French help, Muzzafar Jang combated his rivals, declared himself to be the new Subadar of the Deccan in 1749 and in turn appointed Dupliex's protégé, Chanda Sahib, a very able soldier with a substantial army, Nawab of the Carnatic. Initially, the British felt they would have to concede recognition of Chanda Sahib

---

[12] "A letter to a proprietor of the East India Company" [probably an ex-Company civil servant], Mss. CIII, Lincolnshire County Archives; G.B. Malleson, *A History of the French in India, from the Founding of Pondicherry in 1674 to the Capture of that Place in 1761*, 2d ed.(Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1909), 197.

as Nawab, but hoped that he would see it as in his interest to maintain their company's position in the Carnatic to continue a healthy commercial rivalry with the French. Their own candidate for the governorship, Muhammad Ali, was no soldier; his support in the country appeared to be flakier and he had little ready cash to support the British company's field force. But the Council grew alarmed when Chanda Sahib made land grants extending Pondicherry's bounds almost to surround Fort St David (the Company's nearby second base on the Coromandel Coast and temporary headquarters while Fort St George in Madras was being rebuilt), potentially barring British access to the weavers in the back country who produced its staple export of cotton cloth.[13] So they reluctantly sent military help to Muhammad Ali walled up in Trichinopoly (a fortress city in the south of the province); and, naturally, Chanda Sahib and Dupleix saw it as essential to capture the putative nawab in order to consolidate Chanda Sahib's authority. The Fort St. David Council supported Muhammad Ali to prevent the establishment of a French hegemony, but they tried to sugar the pill to the Directorate by claiming that the revenue grants he made to the Company would cover their military costs and that, if made permanent, would cover them indefinitely. In the event, Madras's military expenditure spiralled and Muhammad Ali's debt to the Company was to rise to nearly £500,000 by the end of the Seven Years' War ten years later.[14]

So, in the six years of undeclared war between the companies after 1748, the Anglo-French armies, formally acting as auxiliaries to their allied princes but actually deciding and leading strategy, focused on securing the poorly fortified provincial capital of Arcot (70 miles inland west of Madras and 80 miles north of Pondicherry) and the major fortress town of Trichinopoly, (200 miles south west of Madras, but only 100 miles from Pondicherry) on the impassable Cauvery river 80 miles inland. Trichinopoly afforded easy access to the rich autonomous Hindu kingdom of Tanjore to the east, and also barred the way further south to the fertile lands of Madura and Tinnevelly – long claimed by Arcot but always having to be coerced to give up any revenue. Arcot changed hands several times during these wars, but the British held on to Trichinopoly on behalf of 'their Nawab', Muhammad Ali Khan, for twelve years despite a prolonged enemy

---

[13] Fort St David (Carnatic) to the Court of Directors [Court], 7 Feb 1751, in *Calendar of the Madras Despatches, 1744–1755*, ed. Henry H. Dodwell (Madras: Madras Gov't Press, 1920), 119–24.

[14] G.J. Bryant, "British Logistics and the Conduct of the Carnatic Wars (1746–1783)," *War in History* 11, no. 3 (July 2004): 289, note 44.

blockade, punctuated by several assaults and minor battles outside the walls. Both sides brought other 'country' forces in to help them: Chanda Sahib hired several thousand Marathas and Muhammad Ali lured the King of Mysore to send him an army by promising to hand Trichinopoly over to him if his opponent was decisively defeated – a promise he reneged on later, converting Mysore into an enemy.

Despite being significantly outnumbered at times, the British and Muhammad Ali survived the proxy war (1749–54) for a number of reasons. While many of the officers on both sides were young, inexperienced and ineffective, the British eventually found several of outstanding ability, including Stringer Lawrence (traditionally regarded as the 'father of the British Indian Army'), Robert Clive (as famous, or infamous, for his political as his military exploits), John Caillaud, and Joseph Smith. These men not only displayed skill and leadership on the battlefield, they were also more successful than the French in inculcating European military tactical practice and discipline into their Indian recruits. Dupleix, to his great chagrin, only found one man who was the equal of Clive both in military genius and political acumen – the Marquis Charles de Bussy. But Dupleix also over-reached himself strategically. He was confident that he could secure both the Deccan and the Carnatic in the French interest *at the same time* and divided his military resources in pursuit of both.[15] At the beginning of 1753, the British *in the Carnatic* had twice as many European soldiers as the French, only counterbalanced by the latter having twice as many 'country' troops. Knowing he could trust Bussy with an independent command, Dupleix sent him north with a detachment to manipulate the complex politics of Aurungabad to favor the French. The impecunious Bussy was complicit in Dupleix's schemes because he rightly saw engaging in the high politics of the Deccan as an opportunity to make a fortune, while in the Carnatic he would probably be subservient to a senior officer in the field in a thankless siege of Trichinopoly. And at first, it seemed that Dupleix had made the right decision, for Bussy with considerable political skill and military enterprise secured a dominant position in the Subadar's court and received on behalf of the French company, control of substantial land revenues from territories extending along the coast north of the Carnatic in the provinces known as the Northern Circars. The revenues of these territories were said to be worth £400,000 annually, *if* they could be collected. Usually, actual receipts fell far short of the paper value of a

[15] Malleson, *A History of the French in India*, 385–86.

territory and costly coercion usually had to be used to extract what was collected. In this case, most of the revenue that was collected (£160,000), went in support of the French detachment in the Deccan and so gave little direct relief to cash-strapped Pondicherry.[16]

And Dupleix, otherwise served by inferior officers who showed little initiative, failed to win control of the Carnatic on behalf of Chanda Sahib. The province was the grand strategic *schwerpunkt* for both companies, where their principal settlements and trade lay. Indeed, the French commander so mishandled the military situation that Chanda Sahib fell into the hands of his Indian enemies and was executed, leaving Dupleix without a credible candidate for the nawabship. The British had better matched their ends to their means and focused their forces on trying to preserve their position in the central Carnatic. With Chanda Sahib dead, the British contender, Muhammad Ali, now had a powerful case to sit on the 'masnad' (regal cushion, signifying imperial authority) at Arcot. Lawrence and Clive in a series of successful minor actions in 1752 and 1753 emphasized the British ability to hold their own and preserved Trichinopoly as a stronghold for Muhammad Ali, impressing local Indian chiefs to incline towards him. However, neither the British nor the French could achieve a decisive victory or become the predominant military power in the province. And by 1754 operations in the field had reached an impasse, with both sides exhausted, in control of only parts of the country and encountering difficulty in collecting life-sustaining land revenues while the war continued. The company directorates back in Europe had also lost patience: 'The Company's Capital lyes Bleeding almost to Death on the Coast of Choromandel' wailed London and the dividend fell from 8% to 6% the following year.[17] And the French, even more financially embarrassed and failing to pay their shareholders anything,[18] sent emissaries over from Paris to propose a peace.

In August 1754, both sides received reinforcements from Europe; but those from Britain included a royal regiment (the first ever sent to the East) and four Royal ships of the line and a couple of frigates, under Admiral Watson, signifying a greater determination of the Government to support the English East India Company in peace as well as war. On the French side, Dupleix was replaced by Charles Godeheu, charged with

---

[16] Ibid., 378–79; Henry H. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive: The Beginning of Empire* (London: Cass, 1967), 178–79.

[17] Bryant, "British Logistics and the Conduct of the Carnatic Wars (1746–1783)": 286.

[18] Malleson, *A History of the French in India*, 406.

arranging a provisional peace with Madras based on the British notion that both would withdraw from involvement in 'country' politics and return to the *status quo ante* in terms of their possessions and status in India.[19] Thus, Paris apparently repudiated Dupleix's 'forward' policy because of its cost and the political risks involved. A provisional peace treaty embodying these terms was signed between Pondicherry and Madras at the end of 1754, to be ratified back home, during which time a truce would be observed between the companies in India, but they would retain what they had won control of until their masters' will was known. So, although the French company made the most concessions on paper, they were saved the ruinous cost of staying in the field (which seemed to be hurting them more than the British) while allowing both sides to collect revenues from the country they controlled; and the French Government was given time to decide whether they wished to give up the powerful position Dupleix and Bussy had won for France in the Deccan and the Northern Circars.[20] Implicitly, the French conceded that Muhammad Ali had become *de facto* Nawab of the Carnatic, but they might always subvert him from his link with the British later, while Madras did not challenge Bussy's position in the Deccan. In all this, the 'country' princes, particularly the Subadar, Salabat Jang, who regarded Muhammad Ali as his enemy, were not consulted. Although the directorates in Europe may still have continued to see the companies' only function in the East to be trade, their servants in the Carnatic had clearly crossed a threshold into imperialist politics.

Almost immediately, both sides began to make a mockery of the spirit of the truce – the British to help Muhammad Ali settle 'his' country by despatching 'pacification' missions south, north and west outside the area in the central Carnatic that he controlled, to gain submission from minor chiefs and to raise revenue;[21] the French to consolidate Bussy's position in the Deccan and to firm up their company's grip on their new territories in the Northern Circars. Paris did not, in fact, ratify the treaty when it arrived in Europe, reflecting a steady deterioration in Anglo-French relations, especially in North America where sparring, similar to that in India, had

---

[19] Fort St George (Madras) to Court, 12 Jan 1755, in *Calendar of the Madras Despatches, 1754–1763,* 252–53.

[20] M. Godeheu (Governor General, Pondicherry) to the Marquis de Bussy, 25 December 1754, in *Dupleix and Clive*, 80.

[21] Fort St George to Maj. Lawrence, 10 Oct 1754, in *Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1754* (Madras: Madras Gov't Press, 1912), 230; Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 9 Sept 1755, BL: OIOC, C/48.

been going on since 1748. Warnings of a possible resumption of hostilities between the two countries were communicated to the companies' settlements in India who set about improving their defenses.[22] And the English East India Company's directorate in London, acting on this prediction, in spring 1755 sent Clive, now with a royal commission as lieutenant colonel and a civil appointment as second to the governor at Madras, back to India, with speculative orders when he reached Bombay to co-operate with the neighboring Maratha Confederation in a military expedition against the Deccan to the east. The Marathas frequently intruded into Deccan's politics and the British hoped to use this to supplant French influence at Aurangabad and get the grant of the Northern Circars revenues to Pondicherry rescinded. However, Clive found on his arrival at Bombay in October 1755 that the Council there was opposed to the proposed joint expedition, even though Madras was keen. Their reasons, which Clive reluctantly agreed with, were that if, half way through the campaign, news arrived that a peace had been concluded in Europe between the companies, the British would have to withdraw their forces in the Deccan. This would queer relations between Bombay and the Marathas who could destroy their commercial prosperity by impeding their trade into the interior. Madras would not be so concerned because they had no dealings with the Maratha state, but winkling the French out of the Northern Circars was a key strategic aim for them, for its revenues could provide crucial financial support for them in a new war fought in the Carnatic.

So Clive went on to Madras (arriving on 25 May 1756) and found the Council preparing a military expedition to send to the Subadar of the Deccan, Salabat Jang, who now wanted them to help him eject the French from his province.[23] Then, on 14 July, alarming news arrived from the Calcutta Council that their relations with the new Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daulah, had broken down, ostensibly because the Council had started repairing their dilapidated fortifications in anticipation of a French attack if a war broke out, but which the Nawab had interpreted as intended to make the independently minded British even more immune from his control. The Nawab had seized the British company's factory up-country at Cossimbazar and appeared to be intending to march on Calcutta with a

[22] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 31 Jan, 13 April, and 12 July 1756, BL: OIOC, C/50.

[23] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 27 and 28 July 1756, BL: OIOC, C/50.

massive army. Madras's prompt response, on 20th July, was to send a company ship with 200 European troops as an initial reinforcement.

The Madras Council at this point was facing a major grand strategic dilemma on how far to denude its forces to help its colleagues in Bengal, when the most likely blow by the French in a renewed Anglo-French war would be against them. However, nearly 50% in value of the Company's imports from the East came from Calcutta (Madras, 15% and Bombay 6%, the rest from China),[24] so its loss would be crippling. The Company's councils had received advice in spring 1756 from London that a war with France was inevitable (it was actually declared on 17 May 1756, but official news of this did not reach Madras until 13 November) and that the French were preparing an expeditionary force at Brest for service in the East of nineteen warships and 3,000 regular troops, probably bound for Pondicherry,[25] but later it was speculated that they might make a direct surprise attack on Bombay or Calcutta. However, the French reinforcements were unlikely to arrive on the Coromandel Coast before the New Year because of the monsoon. So, emboldened by intelligence that Pondicherry was facing a similar crisis to theirs in the Deccan, the Madras Council in August, learning of the fall of Calcutta on 20 June, resolved to send a substantial military force of 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys under Clive to retake the settlement, get restitution for its losses and to place the Company's rights and privileges in Bengal on a firmer footing by getting a clear Imperial *farman* (edict) from Delhi to that effect. Admiral Watson agreed to escort them there with his whole squadron. If an Anglo-French war broke out in the interim, Clive was to take Chandanagore, the principle French settlement in Bengal and then after ensuring the security of Calcutta, to prepare himself with the residue of his troops to return to the Carnatic.

Fortunately for the British, the French at the same time chose to send a substantial reinforcement to Bussy in the Deccan, where family rivalries and a scheming anti-French *diwan* (Chief Minister) had persuaded the weak Salabat Jang to order them out of his dominions. In July 1756, Bussy nearly withdrew altogether on the Subadar's order, but decided to make a last defiant stand at Hyderabad, for the sake of French prestige if nothing else. His defense, with the aid of reinforcements from Pondicherry, was so

---

[24] K.N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of the English East India Company, 1600–1760* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 508–9.

[25] George Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive*, 2 vols. (London: Cassell, 1918), 1: 269.

impressive that Salabat Jang relented and Bussy was restored to his former position. But his power was always informal and personal so that his and his detachment's continuing presence was necessary to sustain the French position in the Deccan and in the Northern Circars. In consequence, he could not take a force north the following year (1757), as he had hoped, to help in the defense of Chandanagore. The British captured the fortified French factory relatively easily and Clive went on, as the Victorian history books later celebrated, to found the Raj at the battle of Plassey. The British victory at Plassey against massive numerical odds was substantially due to psychological factors, so that had there been well-directed French force under Bussy acting with Siraj-ud-daulah, the outcome might have been different. Bussy's absence was all for nothing because the French position in the Deccan was irrevocably lost the following year when Bussy was recalled to help in the abortive siege of Madras. The French made a grand strategic error from 1750 in not making sure of their dominance of the Carnatic before engaging in speculative military adventures so far from their base of operations; on the other hand, Britain's similar gamble in Bengal was justified because of the crucial importance of Calcutta to the financial survival of the English East India Company.

The Carnatic, situated on a coastal plain some 500 miles north to south and up to 80 miles inland up to the foothills of a mountain chain known as the Eastern Ghats, was a relatively benign campaigning theatre. It was generally well cultivated allowing armies, providing they could dominate it, to live off the country. However, if not, the absence of large towns (with food stores), and the propensity of the peasantry in the country to hide their grain and flee with their livestock into the wilderness when armies approached, could present severe logistical problems. Armies then had to depend on magazines established in some of the numerous forts that littered the country. In a different sense, the abundance of forts constituted a strategic challenge since taking them retarded movement forward, garrisoning them depleted the field forces and many were in a dilapidated state and of questionable military value. There were no navigable rivers inland, but the roads were accorded to be at least as good as in Europe, and command of coastal waters enabled armies to be re-supplied by boat while they remained close by. Climatically, the campaigning season was longer and more dependable than in Europe, though European troops suffered significant casualties if pressed too hard at the height of the summer heats.

The arrival of the news in mid November 1756 of the official outbreak of a new war found both sides incapable of doing much against the other in

the Carnatic because of the onset of the monsoon and their lack of military resources due to the detachments each had chosen to send outside the province.[26] Nonetheless, the French still had a significant edge in manpower and might have done more with it than they did in 1757, but they had been ordered by Paris to mark time until their full reinforcing armament arrived from Europe.[27] Once the weather cleared in the New Year 1757, the British, on behalf of the Nawab, Muhamad Ali, took the risk of dispersing their forces around the country on revenue-collecting missions in order that he might pay off his accumulating debt to the Company and to finance their future military operations. This eventually tempted the French at Pondicherry, early in May, to make a hundred mile dash with 4,000 troops and a siege train, under Major d'Auteuil, to launch yet another attempt to take Trichinopoly. This key south Carnatic fortress town had a British company garrison of only 900 (plus about a thousand of Muhammad Ali's useless troops) to man a double-walled perimeter six miles in extent[28] and to guard 500 French p.o.w.s; but it was commanded by a resolute young officer, Captain Joseph Smith (who a decade later was to make his name as a general in the first war against Haidar Ali). Smith was able to hold d'Auteuil off long enough for Major Caillaud, who had been trying to subdue the city and province of Madura to the south, to make a forced march of 80 miles, slip past d'Auteuil's intended ambush and enter Trichinopoly to relieve the garrison.

Frustrated in their desire for a quick victory, the French withdrew back towards Pondicherry when they learnt of a British force sent south from Madras to distract them and which feinted towards the formidable fort of Wandiwash, whose governor was pro-French. Wandiwash was a key post between Madras and Pondicherry – it covered the approach to the French capital from the north and could serve as a base for the French to predate on Arcot province held by Muhammad Ali.[29] It proved too strong for the British to take on this occasion. Subsequent British attempts that summer to entice the French into a field action before they received their expected reinforcements failed; and the rest of the campaigning season of 1757 was taken up with maneuver and skirmishing, with honors about even.[30]

---

[26] Fort St George to Court, 28 Feb and 13 Oct 1757, in *Madras Despatches, 1744–1755*, 88–91, 126–27.

[27] Malleson, *A History of the French in India*, 510–13.

[28] Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive*, 1: 132.

[29] Fort St George to Court, 6 June and 30 July 1757, in *Madras Despatches, 1754–63*, 97–105.

[30] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 15 July 1757, BL: OIOC, C/51/629 & 639.

Elsewhere that summer, Bussy mopped up all the weakly defended British company posts in the Northern Circars, but the British and Muhammad Ali's armed forces in the Carnatic experienced continuing difficulties in bringing to heel the Nawab's independently minded brothers and other relatives (who he had made regional governors to buy them off) so that the vital revenue stream should not be disrupted.[31] In one case British and French junior officers in adjoining outposts were allowed to co-operate in curbing plundering by local brigands.[32] The Madras Council, facing a superior French force, was angry with Clive, now that Calcutta had been relieved and Chandanagore taken for not responding to their request for his return from Bengal with his detachment.[33] Governor Pigot wrote to him as a friend from Fort St George at the end of April 1757 that since the monsoon would soon prevent any troop movements (or even news of what was going on in Bengal) by sea from the north, Madras would be in great peril for the next three months.[34] When the Madras Secret Committee finally learned in October of Clive's great gains in Bengal following his victory at Plassey in June, which promised to solve the immediate war finance problem and to provide a hefty subsidy to the Company's commercial purchases in the future, they conceded that he had been justified in retaining the detachment.[35] But they lambasted Bombay for dragging its feet in sending reinforcements to Madras and Calcutta; they now claimed, justly, for themselves a vital grand strategic role in pinning down the French troops in the Carnatic so that they would be less able to threaten the Company's new honey pot in Bengal.[36]

The full complement of the long-awaited French military and naval reinforcements did not arrive until late April 1758, with half the campaigning season already over; the last contingent including the new Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant General, the Comte de Lally had taken over a year to make the voyage (usual sailing time was six months). At 2,000 men, the reinforcements were smaller by a third than originally predicted by London, but combined with existing French forces in the Carnatic they were still substantially superior in numbers to those of the British. Since the latter could not expect reinforcements of European troops until later

---

31 Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 29 Aug 1757, BL: OIOC, C/51/743–44.
32 Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 20 April 1758, BL: OIOC, C/52/118.
33 Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 16 June 1757, BL: OIOC, C/51/502.
34 Pigot to Clive, 30 April 1757, BL: OIOC, Mss. Eur. G/37/22.
35 Fort St George to Court, 10 Nov 1757, in *Madras Despatches, 1754–1763*, 128.
36 Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 10 Aug and 4 Sept 1758, BL: OIOC, C/52/309 & 363–65; 10 Jan 1760, OIOC, D/43/56.

in the year, Madras tried to compensate by raising more sepoys (still of problematic value in the eyes of their officers) and contemplated hiring some Maratha mercenaries if and when they entered the field to counter the French (who, unusually, were equipped with 200 European cavalry). So the French now held the initiative in the Carnatic, as long as they did not lose control of the waters off the Coromandel coast that they had enjoyed since Admiral Watson took his ships and Clive's force up to Bengal in October 1756 and ended up staying there until January 1758. Lally could start to prosecute his orders to extirpate the British presence in India, but to avoid entanglements with the 'country' powers and to withdraw from those already existing. But the French had lost precious time the previous year when a more enterprising commander at Pondicherry might have launched an offensive in the Carnatic when it would have been more difficult for the British to redeploy their forces from Bengal and when Fort St George, Madras, was less prepared to repel a siege.[37]

Now, with the British position in Bengal fairly well established, Admiral Pocock (who had replaced Watson on his death in August 1757) could sail south in March 1758 to help defend Madras against the French squadron that, although it slightly outnumbered his (nine to seven), was arguably inferior in quality. The French naval element, like the military, in the expeditionary force originally projected for the East in 1756 had been drastically cut (from four ships of the line to one and three frigates), because of the higher priority given by Paris to the defense of France's possessions in the Western Hemisphere.[38] Although the French numbers were made up with five armed Company Indiamen of equal size and weight of guns to Pocock's ships, the civilian crews and captains might be expected to be less resolute than Royal sailors in any battle. Maybe this accounts for the French commander, Admiral Comte D'Aché, who was personally brave, being less ready to accept battle than his British adversary, Pocock. The British managed to initiate two actions that spring and summer (April 29th and August 3rd 1758), but both were indecisive. They were typical mid eighteenth-century naval battles: line on line with the French concentrating on disabling the British ships by shooting away their rigging and the British aiming at the enemy hulls. The British, with a better and more accurate rate of fire caused many more French casualties than they suffered (trained European fighting seamen were hard to replace in the

[37] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 3 Oct 1757, BL: OIOC, C/51/884.

[38] Julian Corbett, *England and the Seven Years' War: A Study in Combined Strategy* 2 vols. (London: Longmans Green, 1907), 1: 339.

Indian Ocean), but they were unable to exploit their advantage through a vigorous pursuit because of the substantial damage they had suffered aloft.[39] No ships were sunk or captured, but on both occasions d'Aché withdrew to Pondicherry roads to slake his wounds. In between the two actions at sea, in early June, Lally, with d'Aché close in shore fending Pocock off, was able to force the nearby British base of Fort St David to capitulate after a short siege – the fortifications were strong but the British garrison was weak and ill-disciplined. However, after the second action at sea, to the great fury of Lally and the Pondicherry Council, d'Aché withdrew from the coast a month earlier than he needed, to refit at his monsoon station of Mauritius leaving Pocock dominant by default. De Lally had hoped that d'Aché's ships would transport him, his troops and stores up the coast to attack Madras.[40]

Lally's siege of Madras was further delayed, even though he was superior in numbers because he was desperately short of money and the civilian authorities had been deficient in preparing logistical support for his field operations despite knowing for a year that he was coming.[41] Relations between Lally and the Pondicherry Council could hardly have been worse. He was an impatient and tactless man who did not suffer fools gladly, especially self-centered fools who he believed to be deeply corrupt – Paris had ordered him to root out corruption, which was unlikely to enamor the councilors to his military mission. Although Lally was a very able officer, not shy of taking responsibility and with a good record from the last war in Europe, this was his first independent command and he had no experience of campaigning in India. He trampled on caste conventions in requisitioning local Indian labor and transport, arousing debilitating resistance. He also antagonized Bussy, his most able officer, who if treated with more respect might have given him valuable advice and loyal support, by abruptly summoning him and his men back from the Deccan (leaving only enough to defend French possessions in the Northern Circars) forcing him to abandon the seven years work he had put in to establish French influence there. Lally, with a wider grand strategic perception, explained to the aggrieved Bussy that once British influence was extirpated from the Carnatic and Bengal, the French could reassert their influence in the divided Deccan.[42]

---

39 Ibid, 1: 345–46.

40 Ibid, 1: 349.

41 Malleson, *A History of the French in India*, 50–1.

42 Ibid, 59; Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive,* 178–9; John W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 12 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1899), 2: 436–37.

Following the capture of Fort St David, Lally, in July 1758, tried to raise desperately needed funds by raiding Thanjavur and holding the Raja to ransom, even threatening to deport him and his family to Mauritius. But the Raja, backed by a British detachment from Trichinopoly, held him off by skilful diplomacy. Lally eventually had to withdraw baffled, having run out of ammunition and money and with his line of communication back to Pondicherry through the French coastal base of Karikal, threatened by Pocock cruising off shore unchallenged by d'Aché. Eventually, by raising a subscription from the rich councillors in Pondicherry and senior officers (Bussy refused), Lally, with 2,000 European infantry, 300 European cavalry and 5,000 sepoys, belatedly set off north in late October 1758 after the worst of the monsoon was supposedly over to attack his primary target, Madras. His logistical problems continued and his soldiers were mutinous due to arrears of pay. On this account and because he could expect the return of Pocock by mid January but not, rightly, the timid d'Aché (he was absent until September that year), Lally had only a narrow window of opportunity to take Madras.

After the lamentable defense of Madras in 1746 and Calcutta in 1756, the English East India Company had relaxed its pro-civilian protocols on conducting the defense of a presidency fortress under siege, by transferring control to a council of senior officers headed by the civilian governor who held a military commission. In this case, Governor Pigot was aided by the redoubtable General Stringer Lawrence; and, in contrast to the French, they made a very good team. The fortifications had been strengthened; stores for a siege of three months had been laid in; and most outlying company garrisons had been withdrawn from around the Carnatic leaving their defense to the Nawab's army. The exceptions were the vital Trichonopoly post commanding the southern Carnatic, to be defended by Captain Smith and 2,000 sepoys; and the very strong fort of Chinglepet, thirty five miles south of Madras, which covered territory from which Fort St George gathered its supplies. Chinglepet also constituted a threat to Lally's communications if he left it in his rear, which he did because he could not afford the time and resources to take it. The British garrison in Fort St George, Madras, which had recently received the welcome addition of a second royal regiment, numbered 1,750 European infantry, 2,220 sepoys, 200 'country' horse and 150 civilians. There were 100 Europeans and 1,200 sepoys in Chinglepet.

Lally's force arrived at Madras on 12th December 1758 but he could not prevent his men and camp followers from plundering the 'black town' (the Indian suburb that surrounded every European fortified

settlement – Madras's numbered perhaps 300,000 people) to the detriment of the army's discipline and losing him valuable time. This tempted the British to make a major sally against the besiegers before they settled in, but it miscarried and lost them more men than the enemy. Thereafter, however, the defense was conducted skillfuly and resolutely (unlike that of Fort St David a year earlier). The siege continued along the usual 18th century European lines, with the French sapping forward and both sides mining against the other. Lally opened up two batteries of twenty guns on 2nd January 1759 and steadily battered a breach in the walls over the next 42 days. British partisans, made up of irregular sepoys and Tanjorean horse, based on Chinglepet, endeavored to embarrass French food gathering, not entirely successfully since Lally could also bring supplies up by sea from Pondicherry; but their position in his rear was a constant worry to him. Then, with his ammunition running low, his European troops mutinous for pay and his sepoys deserting, Lally, in early February, ordered an assault on the breach, but his officers dissuaded him from carrying it out as impracticable. On the 16th Pocock arrived back from Bombay, with supplies and fresh men for the garrison, and cut off de Lally's sea communications with Pondicherry. The following day Lally, no doubt with a heavy heart, ordered a withdrawal to Arcot. The British lost 468 killed and wounded, 122 prisoners of war and 20 deserted Europeans; and 322 killed and wounded sepoys, with 440 deserting. The British believed that the French lost about 1,500 killed and wounded. Lally left behind forty-six wounded and sick for the British to take care of and 52 guns.[43]

While this was going on, the French suffered what eventually amounted to a mortal blow when Clive launched a small expedition (500 European infantry and 2,000 sepoys) from Bengal under Colonel Forde (a very able former royal officer) to support a revolt by an anti-French raja in the Northern Circars. Forde's operations, between October 1758 and May 1759 were spectacularly successful, concluding on 7th April with the capture of the French fortress of Masulipatam through a daring night assault with forces inferior in strength to the garrison. He then faced down a large 'country' army (35,000) with a French contingent sent by the Subadar, Salabat Jang, to intervene. Forde's feat was so remarkable that the wavering Subadar ditched the French alliance and signed a treaty with a

[43] Ibid, 2: 437–441; for an account of the siege; *Sundry Book: Public Department 1758–1759, Journal of the Transactions during the Siege of Fort St George, begun 12 December 1758* (Madras: Madras Gov't Press, 1915).

Madras civil servant transferring French possessions in the Northern Circars to the East India Company. Thus Lally, now that the initiative appeared to be passing to the British, had to contemplate a possible enemy attack on Pondicherry with his forces, money and provisions even more diminished.

Operations in the Carnatic after the French lifted the siege of Madras in February 1759 were inconclusive for the following eight months. Although Lally still dominated the central Carnatic and still had more troops than the British, he did not have the money to get them moving.[44] The British were anxious to regain control of as much territory as possible in case a suspension of arms in Europe froze the situation in India. They also needed to encourage minor chiefs to come over to them and to collect revenues to relieve the strain on their treasury. Aware that Lally's financial problems were probably far worse than theirs (Madras was now receiving subsidies from Bengal and British credit with local Indian bankers was better than that of the French), British strategy was to stay in the field to force him out to defend his own revenue-bearing territory; and then opportunities might present themselves to defeat the French forces in detail. If this failed, Lawrence intended to ravish French held territory to deprive Lally of resources. Admiral Pocock was asked to cruise off Pondicherry to encourage the French to take the pressure off the north and to try to intercept any of their reinforcements from Europe. Later, on 16 April, Major Brereton, a royal officer in charge of the field army since his seniors were on the sick list, recaptured Conjeveram, an important fort forty miles southwest of Madras on 15 April, threatening French control of Arcot province and assuring their own of the lands near the sea. But Lally could not respond; his army was in danger of falling apart if he did not find a way to pay their arrears. In May, the French sepoy garrison at Arcot even offered to sell the city to the British, then lost their nerve.[45] Two months earlier Lally, in the hope of holding on to 'French territory' and preventing any mutiny spreading through his army, had stationed it in three dispersed fortresses (Arcot, Wandiwash and Pondicherry, some 40 miles apart), each of which he hoped was strong enough to hold out against any attempted *coup de main* by the British until it could be relieved by one of the other garrisons.[46] The British held Madras, Chinglepet, and Conjeveram in the

---

[44] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 7 June 1759, BL: OIOC, D/41/244–6.

[45] Malleson, *A History of the French in India*, 544–45, 550–52; Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 30 May, 11 and 21 June 1759, BL: OIOC, D/41/235–6, 255, 278–9.

[46] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 17 May 1759, BL: OIOC, D/41/192.

north and isolated Trichinopoly in the south, which they could resupply through Tanjore while they controlled the coastal waters. Their field army in March 1759 amounted to 1,000 Europeans, 1,600 sepoys and 2,000 of Muhammad Ali's horse.[47] It was an impasse. The British hoped for reinforcements from Europe; they learnt in July that another royal regiment (Coote's) was on its way and hoped that the French did not get any more. And Lally hoped D'Aché would break through the British blockade with money from France.

D'Aché arrived back, at last, on 8th September 1759, having experienced considerable difficulties in provisioning his ships after the loss of Chandanagore in March 1757 to Clive and Watson, since the islands only produced enough food for the standing garrison. He tried to evade action with Pocock since his priority was, rightly, to get the money and stores with him into Pondicherry for Lally's army. But Pocock was ready for him, barring his way. So battle was unavoidable; and it followed along similar lines to the two the previous year. Again, D'Aché had numerical superiority (11 to 7), and again the outcome was indecisive, though this time the contest was more stubborn with both suffering high casualties but the French significantly more – D'Aché was among the wounded. His fleet managed to stagger into Pondicherry roads, but almost immediately, to the dismay of Lally, he announced his departure back to the Isles. He promised faithfully that he would return after the monsoon; but in the event, he never did, his excuse being that he had received intelligence and orders from Paris that the British intended to attack Mauritius and that its defense should take priority.[48] The injection of D'Aché's money did not last Lally long and the British and Muhammad Ali seemed to be more successful in gathering revenue from the country than the French. In desperation, Lally allowed Bussy to try to forge an alliance for cash with one of Salabat Jang's restless younger brothers, Basalut Jang, in return for making him Nawab of the Carnatic. Basalat Jang entered the northern Carnatic with a large army in October, but withdrew again when widespread mutiny over pay arrears broke out in the French army and Bussy had to rush back to Arcot to help quell it, revealing the hollow nature of French strength to their putative 'country' ally.

The British now had a new field commander, Colonel Eyre Coote, whose regiment, the 84th Foot, had joined the Madras Army in November 1759.

---

[47] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 3,6,7 and 12 March 1759, BL: OIOC, D/41/35, 38–40, 46.

[48] Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 1: 133.

Coote, who had been with Clive at Plassey, unlike his predecessors had the numerical strength to challenge the French to a field action more forcefully and used it very skillfully. Fooling them as to his intentions by making feints towards different enemy garrisons, he suddenly concentrated his forces on the very strong fort of Wandiwash, the key French post on the axis linking Arcot and Pondicherry, and took it after a brief siege on 29th November.[49] At this point, both sides were driven into cantonments by the ferocity of the monsoon. January 1760 found them back in the field, once more playing cat and mouse. But Lally predictably showed his hand first because of his need to regain Wandiwash. He broke ground for the construction of batteries in front of the fortress on 15th January and opened fire on the 20th. Learning of Lally's commitment to a siege, Coote knew that at last he had a chance to force a field action and arrived in the environs of Wandiwash on 22nd January.

The Battle of Wandiwash on the 22nd January 1760 was the only major field action in the Carnatic during this war. The opposing forces were roughly equal in number – much smaller than in a European battle of comparable importance. Lally chose to leave 150 Europeans and 300 sepoys in the works besieging Wandiwash fort (two miles from the battlefield), leaving him with 1,350 European infantry (including 200 sailors), 150 European cavalry, 1,800 sepoys (many unreliable for want of pay) and 3,000 Maratha mercenary cavalry (only fit for skirmishing) to face Coote, who had 1,900 European troops (only 80 were cavalry bulked out by some local unreliable hired horse), and 3,350 sepoys. Lally, probably conscious of the lower morale of his troops and wanting to guard his siege works, was not looking for a fight. On the morning of the battle he had some of his cavalry and Marathas dispersed two miles in his front as skirmishers. His regular European infantry, guns and remaining cavalry were drawn up in a single line in front of his camp; the sepoys were held back in reserve and played little part in the ensuing action. His left flank, commanded by Bussy, was anchored on a small reservoir (known as a 'tankh' in India) a little forward of his line, with an entrenchment on the far side manned by sailors serving two guns, whose fire enfiladed the ground in his front. It was a key position. Coote's approach march looped around Lally's static line from a mile to the east to two miles to the north where he found rocky ground in front of a hill which would impede enemy cavalry, threaten Lally's left flank

[49] Interesting comments on the strategic value of the fort at Wandiwash and on Indian forts in general can be found in: "Report of Mr Engineer Call," Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 10 Jan 1760, BL: OIOC, D/43/39–45.

and open a possible line of communication with the British garrison in Wandiwash fort. After his advanced guard at 6am saw off half-hearted Maratha skirmishers with a 'whiff of grapeshot' (the Marathas played no further part in the proceedings), Coote arranged his attacking forces in four lines: in the centre of the first, where Coote positioned himself, there were four under-strength European battalions (two Company and two Royal) interspersed with 12 field pieces, with a sepoy battalion on either flank; the second, contained 300 European grenadiers flanked by 200 grenadier sepoys on either side; the third, 50 paces back, comprised his 80 European cavalry and some local mercenary horse; and a fourth made up of the remaining five battalions of sepoys (less their grenadier companies) interspersed with field guns as a kind of reserve'. Coote then began his advance.

Lally opened the action around noon, before Coote's first line had got within cannon shot, leading a flanking attack by his reluctant hussars[50] against the British and 'country' cavalry in Coote's third line. The British 'country' horse broke and fled at once, but the Europeans stood their ground supported by a couple of smartly repositioned guns and beat the French off with loss, leaving Lally, alone, raging impotently at his retreating men. Coote marched on, reserving his infantry fire but allowing his artillery to play on the enemy line. As the two sides came within musket range (60 yards), Coote continued the advance with the Europeans alone; his sepoys echeloned back on the flanks. Brisk British fire goaded the French into forming an assault column twelve abreast, led by Lally to charge at bayonet point. This penetrated the British line and led to a mêlée of hand-to-hand fighting as the British on the flanks drove in on the column and the French attackers gave ground. At this point, a lucky British cannon shot exploded a tumbrel in the 'tankh' emplacement on the French left disabling the commanding officer and 80 men, which on Coote's orders was promptly exploited by the British battalion on the right who despite the loss of their commander overran it and threatened to roll up the French from their left. Bussy rallied his men to meet this flank attack but had his horse shot from under him leading a bayonet attack and was taken prisoner. This took the heart out of his troops who fell back on the French centre in disorder. Coote then ordered his European grenadiers in the second line to advance, but Lally could not persuade his sepoys in

[50] Lally had to arrest the Commanding Officer and one other for refusing to charge; see Malleson, 565.

the reserve to reciprocate. This precipitated a general French retreat, covered by the cavalry, around 2 pm, giving up the siege works and most of the guns to Coote's victorious forces. Both commanders had shown exemplary personal bravery in leading their men. Coote's tactical dispositions and control during the battle were superior; Lally was let down by the evident low morale and indiscipline among his own men. But it was the lucky shot exploding the French tumbrel, and its rapid exploitation, that probably turned the battle decisively Coote's way. The French lost 200 killed, 200 wounded and 160 prisoners; British casualties were 63 Europeans killed and 120 wounded, and 70 sepoys killed and wounded.[51]

With the victory at Wandiwash, the initiative had clearly switched to the British and critics then and since have censured Coote for not immediately exploiting French disarray and low morale, and Pocock's command of the seas off the Coromandel Coast, by making an immediate forced march on Pondicherry forty miles away. It was what the Madras Council (desperate for an end to the cost of the war[52]) expected and it is what Lally in his *Memoirs* later said Coote should have done.[53] But Coote was not privy to the parlous state of Pondicherry's readiness to sustain a siege; he was more conscious of the fortress's great physical strength and the logistical deficiencies in his own forces. Since the campaigning season was just starting, he preferred the more certain attritional strategy of eradicating all French power in the province, reducing all their forts and starving them out at Pondicherry. He did not believe he had enough men to lay down a formal siege of the citadel, opting for a blockade by sea and land (as a result of receiving more reinforcements, the French still had as many European troops as the British).[54] This slow strangulation, of course, was bad news for the local people who suffered from the scorched earth policy of Coote's cavalry – the Marathas had swapped sides for a while to join the British who were now better paymasters.

By May 1760, Coote had Pondicherry loosely surrounded on a circuit eleven miles long. He then learned that Lally had managed to negotiate an alliance with Haidar Ali of Mysore. Haidar promised the support of 3,000

---

[51] Battle accounts in: Malleson, 564–68, Fortescue, 1: 462–69, and Harold C. Wylly, *A Life of Lieutenant Sir Eyre Coote, K B* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 73–78.

[52] London had a false idea of the Carnatic's revenue situation and so sent them no money: Court to Fort St George, 13 March 1761 and Fort St George to Court, 2 Oct 1761, in *Madras Despatches, 1754–1763*, 256–57, 260–67.

[53] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 21 Feb 1760, D/43/184–85; Wylly, *A Life of Lieutenant Sir Eyre Coote*, 79, 84–5.

[54] Fort St George to Court, 21 Feb 1760, in *Madras Despatches, 1754–1763,* 199–205.

horse and 5,000 foot to keep supply lines open to Pondicherry and, in return, would receive large tracts of territory in and around Trichinopoly and to the south in Madura. Haidar broke through the British cordon, but as Coote's grip steadily tightened, he recognized that the French cause was lost and withdrew. He was also facing a serious challenge to his authority at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. No doubt, every morning Lally, in vain, scanned the horizon for a glimpse of D'Aché's ships. All he was granted was the sight of Admiral Steevens' patrolling frigates – his fleet now contained seventeen ships. The Royal Navy heroically held station with a few ships off the coast right through the monsoon of 1760–1; on New Year's Day the fleet was hit by a fierce storm off the coast which sank three ships and drove three more ashore (also wrecking the siege works that Coote had established), but it did not break the blockade.[55] On 10th January 1761, Coote opened up a battery of ten heavy guns and three mortars against the city; on 15th January 1761, the starving garrison surrendered.

The Madras Council ordered the immediate destruction of Pondicherry's fortifications (and later all French civilian property) and the taking of all remaining French bases in India, including Mahé on the Malabar coast, as well as beginning a long program of sending all French p.o.w.s back to Europe (as 'balast'!),[56] all designed to make it difficult for the French to re-establish their military power in India if it was permitted in the peace treaty. The final grand strategic goal of the British company would be to capture Mauritius, France's vital naval base in the southern Indian Ocean. Madras appealed to its sister presidencies for contributions of men and money for this project and sent one of its officers to the islands to spy out the land.[57] In the end, the idea was abandoned. Calcutta was against denuding British forces on the mainland while the war was still on; and the expedition was also deemed impracticable without greater logistical resources.[58] A year later, (June 1762), as a result of the outbreak of war with Spain, Madras added a contingent of its army (Europeans and sepoys) to a national force which had arrived from Britain to seize Manila in the Spanish Philippines; when captured, which amazingly it was, it was to be

55 Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 30 Aug 1760, BL: OIOC, D/43/721.

56 Fort St George to Court, 6 March 1761, in *Madras Despatches, 1754–1763,* 234–6.

57 Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 13 April 1761, BL: OIOC, 251/47/266–75, 291.

58 Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 25 June 1761, BL: OIOC, 251/47/436–37, 441–49.

administered by Company officials.[59] Obviously, though, it was likely to be traded for Spanish concessions in the Western Hemisphere in any peace negotiations, such a project was a startling precursor of the establishment of Britain's global empire in the next century. On 19th May 1763 Madras received news that the war with France was over. In the peace, France recovered Pondicherry and any possessions she had held in 1749 (precious few had the revenue resources to fund rebuilding her military strength) and was not allowed to refortify Chandernagore, its main base in Bengal, or to retain any soldiers in the province.[60]

British success in the Carnatic war was due to greater financial resources, superior grand strategy, more harmonious civil-military relations, generally superior naval confidence and, arguably, a better army. The differences were not great and the Fort St George Council was not confident that a decisive victory was within their reach until late on in the war. The French authorities in Paris sent greater numbers of European troops to India than the British, but neglected to ensure that they had enough money to pay them regularly, which undermined their morale, as evidenced by their mutinous behavior on a number of occasions (British troops were occasionally restless but never mutinous). Perhaps because they were inferior in numbers of Europeans, the officers of the Madras Army and the Fort St. George Council took the training and regular organization of their sepoys more seriously than did the French – they were certainly more effective in combat, as Lally acknowledged.[61] The English East India Company seems to have been able to mobilize more money than the French from the Indian banking and commercial community, probably because of its more

---

[59] Court to Fort St George, 21 June 1762, in *Madras Despatches, 1754–1763,* 289–90; Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 7 March 1763, BL: OIOC, 251/49/121. In fact, because Manila was captured after peace with Spain was signed in Europe, it had to be handed back 'gratis.'

[60] Court to Fort St George, 9 March 1763, in *Madras Despatches, 1754–1763,* 333–34. Earlier, the Court had instructed Fort St George to get formal grants from Salabat Jang of the former French territories he had granted to the Company because, as after 1748 they will try to foment trouble between us and the princes. After the Seven Years War, with its political position in India effectively obliterated, French adventurers were nonetheless urged to serve in princely armies to keep diplomatic channels open to exploit in future wars with the British; see Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient*, 177.

[61] Fort St George Select Committee Proceedings, 19 Sept 1759, BL: OIOC, D/42/512–22. Lally wrote to a correspondent: "You would be surprised at the difference between the black troops of the English and ours; it is greater than that between a Nawab and a coolly. Theirs will even venture to attack white troops, while ours will not look at their black ones," in Philip Mason, *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army its officers and men* (London: Cape, 1974), 121.

substantial trading activities before the war. Then, during the war though the Madras Council was always grumbling about the inadequate financial support provided by the Nawab, Muhammad Ali, his revenue collecting apparatus in the lands dominated by the Madras Army was probably more effective than anything contrived by the French, who seemingly never got as much from their holdings in the Northern Circars (and they lost these as a result of Colonel Forde's expedition in 1758–9). On top of this, the increasing British domination of Bengal from late 1757 enabled Calcutta to supply Madras with money, credit and food, which was vital during the last year of the war in 1761. All in all, the British had shown greater resolution to hold on to their position in India and had collaborated more effectively than the squabbling French.

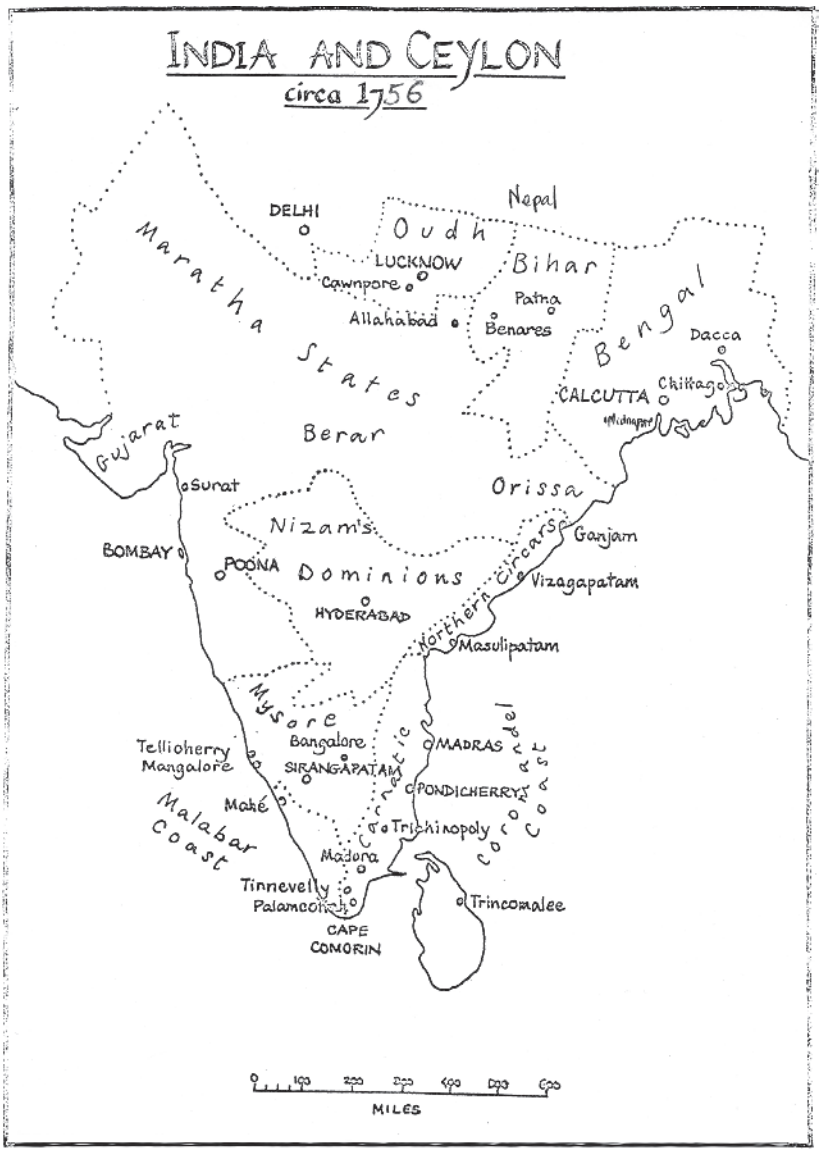


Figure 1. India and Ceylon, circa 1756.

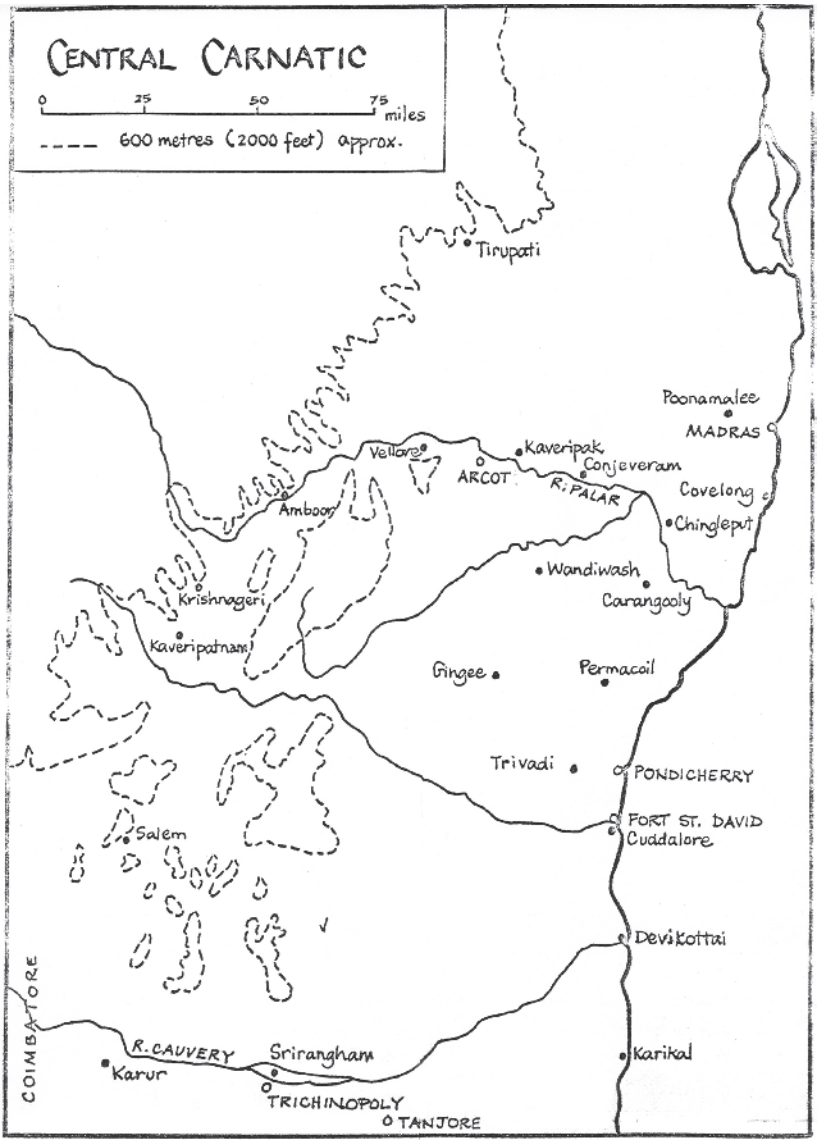


Figure 2. Central Carnatic.

CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGIOUS WAR OR IMPERIAL WAR? VIEWS OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR FROM GERMANY AND ROME

Johannes Burkhardt
Translation by L.D. and J.S. Corum

It is conventionally assumed that after the Peace of Westphalia (1648), religion no longer played a central role in international relations.[1] The confessional age is considered to be over. Glancing at the trends in international relations of the time, this would seem to be true. However, large-scale religious-political events continued to influence the political interactions of European governments, like the repeal of the Edicts of Nantes, or the special, religiously motivated clauses in peace treaties such as those on behalf of the Palatinate's Catholic minority in the Peace of Ryswik (1697), and those on behalf of the Protestants in Silesia in the Peace of Altranstädt (1707), as well as perpetual concerns regarding the official faith of the English throne, or the fear of Rome's machinations country-wide. Even in the eighteenth century, the danger of religious war had not been overcome. On the continent, in Switzerland during the Villmerger War of 1712, the Catholic and Protestant territories actually became involved in yet another religious conflict.[2] In Germany, the prevailing Protestant powers of England-Hanover and Brandenburg-Prussia mounted verbal "big guns" against the Court of Vienna and its Catholic clientele regarding religious conflict in the Palatinate, and military alliances were already being discussed. Thus, in 1721 religious freedom was only able to be restored through adroit government actions. As regards the well-meaning statements made on King George II, of England-Hanover, English research opines that one should not forget that "anti-Catholicism was a major part

[1] Johannes Burkhardt, "Konfession als Argument in den zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen. Friedenschancen und Religionskriegsgefahren in der Entspannungspolitik zwischen Ludwig XIV und dem Kaiserhof," in *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 11 (1991): 135–54; Richard Holmes, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Military History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[2] Johannes Burkhardt, "Religionskrieg," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 28 (1997): 681–87.

of British political culture and ideology."[3] The Seven Years' War itself, though carried out in the midst of the European Enlightenment, was perceived and depicted by men of the times according to so many religious signs and portents that it could be spoken of as a religious war.[4] How was that possible?

This was primarily a result of the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756. The reversal of alliances that resulted in two new power blocks, France and Austria on the one hand, and England and Prussia on the other, was surely motivated mainly by political interests: English concerns regarding the security of Hanover in the approaching colonial conflict with France; attempts by Kaunitz to render Frederick, the several-fold destroyer of peace, harmless in the future; and in the case of a Prussian attack, to restore the German order, and to win back Silesia. According to the political calculations of the time, Kaunitz lobbied for a new configuration, securing his new ally, France, with offers of compensation.[5] Thanks to the Enlightenment, Kaunitz and France were prepared to change their centuries-long antagonism, and to replace their "ancient prejudices" with a "new system" of alliances.[6] In this situation, such enlightened ideas as *Revolution* propagated the "Reversal of Alliances;" but there were also confessional understandings of the situation, with England and Prussia on the one side, and France and Austria on the other, which had confessional side-effects,

---

[3] Jeremy Black, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1985), 119, 127; see chapter 6, "A Confessional Party? Religion and British Foreign Policy," 118–38.

[4] Johannes Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg: Der Siebenjährige Krieg und die päpstliche Diplomatie*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 61 (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1985).

[5] On the political thinking of Kaunitz see Lothar Schilling, *Kaunitz und das Renversement des alliances. Studien zur außenpolitischen Konzeption Wenzel Antons von Kaunitz*, Historische Forschungen, 50 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994); and,"Ohne Leidenschaft und Vorurteil? Prämissen außenpolitischer Urteilsbildung bei Kaunitz," in Grete Klingenstein et al., eds., *Staatskanzler Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg 1711–1749: Neue Perspektiven* (Graz: Esztergom; Paris: A. Schnider, 1996), 142–66.

[6] Johannes Burkhardt, "Geschichte als Argument in der habsburgisch-französischen Diplomatie. Der Wandel des frühneuzeitlichen Geschichtsbewußtseins in seiner Bedeutung für die Diplomatische Revolution von 1756," in Rainer Babel, ed., *Frankreich im europäischen Staatensystem der Frühen Neuzeit*, Beihefte der Francia, 35 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbek Verlag, 1995), 191–217; On the discussion about Lothar Schilling see, "Wie revolutionär war die Diplomatische Revolution?" in *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte*, Neue Folge 6 (1996): 163–202; Sven Externbrink, "Kommunikation, Information, Außenpolitik. Frankreich und Brandenburg-Preußen zur Zeit des Siebenjährigen Krieges," in Ralf Pröve und Nobert Winnige, eds., *Wissen ist Macht: Herrschaft und Kommunikation in Brandenburg-Preußen 1650–1850*, Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts für die Geschichte Preußens, Bd. 2 (Berlin: Arno Spitz, 2001), 157–76.

and called for a fundamental reorientation of the entire state system, besides additional possibilities for legitimization.

It is known that English publications also propagandized the change of alliances with religious-political motives. Anti-popery had received new support from the Jacobite Rebellion, dating back only to 1745. In his famous picture, William Hogarth associated anti-French and anti-clerical motives with the promises made by King George II to Parliament for the "preservation of the Protestant religion".[7] Against this background, English propaganda promoted a change from the long-standing ally, Austria, and to bring Prussia closer, recommending its Protestant king as the "natural" ally. According to the standard research into this British media discourse, the confessional argument was the most-used during this press campaign.[8] Upon his first battle success, Frederick the Great stood out, to the British public, as a much-admired "Protestant hero."

On the other hand, the same Catholic religion could function as an integrating ideology. During the "early stages" of the Diplomatic Revolution, the first French-Hapsburg rapprochement at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the French instructions called the "Interests of the Catholic Religion"[9] were adjured, and that next to other arguments spoke for an improvement in the relationships and agreements between the Catholic powers. That was one episode, but there it remained in French briefings as an integrating formula to be called upon as needed. As the alliance finally came about in 1756, in the midst of the Enlightenment, religion was certainly the last of all motivations—at least for Kaunitz, its architect. Nevertheless, the Chancellor also instructed his legation in Paris to stress what they had confessionally in common.[10] Although Maria Theresa was a pious woman, who certainly did not place religion before the interests of political alliances; yet she explicitly preferred that the two motives

---

[7] See Antje Fuchs, "Der Siebenjährige Krieg als virtueller Religionskrieg an Beispielen aus Preußen, Österreich, KurHanover und Großbritannien," in Franz Brendle und Anton Schindling, eds., *Religionskriege im Alten Reich und Alteuropa* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2006), 313–43, esp. pp. 332–40.

[8] Manfred Schlenke, *England und das friderizianische Preußen 1740–1763: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Politik und Öffentlicher Meinung im England des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Alber, 1963), 198–235.

[9] Recueil Bd. 7 (Bavière), 4 (covering also Austria), see Max Braubach, *Versailles und Wien von Ludwig XIV. bis Kaunitz: Die Vorstadien der diplomatische Revolution im 18. Jahrhundert*, Bonner Historische Forschung, Bd. 2 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1985), 1–104, here p. 50 and footnote 15; Recueil Bd. 1: Autriche, p. 176, also p. 220.

[10] Kaunitz to Starhemberg, 21 August 1755, in Gustav Berthold Volz und Georg Künzel, eds., *Preußische und Österreichische Acten zur Vorgeschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1899); reprint, (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965), 81.

corresponded.[11] Though marked by the self-restraint of the political protagonists, on the Catholic-dominated side, on the whole, religious arguments played a role that is today forgotten, even unknown.

Religious War and the Secret Diplomacy of Rome

Behind the scenes stood Rome's administrative center: the heart of the Papacy and papal diplomacy. In order to understand this, it is necessary to envision the structural intolerance of early modern confession-building. According to the institutionalization of major religious groups, known by the term 'Konfessionalisierung' (Confessionalization) in German research into the early modern era, all believed that there could be but one, single religious truth, and there ought therefore to be but one Christendom. Thus, each faction came to hold that their own approach, either the gospel-based "Primacy of the Doctrine" and the church-oriented "Primacy of the Organisation"[12] was absolute, and remained the guarantor for the exclusive ownership of Christian truth. It was not about different religions, but rather about the right establishment of one and the same religion. All saw themselves as the only legitimate heirs of Christianity. Their militancy, which stemmed from their denial of other religious groups' right to exist, led to a series of European religious wars.[13] On the Catholic side their foundation remained, characteristically, Canon Law in the form of the 1582-amended *Codex Iurus Canonici*, which also regulated their actions taken against heretics.[14] Backing this up was the idea that concern for the true religion was the noblest duty of the sovereign, and that resistant people should be compelled by force, even armed force, to the entrance to the House of the Church, so that they could convince themselves of the rightness of these beliefs. Even on the Protestant side, wars could be charged with the propagation of the faith, to the point of borrowing from Old Testament extermination terminology the term 'holy war' (one example being the

[11] Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, as footnote 4, pp. 45–48.

[12] Johannes Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert: Deutsche Medien zwischen Medienrevolution und Institutionenbildung 1517–1617* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2002), 116–31; in the Polish translation: Johannes Burkhardt, *Stulecie refomacji w Niemczech (1517–1617). Miedzy rewolucja medialna a przelomem instytujonalnym* (Warschau, 2009).

[13] See Burkhardt, "Religionskrieg."

[14] *Codex Iuris Canonici, Lib. V. Decretalum*, Tit. VII. De Haereticis.

English war against Spain). But genuine theological intolerance seems to have been more persistent in Rome. Canon lawyers developed expert opinions war against the Protestants and affirmed, unto the eighteenth century, the "Necessity of persecuting heretics and wars of faith."[15]

In order to enforce Rome's religious-political program, the Roman Curia determined in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to seek an alliance with the Catholic sovereigns, establishing permanent nuncios at the most important courts. This papal nuncio system corresponded with the development of standing missions of the evolving secular state systems. However, there already appeared to be a stress upon religious politics and missions, so that the papacy's diplomatic relationships throughout most of the early modern era were held exclusively with the Catholic courts, and above all, with the three greatest: the nuncios to the Austrian imperial court, to the Spanish court in Madrid, and to the Parisian court. For Germany, besides the Viennese nuncio, the Cologne nuncio was also significant to for promoting the Catholicization of the country and backing up the parish system along the Rhine. During the time of the Seven Years' War, the Polish nuncio was also relevant for Germany because of the Polish-Saxon personal union (1697–1763). Saxony, which had remained Protestant, was decreed to be an exception, styled as a sort of "lay nuncio" that was still subject to the Catholic court, which resided alternately in Warsaw and in Dresden. Already, the organization of papal diplomacy was both the symbol and the most important vehicle for the religious-political program to establish a militant Catholic unity in Europe with the help of the Catholic rulers.

But this program was wrecked by the political alliances, especially French-Hapsburg antagonism. The Pope repeatedly sought to mediate in the countless wars that the House of Hapsburg and the Kingdom of France waged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as their "common father", that is, the common father of the Catholic royal sons. To be sure, he only negotiated between Catholic rulers, never with those of other faiths, who were fit to war against, or at least to ignore. In the entire early modern period, there is not a single incident in which a papal peace negotiation was also conducted with regard to non-Catholic powers. Rather, the role of mediator was ever to serve the establishment of Catholic unity alone.

---

[15] Andreas Kraus, "Das Problem des Glaubenskrieges bei den bayerischen Kanonisten der Barockzeit,"in Dieter Albrecht et. al., eds., *Politik und Konfession: Festschrift für Konrad Repgen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1983), 101–21, here p. 105.

With the protest against the Peace of Westphalia, the Curia removed itself from the multi-denominational international legal system.[16]

Now, however, there arose the political alliance that Rome had waited for since the Counter-Reformation, and which it had repeatedly sought in vain. In an historic moment, when one could doubt whether the papacy was capable of realizing its desired political program, the key Catholic great powers nevertheless formed an alliance; and this against the two most important Protestant powers! Though Roman diplomacy had taken no part in it, the formation of the political alliance between France and Austria was still perceived from the beginning as a pact between the "Catholic princes," and that it would serve the interests of the Catholic religion and provide the Catholic powers with a good opportunity to "rein in the heretics."[17] Even the participation of Russia in the alliance was positively valued as a strengthening of the "Catholic side." Yet again, however, all this could be viewed as a defensive posture.

Once the Saxons had been assaulted by their Prussian rulers, triggering the war, the interference of Rome became more decisive.[18] Pope Benedict XIV had called upon Alberigo Archinto, previously the nuncio to both Warsaw and Dresden, to become Secretary of State at the very beginning of the war. Shocked by this act of violence against Saxony and the encroachments upon the Catholic ruling house, Archinto described the assault to the Pope as "downright hair-raising."[19] The Curia decided to show diplomatic support. Accordingly, Pope Benedict XIV ordered this to be done in the form of papal briefs to the allied courts, plus additional briefs to an assortment of other Catholic rulers. These briefs called upon them to come to the aid of Saxony and their Saxon brethren "with force of arms",[20] providing military aid against the "anti-Catholic

---

[16] Konrad Repgen, "Die römische Kurie und der Westfälische Friede. Idee und Wirklichkeit des Papsttums im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in vol. 1 of *Papst, Kaiser und Reich 1521–1644*, Part 2, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 24 & 25, (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1962–65).

[17] "Porre un buon freno agli eretici," State Secretary Valenti on the Parisian Nuncio Gualtieri, 25. Februar 1756, in Burkhardt, ed., *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, no. 4, p. 382, see also footnote 43.

[18] Johannes Burkhardt, "Sachsen-Polen und die päpstliche Diplomatie im Siebenjährigen Krieg," *Sachsen und Polen zwischen 1697 und 1765. Beiträge der wissenschaftlichen Konferenz vom 26. – 28. Juni 1997 in Dresden*, Saxonia, Bd. 4/5 (Dresden: Sächsisches Druck und Verlagshaus, 1998), 176–89.

[19] Benedikt XIV on Tencin, 22. September 1756, Emile de Heeckeren, ed., *Correspondance de Benoit XIV*, 2 Vols, (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1912), 2: 530.

[20] *AV S.S. Polonia,* 234, f. 105, in Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, Nr. 10, also Nr. 11 and 12 per footnote 108.

Margrave of Brandenburg." A brief was hardly necessary for Vienna, but since the French oath of allegiance was untested an integrated appeal seemed advisable. The image of a religious enemy eclipsed Frederick's breach of the peace. The escalating offenses against martial law—Prussian looting, which was as menacing to the Saxonian Electoress as the first bombing of Dresden years later[21]—lent Rome's image of a religious enemy ever more demonic features.

Now, however, an entire array of extensive, truly revisionist expectations came into play: They next turned to Silesia, the main object of the Seven Years' War. Silesia was a German-speaking territory, subject to the Bohemian Hapsburg crown, and as such not fully integrated into the Religious Law of the Empire. Prussia had to take over this religious status. Owing to the Westphalian Peace, and with the improvements that resulted from the Altranstädt Peace of 1707, they were provided with complicated regulations for the coexistence of alternating Catholic and Protestant districts; neither religion held a majority.[22] Upon their transfer to Prussia in 1745, King Frederick had to guarantee the religious status quo. Whereas Catholic Silesia had enjoyed a somewhat privileged position under Austrian rule, tendencies now seemed reversed. For the Curia, moreover, this resulted in a situation in which the Bishopric of Breslau, a full-fledged diocese with a half million Catholics, fell under protestant government control, so that the Curia now had to somehow communicate with the Protestants. Since Rome, however, held no diplomatic talks with non-Catholic rulers, and in the case of Prussia, moreover, also failed to recognize either the legitimacy of the King or of his non-Catholic electorate, there remained only the "Margrave of Brandenburg" as titular. Thereupon, Roman diplomacy had to cooperate in the situation for decades, whether urging the Silesian clergy to obedience toward their "respectable monarch", or providing the "Sovereign of Prussia" with the same rights as his Catholic fellow rulers in the appointment of leading church personnel. All that remained for the Pope was to accept the nomination of Canon Schaffgotsch, chosen by Frederick because of his permissiveness, as

---

[21] Burkhardt, "Sachsen-Polen und die päpstliche Diplomatie im Siebenjährigen Krieg," (per footnote 18), p. 183f and p. 187f. For a review of the press coverage on Dresden see Ulrich Rouseaux, "Die Belagerung Dresdens im Jahr 1760 als Medienereignis des 18. Jahrhunderts," in Hans-Peter Lühr, ed., *Sachsen und Dresden im Siebenjährigen Krieg*, Dresdner Hefte, Bd. 68 (Dresden: Dresdner Geschichtsverein, 2001), 51–56.

[22] Joachim Bahlcke, "Religion und Politik in Schlesien. Konfessionspolitische Strukturen unter österreichischer und preußischer Herrschaft (1650–1800)," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, no. 134 (1998): 33–57.

Bishop of Breslau. Considering this, and numerous further problems, it is no wonder that a return of Silesia to the Catholic control of Maria Theresa was a desired prospect of the war for Rome, prayed for in internal correspondence, and required straightaway, as soon as the war conditions were favorable. When Silesia actually came under Catholic control once more in 1757, for a time, the situation was greeted with prayers of thanksgiving. In the end, not one part of Silesia could be won back. Despite largely unaltered religious provisions, this was still a bitter disappointment for the papacy.

In the Reich, a series of religious conversions by princes raised Roman expectations for change. The Religious Determination Law of the princes, granted in the Peace of Augsburg was repealed in the Westphalian Peace by Normaljahr: If a population of another faith had enjoyed religious rights in 1624, this was to be restored and continued in the future.[23] Thereupon, the Saxons had adopted these ground rules, getting peace for nearly the entire German religious landscape. When the elector changed religion, Saxony was kept Protestant, with the practice of the Catholic faith strictly limited to the court, so that all attempts by Rome to alter the practice of religion in Saxony were thwarted. That should not have happened to the papacy at all, for next, Crown Prince Frederick of Hesse-Kassel converted in secret. The young landgrave, heir to a considerable country, was made a Catholic in 1749 at the splendid court of Elector Clemens August of Cologne. His secret was exposed in 1754.[24] His fervently reformed father and the propertied class, naturally fearing an attempt upon the religious status of the protestant muster-land, compelled the successor to sign an agreement securing religious rights. This agreement, akin to a partial abdication, far exceeded the Saxon model. To strengthen their position, the Crown Prince's wife and son, who had to remain Protestant, were provided ahead of time with land. The right to form religious alliances was restricted to ensure that in the future, that of Court and Country, only one could be Catholic: and that would be the next sovereign. Moreover, the Protestant powers, especially England and Prussia, received the assurance that the Crown Prince was compelled to sign the

[23] *Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugense* Art. 5 §31.

[24] On the older literature see Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 75–92. For a general description of the Roman sources see Polverini Fosi, "Toleranza ed intransigenza. La conversione al cattolicesimo di Federico II die Assia-Kassel," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, no. 71 (1991): 509–47.

agreement. Whether Crown Prince Frederick had retracted his signature as made under duress or not, or whether he had lodged a notarized protest against it, remained long unclear to researchers because of contradictory information. Now, however, thanks to the surprise discovery of a cache of Roman records, this can be clarified: He actually did it twice, once for the sake of the imperial, and once for French diplomacy.[25] Though the Diplomatic Revolution was forecasting its religious-political shadow, in the end Frederick the Great was quicker to act. France offered the Crown Prince a French officer's commission, and Austria, an Austrian commission, but Frederick of Hesse accepted a Prussian officer's commission.[26] Catholic activists were speechless. The Roman Curia failed to comment, waiting for an opportune moment in the war waged by French occupation forces to take religious-political measures.

The Roman Curia had special opportunities for influence in the ecclesiastical Princes of Germany. One of the most important was the "Master of Five Churches" (Monsieur des Cinq Eglises), the Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, who thanks to a dispensation from Rome ruled four additional Bishoprics, which amounted to over half of northwest Germany.[27] Politically, he had not been able to rightly decide between the German Imperial Court and the French Court, but now, the alliance of the two seemed to clear up the problem.[28] As a Wittelsbach, however, he traditionally stood in opposition to the Hapsburgs, feared the neighboring Prussians, and preferred to invest in fine art and architecture rather than spending his money on the military. This did not prevent him from rousing his well-known religious zeal and placing his proven Papal piety before political considerations. In accord with Vienna, Rome handled its secret diplomacy like a virtuoso, whose steps can be precisely reconstructed here.[29] The nuncio to Vienna announced to the Pope in Rome the desire of the imperial court for discreet "fatherly advice" for the Cologne elector. Thus, the papal nuncio to Cologne was mandated by Rome to intervene. He engaged the Father Confessor to transmit the papal wish to Clemens

---

[25] Comments by Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 379–81.

[26] Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 243–49, 422–24, 442f.

[27] Anton Schindling, "Kurfürst Clemens August, der Herr von Fünfkirchen. Rokokoprälat und Reichspolitiker 1700–1761," in *Clemens August, Fürstbischof, Jagdherr, Mäzen: Eine kulturhistorische Ausstellung aus Anlaß des 250 jährigen Jubiläums von Schloß Clemenswerth*, Exhibition Catalog (Meppen/Sögel: Der Landkreis, 1987), 15–28.

[28] For a general account see Max Braubach, "Kurfürst Clemens August und Friedrich der Große," in Max Braubach, ed., *Kurköln Gestalten und Ereignisse aus zwei Jahrhunderten, Rheinische Geschichte* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1949), 247–56, here p. 255f.

[29] Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 117–29.

August, and got a favorable answer, which now took back all its way. The Electorate of Cologne now amounted to the status of leader of an anti-Prussian political movement in the Empire.

Rome had a special bargaining chip in the installation of the principality's bishops. To be sure, the binding appointment of a bishop required a two-thirds' majority of the Cathedral chapter, but they could be elected with a simple majority. However, their selection still depended upon the cooperation of the Curia, which controlled their dispensation, their initial letter of eligibility, and finally, their confirmation. Due to the war, the vacancy of the Bamberg Diocese was especially volatile. Its occupant would vie with the principality of Ansbach for the leadership of the politically and militarily significant Frankish region. This politically organized region, one of the Circles of the Empire, lay near the theater of war, and seemed threatened by the marriage of Frederick's favorite sister, Wilhelmine, to the Margrave of Bayreuth. As the descendent of a Hohenzollern line, the Margrave had reciprocal residential and hereditary rights with the main Berlin Hohenzollern line. The Margrave also competed with the Bamberg Archbishop for the leadership of the Circle. In Adam Frederick von Seinsheim, who had already won acclaim as Bishop of Würzburg, there was a candidate who was well-suited for leadership of the Franconian Circle, who promised to help prevent the Prussian threat through the long-standing union of the two bishoprics. But the cooperation of Rome was important, so the request was made by express couriers dispatched from Germany to Rome. They were under instructions to obtain advance confirmation of the choices for Bishop owing to the danger of Protestant Prussia. Against all regulations, the Curia actually issued a brief referencing German war developments and the danger of a Prussian invasion, which stated that Seinsheim, whether appointed or elected, could take over the administration of the Diocese at once. Thanks to this unique, expedited cooperation, Archbishop and District Director Seinsheim was already in office by May 1757, when the Prussian Mayr Volunteer Corps undertook a disastrous raid against Franconia. Frederick's plan to threaten the region failed, and the Circle no longer wavered in their support of the Imperial Court and the Catholic powers.[30]

[30] Johannes Burkhardt, "Der Beitrag der Römischen Kurie zur Sicherung Frankens gegen Friedrich den Großen. Eine Untersuchung zu drei Bamberger Bischofswahlen," in Heinz Duchhardt, ed., *Friedrich der Grosse: Franken und das Reich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1986), 173–93, here p. 182–86.

In the eighteenth century, the Church leadership was no longer in the position to help finance a war, but in this case Rome advocated and bade the clergy to contribute. In order to guard the Church's tax-free status, which would soon be discontinued under the Josephinism, Papal tax authorizations were transmitted to the rulers. Traditionally as restrictive as possible, these particular authorizations were unusually generous, requiring the clergy of Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and even Poland to pay special taxes for financing the war. The Pope issued his instructions in a highly unusual brief with the utmost secrecy. This was read to each cleric, one at a time, and not allowed to circulate. It bade them to collect a war-tithe from the clerics in districts controlled by the Emperor. These tithes bypassed the Princes and Lords of the territories and went directly into the Imperial war purse. The brief did not remain totally obscure, however, and gave Frederick the Great an excuse to retaliate with a special tax on the Catholic clergy in Silesia. A tax brief for the Palatinate, however, was couched in such drastic words against the "horror of anti-Catholic infidelity" that it stopped the nuncio to Cologne in his tracks and sent him back to Rome to be defrocked so as to not create a public spectacle.[31]

Some of the most telling insights into Rome's views regarding the war are contained in the internal nuncio reports. During the war, these reports functioned as actual war correspondence out of Germany. Maria Theresa's cause, the "Just Cause," evidently corresponded to "Just War Doctrine." To be sure, it was identified with her to such an extent that Rome's diplomats spoke of "our troops," or the "Catholic Army."[32] From its commentary on the progress of the war, a "theology of battles" can be gathered after a fashion. After defeats of the Austrian Court, it was said that the inscrutable decrees of God were proven and prayers of entreaty called for. After victories, God was said to have revealed, or even furthered, the justness of Maria Theresa's cause, and prayers of thanks were proclaimed. After the defeat of Frederick at Kolin in 1757, followed by the liberation of Prague, Vienna's representative in Rome, Cardinal Albani and the State Secretary, likewise reported the indescribable jubilation of Pope Benedict XIV.[33] The following year saw Daun's surprise attack again summon the jubilant tones of the previous year, as now the "God of the Armies and Victories" had

[31] Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 174.
[32] Attachment in Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 134–36.
[33] Edited by Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, no. 19, 396.

conclusively "revealed"[34] His part in the cause of Vienna. This 'blessing of arms' did not just apply to the liberation of Saxony, but also for "those acquisitions that the Pope wishes and implores God for, on behalf of the Austrian armed forces and the righteous state of the Empress." This crusading tone in the internal correspondence of the nunciature was not intended for publication, yet despite its form of promulgation it was quite authentic. With a change of pontifex, however, it became much more evident: in the new round of briefs circulated by Torrigiani, the new Papal Secretary to Clement XIII, the Pope installed upon Benedict XIV's death in 1758.

In a good dozen letters to the Emperor, to Maria Theresa, to the French King, and other Catholic sovereigns and leading politicians, the new Pope gave his first views of the war from the Chair of St. Peter. He saw a Church "Beset by her enemies, and by their misplaced zeal for the false religion."[35] God Himself, however, had united the Catholic rulers and their armies against the Protestants. The Battle of Hochkirch was described as "continuing success at arms." After this and other recent military successes, the plans of the enemies of the faith could now be brought to naught, and henceforth, the (one, true) religion could again recover from earlier losses. With strong words, the diplomatic revolution was stylized as a providential event. The letters also spoke of religious war and holy war as derived from the religious duty of the sovereigns to back up their religious-political interests with force of arms.[36] One brief that circulated after the Battle of Hochkirch, moreover, speaks of victory being bestowed by the field commanders and their holy sword upon the triumphant Austrian Commander-in-Chief Daun. This was likened to a gift to the Pope in the war against "unbelievers" and "heretics," like that presented by Duke Albert and Prince Eugene after the Turkish Victory of 1716. This brief made such an impact that it continued to resound in Prussian historiography. Alarmed, the Pope denied these sentiments rather unsuccessfully, claiming that "the Pope always seeks to gather the Protestants back into Jesus Christ's fold with purely peaceful means."[37] His denial was actually true.

---

34 Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 140.

35 Citation and analysis in Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 216–19.

36 The publisher of the Beviary in *Bullarii Romani Continuatio Summorum Ponteficium Clementis XIII*, eds. Andreas Barberi und Alexander Spetia (Rome, 1835), 55, clearly establishes the traditional interpretations as they were understood and classifies the Breviary as a call for "ad Religiones hostis profligandos."

37 *Edition des Dementis* in Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, no. 33, 424f.

A sword-bestowing had not taken place, so much as a miracle.[38] The author of this bestowal-letter was the Prussian King. The French copy of the "Letter" actually records it as the work of Frederick the Great.[39]

Religious War according to Prussian Propaganda

The confessional opponent of Rome, proffering in its own way an opposing view of religious war, was Prussia. This might seem surprising, given that Frederick was critical of Rome, and styled himself as an enlightened, generally unreligious man. In Germany, moreover, the King stepped in as the obvious choice whenever a decision was needed to settle a serious breach of the peace. The attack on Saxony was a breach of the peace that triggered general outrage in Germany. Public opinion held that this assault upon the freedom of the Electorate should be avenged. The permanent Imperial Assembly in Regensburg discussed what measures to take against in the Elector of Brandenburg regarding the disturbance of the peace. Prussian advocate and envoy Plotho's first argument was that his liege was not operating "in the role of an elector or an electorate, but rather as the ruler and lord of an assortment of sovereign territories, independent from the German Empire. His liege was obligated to handle a conflict with the Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, Maria Theresa, as a sovereign power." The Saxon breach of the peace, however, should be regarded merely as the "passage of our army through the electoral Saxon territory."[40] This was a barefaced lie, as was proven in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries using Frederick's archived plans for the annexation of Saxony.[41] Even at the time, the facts of the matter deprived him of any plausibility: the so-called "passage" of the Prussian Army had lasted the entire war, and quickly proved to actually be the forceful occupation and exploitation of

---

[38] Compare with the comments in the Vatican Archives, Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 220–25.

[39] *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, ed. Johann David Preuß, 30 vols. (Berlin: Rodolphe Decker Imprimeur du Roi, 1852), 19: 71–83.

[40] *Preußisches Cicularschreiben an die Reichsstände* 2 Oktober 1756. See Johannes Burkhardt, "Vollendung und Neuorientierung des frühmodernen Reiches, 1648–1763," *Gebhardt Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, no. 11 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2006), 412.

[41] "Friedrich d. Gr., Politisches Testament von 1752," in Richard Dietrich, ed., *Die Politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1986): 253–461. See also the text with commentary by Erika Bosbach, *Die "Reveries Politiques" in Friedrich des Großen Politischem Testament von 1752* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1960), 135–55; See also Burkhardt, "Vollendung und Neuorientierung des frühmodernen Reiches, 1648–1763," 40f.

their richer neighbors. The legate's second argument was the premise of a preventive war against Kaunitz's coalition. Seeing, however, that the first Versailles Treaty was purely defensive and the alliance was first set in motion by Frederick's attack, this argument was not convincing and accepted only with skepticism, if it all. Emer de Vattel, at that time the most important expert of the law of nations, sharply condemned Frederick's invasion of Saxony, and composed a major work according to the view that it was against international law.[42] Frederick's attempt by means of documents filed in Dresden to prove there was an anti-Frederick coalition with the active participation of Saxony failed. Even the manipulative wordsmith and diplomatic observer, Ewald Friedrich, Count of Hertzberg could not give credence to the Prussian reading.[43] Only in Frederick's Prussia could the trustworthy relations of an elector with the imperial court seem suspicious, especially since one has to go back as far as 1745 in order to construe anything of suspicion at all. In the Prussian archives one would find a totally different story, intoned diplomatic observers, full of misgivings without being able to truly know just how right he was.

Thus, for Prussian propaganda, there remained nothing more than to play the confessional card, and to transform the conflict into a religious war in order to win more legitimacy and to mobilize at least the Protestant rulers and lords of the Empire. "Injustice by the Archiducal house of Austria against the Protestants" became the permission slip to reproach the Hapsburgs for a list of grievances stretching from the time of Charles V to the present, imputing them with the dark intention of "exterminating Evangelicals with fire and sword wherever possible." The mandate for these historic pamphlets had already been given by Frederick the Great before the war, under the aegis of his title, and the legal precedents cited by experts.[44] Thus, the pronouncement of high court official Ludwig Kahle

---

[42] Emer de Vattel, "Le droit des gens ou principes de la loi naturelle appliqués a la Conduite et aux affaires de nations et des souverains 1758," in Manfred Schort, *Politik und Propaganda : Der Siebenjährige Krieg in den zeitgenössischen Flugschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2006), 369f.

[43] "Mémoires Raisonnés Sur La Conduite Des Cours de Vienne Et de Saxe, Et Sur Leurs Desseins Dangereux Contre Sa Majesté Le Roi De Prusse, Avec Les Pieces Originales Et Justificatives Qui En Fournissent Les Preuves, Berlin 1759," in Heinrich von Sybel und Gustav Schmoller, eds., *Preußische Staatsschriften aus der Regierungszeit König Friedrichs II* (Berlin, 1892), 3: 318f.

[44] *Preußische Staatsschriften*, 3: 234–317.

was not treated as an official Prussian ruling like his former writs, but rather was only circulated anonymously and covertly after the war had been underway for several weeks. This set off an explosive situation in the German Empire. The series of religious conflicts that had preoccupied national institutions and controversists since the middle of the century had once again been publicized. One by one, the Counts of Hohenlohe converted to Catholicism, and set themselves forcefully against their evangelical parish organisation, to such an extreme of injustice that the Emperor himself admonished them about it. To the Evangelical estates however, these countermeasures were proceeding too slowly. By taking up measures in self-defense, they provoked a greater conflict. On the other hand, the reformed Counts of Wid-Runckel sought to be allowed to build a Catholic abbey in Dierdorf. Under the prevailing regulations of Normaljahr, however, this would be an inadmissible break with the existing state of religion. The Emperor took on the case himself, but in so doing he delivered yet further religious-political ammunition just before the outbreak of the war. Such situations allowed the spokesmen for the Protestant estates, the Corpus Evangelicorum, to become so active, that historians speak of a "Reconfessionalization" in the mid eighteenth century.[45] The anonymous Prussian pamphlet took on an assortment of such cases and, to top it all off, added the actual errors of Hesse-Kassel by explicit order of the King. The educational objective of this purported, wartime history lesson patently was to provide the Evangelicals with "more than enough motivation to see to their own preservation."[46]

This first, pro-Frederick pamphlet of 1756 was only the first of an entire series of religious-war publications. The Seven Years' War was one of the truly great media events, comparible only to the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War. This was not due so much to visual propaganda, but rather to the heavy coverage of scripts—especially the position papers and pamphlets. Most of these had religious-political overtones. A few consisted only of religious-political propaganda. The "Schreiben eines Brandenburgers an einen Ausländer betreffend das Verhältnis des jetzigen Reichszustandes und Krieges gegen die Kirchen- und Gewissensfreiheiten

---

[45] See Gabriele Haug-Moritz, "Corpus Evangelicorum und deutscher Dualismus," in Volker Press und Dieter Stievermann, eds., *Alternativen zur Reichsverfassung in der Frühen Neuzeit?*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 23 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995), 189–207, here p. 204.

[46] See the introductory notes for "Unbilliges Verfahren" in *Preußische Staatsschriften*, vol. 3, 234–317.

der Protestanten" was Prussian Army Chaplain Adolf Dietrich Ortmann's similar bugle call the following year.[47] His letter was characterized by the opposite side as "sounding the charge for all-out religious war," for it imputed the overall aim of the shifts in alliances to be simply the destruction of Protestantism. The "Plot of a Religious War" served in the opinion of one Warner as an additional writing that represented the alliance as a long-cherished, Papal plot for the "extermination of all the heretics" through the oppression of Hanover and the Prussians. Allegedly, the "sincere opinions and fatherly advice" of the Pope himself demonstrated the gross exaggeration of what was more a disavowal of the Protestant side.[48] Among the powerfully symbolic legends adopted by the Prussian propagandists was the legend that the Pope bestowed a sword to Daun. Other tales also made the rounds: of a Jesuit plot to take over the government, and of a secret organization of Austrian power elites bent on the eradication of the Protestant religion. During the war, no less than the eminent political author and cameralist, Johann Georg Justi, former professor of the Vienna Collegium Theresianum, was deployed by the Prussian government to Berlin, where he lent his famous quill to such thrillers.[49]

The Protestant side, for its part, was not lacking in theological manifestos, which promoted a religious-denominational escalation of the war. A prayer imputed to the Berlin churches included a petition that the war be waged for the safeguarding of the Protestant religion.[50] Homilies given at lavish thanksgiving services after victorious battles by such clerics as Berlin Court Preacher August Wilhelm Sack, as well as by enlightened theologians like Moses Mendelssohn, were reported to have considerable emotional impact upon even poets and intellectuals. At these services, the salvation of political freedom was likened to the salvation of Protestantism. The providential protection of the war hero, Frederick, was celebrated. Indeed, after the battle of Leuthen, he was proclaimed the "Chosen One of God." Even traditional analogies with Abraham, King David and other Biblical characters were conferred upon the Prussian King, and not just for his piety. Ultimately, the Prussians themselves came to be likened to the "chosen people" of Israel, saved by a metaphorical parting of the Red Sea.

---

47 Schort, *Politik und Propaganda*, 103.
48 Ibid., 251.
49 Ibid., 236–43.
50 Ibid., 99.

In this manner, the war ominously approached the status of an Old Testament caliber "Holy War."[51]

"God thundered, there fled the enemy!" affirmed the poets in Frederick's circle, and allowed that "through Frederick, or else God through him," great deeds would be accomplished.[52] Added to German literature in 1757 was "Lieder eines preußischen Grenadiers," grounded in the triad of "God, King, and Fatherland."[53] This song depicted and conjured visions of Brandenburg Prussia, as a sanctified, Prussian Germany. In another, likewise writing, Thomas Abbt used antiquotations fit for preaching from the pulpit to urge Prussia's subjects to embrace the desirable prospect of dying for the Fatherland and for the cause of Frederick.[54] It became especially popular to depict Frederick the Great as a second Gustavus Adolphus, his predecessor and champion of the evangelical faith.[55] Existing memoirs of the Thirty Years' War, which had come to be remembered as a religious war, lent support to the Seven Years' War being conceived in like fashion.[56]

This was not without consequence. Already before the war, rumors were circulating concerning plans for religious alliances by the political powers and Imperial states that had received new support from the diplomatic revolution. There was talk in both the news reports out of Regensburg and the legation's correspondence concerning the establishment of a virtual Catholic League as well as an alliance of evangelical rulers, owing to their traumatic experiences in the Thirty Years' War. These reports were mostly a smoke screen for the darker plans of the other side, serving as justification for their armament plans. That applied especially to the Protestant-Prussian side, for in the eighteenth century Prussia nearly always stood behind any efforts to establish special alliances.

---

[51] See Hans-Martin Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland: Die Deutsche Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000), 171–85.

[52] Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, "Preußische Kriegslieder von einem Grenadier," *Deutsche Literatur denkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts in Neudrucken*, no. 2 and no. 9. (Heilbronn, 1882).

[53] Hans Peter Hermann, "Krieg, Medien und Nation. Zum Nationalismus in Kriegsliedern des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts," in Wolfgang Adam und Holger Dainat, eds., "*Krieg ist mein Lied*". *Der Siebenjährige Krieg in den zeitgenössischen Medien* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2007), 27–64, here p. 31.

[54] Thomas Abbt, "Vom Tod für das Vaterland 1761." See Schort, *Politik und Propaganda*, 351f. See also Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland*, 186–97.

[55] Schort, *Politik und Propaganda*, 103, 116 and 159.

[56] On the current state of research see Johannes Burkhardt, "The Thirty Years' War," in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, ed., *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 272–90.

For religious guidance, Frederick could always refer to the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, which according to the legal argument of the Westphalian Peace guaranteed religious parity in the areas of the realm comprised of all evangelical and reformed Imperial states. Following the increased religious conflict after 1750, the Corpus was used to secure and institutionalize the interested parties into a religious-political organization. Leading this organization, despite the existence of (privately) Catholic electors, was traditionally the evangelical Saxon Court, but even this gave Frederick the opportunity to set himself up as the true, Protestant advocate, and to compete for its leadership.[57] Thus, at the direct forefront of the war, a concrete plan for a federation of evangelical princes could be discovered. They should be won over to the cause of the Prussians in Hanover, Kassel and Gotha by a Prussian envoy, who made the rounds of seven evangelical courts at the beginning of the war. Armed with evidence of "the Austrians' bitter hatred of the Protestant religion," the envoy tried to convince them to form a League of Evangelical princes.[58] Formation of this league was earnestly pursued beginning in the second year of the war. Even the patriotism of ideologically superheated Prussia, which Ortmann publicized as the most militant of the "Brandenburg Nations," turned to the destruction of German's constitutional law and order. As the national patriotic Moser Jr. had already complained, this development had secessionist potential.[59]

In the course of the war, Frederick actually wanted to go further than this, which he admitted in retrospect.[60] This "Plan for a Breaking Away of Prussia from Germany" (G.B. Volz) amounted to a separation of all northern Germany from the empire, and would divide it into two, independent lands: an enlarged Prussia, and a larger Hanover.[61] That would come to threaten not only the empire of the German nation, but also the Imperial Church. The Church, which dominated the northwest through the Dioceses of Münster, Paderborn, Osnabrück, Hildesheim and Minden,

---

[57] Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 92–99, and Gabriele Haug-Moritz, "Friedrich der Große als Gegenkaiser. Überlegungen zur preußischen Reichspolitik (1740–1786)," in Otto Heinrich Becker, ed., *Vom Fels zum Meer: Preußen und Südwestdeutschland*, Stuttgarter Symposium Schriftenreihe, vol. 10 (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 2002), 25–44.

[58] Hermann Meyer, *Der Plan eines evangelischen Fürstenbundes im Siebenjährigen Kriege* (Celle, 1893), and same author, *Die Berichte des preußischen Gesandten Eickstedt* (Hamburg: Lütke & Wulff, 1906).

[59] Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland*, 195.

[60] *Die Politischen Testamente Friedrichs des Großen*, ed. Gustav Berthold Volz (Berlin, 1920), 228f.

[61] Gustav Berthold Volz, "Friedrichs des Großen Plan einer Losreißung Preußens von Deutschland," in HZ 122 (1920), 267–77.

would thereby become secularized and annexed. The times seemed favorable for Hanover and the Prussians "to make acquisitions at the expense of the ecclesiastical princes."[62] Allocating the lion's share to Hanoverian interests would compensate for the Prussian acquisition of Saxony. Apart from these, the changing fortunes of war, however, annihilated the ultimate goal, it was Fredrick's specialty: to hustle secularization plans. Here, England-Hanover was deeply interested as an additional Protestant power, a goal which did not remain hidden and waked religious apprehensions. Apprehensions were heightened once peace had been restored and territorial changes sought as a possible means of compensation. Then, in 1761, Elector August of Cologne died, leaving the possible vacancy of some five bishoprics, which terrified Rome. The Bishop of Osnabrück was already supposed to alternate rule with an evangelical "Bishop" from the house of Hanover, according to the provisions of the Westphalian Peace. To the Mainz electorate, this seemed to further endanger the enclave of Thuringian Erfurt. At worst, nearly the entire north German religious establishment might stand at his disposition. If the Catholic-convert landrulers were a major provocation for the Protestants, the secularization plans launched for the first time after the Westphalian Peace for the benefit of the Protestant landrulers were the major provocation for Rome. At this point, the other side pleaded aggressively for its own cause, and Rome sprang into action with hectic diplomatic countermoves. Considering the religiously-heightened array of alliances, the religiously high-handed propaganda, as well as the actual religious-political interests and the plans of both sides, many people at the time absolutely feared that the war, as horrible as it had been to begin with, was sliding into religious conflict. Viewed from the global opposites of Papacy and Prussia, that was also a real danger.

Imperial Politics in Place of Religious War

Still, the Empire was successful at preventing a descent into religious war. Expressions for 'religious war' had found their way into the European languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and religious war continued to characterize interdenominational conflicts among Christian

[62] Frederick II to Finckenstein, Spremberg, 9 Nov, 1759, (no. 11573), *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen*, 40 vols. (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1891): 18: 624, See Volz, "Friedrichs des Großen Plan einer Losreißung Preußens von Deutschland," 273.

groups. Still, the Peace of Augsburg should have done away with religious war in Germany, as did the subsequent Treaty of Westphalia. Once religious quarrels could be handled by public law and order, no one could declare a religious war in Germany if not also declaring this as the intention of their opponent.[63] In 1721, during one of the last major religious conflicts, the very mention that a 'religious war' seemed imminent sufficed to terrify the national groups involved.[64] They back-peddled, and were thus able to avert an armed conflict within the Empire. So it is said of the Seven Years' War: even though every war endangers the German Fatherland, a religious war threatens the nation with complete wreck and ruin.[65] Indeed, a chronicler from Hanover, strongly influenced by Protestant religious propaganda, still commented that in the end, God mercifully averted a religious war.[66] He was right, but there were also worldly reasons for this.

It was the empire of the German nation and its constitutional order that successfully overrode and overcame this religious perspective of war. Considering that the Prussian breach of the peace violated not just international, but imperial law, the Saxons, the Imperial Court, and the national leadership immediately drafted an "Executive Action," an Imperial war against the aggressor.[67] It was the Reichstag, the imperial Diet or standing Parliament of the German estates, that would decide about war and peace, requiring its three, religiously diverse houses to agree to such a proposition. The chance of obtaining national support in such a spectacularly clear-cut case relieved the Imperial court from doing its interdenominational duty, putting a stop to what would in any event have been a rather ill-timed religious war (as it was right in the middle of the Enlightenment). Prussian Envoy Plotho sought to delay the Parliamentary proceeding through a "religious parity" stratagem that could

---

[63] See Burkhardt, "Religionskrieg."

[64] Burkhardt, "Vollendung und Neuorientierung des frühmodernen Reiches, 1648–1763," 333–41.

[65] Clearly confident that the German Reich at this time should have no fear of a religious war, 1759, p. 6, citation from Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland*, 169.

[66] Eberhard Jürgen Abelmann, "Hanoverisches Krieges-Denckmal oder Einige Nachricht vom letztern siebenjährigen großen und erschrecklichen Krieg, besonders von dem Schicksale der Stadt Hanover 1757 bis 1762;" see also the article by Fuchs, "Der Siebenjährige Krieg als virtueller Religionskrieg an Beispielen aus Preußen, Österreich, KurHanover und Großbritannien," 319.

[67] A Reichs execution or punishment could only be carried out against entities or citizens of the German Reich, and a Reichs war could only be prosecuted against an external enemy. But no clear differentiation was made at the time and for Frierich, from his time as Duke until he became a sovereign king, the fine legal difference did not seem to matter.

successfully block majority rule in religious matters. However, the Director of the Corpus Evangelicus was the Saxon Envoy Ponickau. As the representative of the land most affected by the situation, he allowed matters to run their course, seeing that the attacking land might have a Catholic king, even though it was an evangelical land. Ponickau mocked sarcastically, what kind of Protector of the evangelical Religion was this, whose first act would oppress so many evangelical subjects?[68] Most of the other evangelical envoys likewise placed national law above confessional solidarity. Thus, mere months after the war's beginning, came the Imperial resolution of the war's end. On the 17th and 18th of January in 1757, all three houses of the Reichstag voted for an Imperial action against Brandenburg-Prussia. An overwhelming majority decided to wage imperial war against the aggressive Prussia on the side of the Imperial Court and to liberate Saxony opression. In the Electors' Assembly only British Hanover voted against the proposal; and that because the British alliance with Prussia left them no choice. Numerous yea votes in the Council of Lords' (Fürstenrat), a majority of 60 to 26, were cast by representatives from evangelical territories, from Mecklenburg to Hohenzollern-Ansbach. In the end, they even succeeded in drawing Sweden to their side, the English guaranteeing evangelical power of the Peace of Westphalia. Talk of a religious war!

Prussian religious war propaganda thus seems to have been refuted through the application of Imperial politics. A 30,000-man strong Imperial army was mustered. Added to the Austrian troops, it was the deciding factor in the liberation of Saxony. The defeat of this "Reichsarmee" in the Battle of Rossbach is the stuff of Prussian legend, but in actuality only a few thousand German raw recruits were involved.[69] At this point, the Vienna Court sought to have Frederick accomplish through the ostracizing means of the "Reichsacht" what had already been done successfully by secessionist Max Emanuel of Bavaria in the War of the Spanish Succession. Yet again, the Reichstag was responsible. Here once more, the Corpus Evangelicus intervened, applying the *Itio in Partes* brakes to block the proceedings. Had the Evangelical states once more placed religious interests ahead of political ones? Basically, the states were opposed since Vienna had disregarded not only the party most responsible for the breach of the peace, but its confederates as well (such as Hanover) however reluctantly they had taken part, and however little choice they had in the matter. Should they seriously consider breaking off relations with two electoral

---

[68] See Schort, *Politik und Propaganda*, 104.

[69] Burkhardt, "Vollendung und Neuorientierung des frühmodernen Reiches, 1648–1763," 416f.

princes—one of them, the King of Great Britain—and ostracize half of northern Germany? In this regard, the Imperial court had lost the means to an otherwise highly evolved justification for this partitioning. It was the Evangelical states that had preserved not only the Evangelical balance of power, but also the entire country's ability to function. Thus, national interests prevailed, first siding with the Vienna Court and then censoring it, at which point the entire, religious-war idea was tossed aside.

That is, both potential players in a religious war, Rome and Prussia were successfully brought to hold themselves in check in their approach to national politics.[70] In the case of Rome, this was actively pursued. The Imperial Court charged the Curia to withdraw their religious-political activities, refraining from further briefs of support and other demonstrative measures—at least, in official correspondence, speaking no more of Catholic religious interests to avoid endangering the support of the Evangelical states for the cause of the Empire. So that Prussian religious war propaganda would not continue to receive encouragement, the term "Religious War" was not to be used in any way. This placed the Curia in the paradoxical position of having to avoid speaking of religion so as not to endanger the successful outcome they sought for their religion. They actually held to this agreement, though not without occasional blunders and a certain discontent: Vatican State Secretary Torrigani still let the Vienna nuncio know that, though he was not to speak of a "Guerra de religione", it certainly seemed totally like one anyway.[71] Yet, in order not to damage the national cause, the Curia did subscribe to politically correct speech in Germany.

A ticklish situation arose in the Empire, in Regensburg of all places. The royal Abbot of St. Emmeram, Johann Baptist Kraus, played with fire and promoted the idea, as propagandized in a series of pamphlets that the sovereign's conversion obligated Catholic gains.[72] Abbot Kraus provoked with untenable, historic arguments, neither cloaked in the language of the Peace of Westphalia,[73] nor related to actual conditions being experienced

---

[70] See Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg.*

[71] Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, no. 47, 437: "se non puo dirsi guerra di religione, ne ha almeno tutte le apparenze." See pp. 225–30.

[72] See Egon Johannes Greipl, *Abt und Fürst: Leben und Leistung des Reichsprälaten Johann Baptist Kraus von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg* (Regensburg: H. Marquardt, 1980).

[73] See Johannes Burkhardt, "Der Westfälische Friede und die Legende von der landesherrlichen Souveränität," in Jörg Engelbrecht und Stephan Laux, eds., *Landes- und Reichsgeschichte: Festschrift für Hansgeorg Molitor zum 65. Geburtstag*, Studien zur Regionalgeschichte, vol. 17 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2004), 199–220.

in the Empire, spoke rather to the extreme position of placing the religious rights of the sovereign ahead of his duty to his subjects. Rome also wondered whether this demand should be included in the peace negotiations, as a 1758 instruction regarding the peace negotiations attests.[74] When the Curia sent its own representative to peace talks in Augsburg in 1761, this view was still imparted to him even though Rome did not even refer to the Peace of Westphalia. However, the Imperial Court brought this final religious-political offensive to a halt. When it proved difficult to bring the militant author Kraus to his senses, the Emperor ordered him to be silent. The directives given the Papal Envoy to Augsburg, Guiseppe Garampi, were clearly seen to promise a better defense.[75] This emissary of Rome, later the Head of the Vatican Library, made a more favorable impression. Ostensibly on a visit to the Salem Abbey rather than the proceedings in Augsburg, his actual mission was not to foster Evangelical concerns.[76] The Augsburg Congress basically failed to take place. Forced onto the defensive, the Curia finally accepted the Hubertusburg Agreement that maintained the religious status quo in the Reich, and guaranteed it in Silesia.

In certain regards, the Curia had the exact same interests as the Reich The "liberation of Saxony" and the restitution of the Saxon Court were named repeatedly as their common war aims.[77] Still, considering Frederick's obstinately pursued plans for acquisitions and swaps, and the nearly-achieved Prussian annexation of Saxony, this was not self-evident, and might require the support of Rome's diplomacy.[78] This very liberation of Saxony was the one goal of the Empire and the Imperial Army that could also be fully realized. The fight for the preservation of the imperial Church surely was in Rome's religious interests, as well, for otherwise additional Catholics might fall subject to Protestant lords, and Catholic influence in the Empire would be sharply reduced through a reduction in the number of bishopships represented in the Imperial Council. These factors

---

[74] An excerpt is in Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, no. 28, 408–21; On the lus reformandi see pp. 410–15; see also pp. 231–59.

[75] See Dries Vanysacker, *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1725–1792): An Enlightened Ultramontane*, Institut Historique Belge de Rome, Bibliotheque, no. 33 (Brussels: Institut Historique belge de Rome, 1995).

[76] Burkhardt, *Abschied vom Religionskrieg*, 283–301.

[77] See, "Serra an Archinto, Warschau 7. Dezember 1757," in AV S.S. Pol. 270, f. 304–304; and, "Archinto an Serra, 17. Dezember 1757," in AV S.S. Pol. 236, f. 393–393.

[78] Burkhardt, "Sachsen-Polen und die päpstliche Diplomatie im Siebenjährigen Krieg," 188f.

might certainly have threatened religious parity and the imperial system. The Imperial Council and the majority of states could not permit this, either, especially since these powers happened to be closer clientele of the Emperor. So Rome and Vienna pulled together in this instance. Rome's readiness to cooperate went as far that Papal diplomacy against basic Church rights was secretly allowed: the Osnabrückian Cathedral elected a British youngster as the alternate Evangelical Bishop of Osnabrück, which kept Hanover from totally secularizing the bishopric. In this manner, the dialectic of the party position between religious rights and defense of the realm reined in Rome's potential for religious war, and in the end tamed it.

Even more astonishing, and something not actually seen before, are the events in Prussia on the Protestant side. Instead of fastening upon Imperial war and Imperial interests for justification, the Protestants departed from the King's intended northern Reich based upon the national sovereignty of Prussia. Accordingly, their politicians and lobbyists searched for mistakes made in the Reich's legal proceedings against Prussia. Should the Emperor, at this time supported only by the Imperial High council, be already issuing mandates against the Elector from Brandenburg? Should not the Reichstag, according to national custom, pursue an Imperial mediation before making a declaration of war against a member state? But in asking so, they accepted the imperial law as the right one even for "sovereign" Prussia. The Prussian envoy Plotho blustered, disseminated party propaganda, and protested, but remained in Regensburg for the duration of the war. While diplomatic relations in wartime tend to be broken off, he nevertheless kept Prussia's connections with the Reichstag operating. Included in extant Prussian records is the story of how Plotho threw Imperial councilman Dr. April down the stairs of the Prussian delegation's Regensburg embassy when Dr. April attempted to issue Plotho a summons to appear before the Imperial Court. The motive for this scene was not to show disrespect for the Empire, but rather to prevent the impending proceedings by refusing to accept the summons. According to the media, it was a question of imperial rights: whether the Corpus Evangelicus had the right, in the first place, to prevent an official hearing against Frederick the Great by invoking *Itio in Partes*. Should the Corpus Evangelicus have attempted to stop this proceeding based upon the vote of the majority, even though some of the members were against it? That is, did the situation really involve a religious question over which the Corpus Evangelicus had jurisdiction? Or should the role of the Protestant representatives to the Corpus be expanded beyond such

questions?[79] Here again, the situation did not directly involve the one-and-only Truth, as in the classic notion of religious war. Rather, the entire religious debate was conducted via civil proceedings. The Prussian administration influenced the legal experts and they were able to win over the Imperial legal advisors. They debated the correct interpretation of Imperial and national religious rights and sought to substantiate the offenses of their opponents, then to establish immediately their guilt. Characteristically, destabilizing proposals like the deposing of the Emperor were not proposed by the Prussian side,[80] although Frederick himself, a year before the war, had blocked a Hapsburg succession-ruling. In the Treaty of Hubertusburg, Frederick instead promised his vote for the eventual succession of Joseph II to the Imperial crown, which was realized in 1765. Paradoxically, Frederick's followers and Prussia's lawyers wrote back the potential religious-warmonger and secessionist into the Reich, and the politics followed.

In the end, however, this resulted in a paradox. Both confessional antagonists, the Papacy and Prussia, approached the German Empire and its political parlance in order to enable a fruitful dialogue concerning more fundamental concerns. The "War of the Quills" publicized and intensified this confrontation, as the emotionally charged religious war theme so very clearly has demonstrated, but the highly developed debating culture of the Imperial Court and institutions also permitted an orderly means of arbitration. In Regensburg the controversial state and party position papers could be officially presented and distributed in the Reichstag, so long as they did not slander the Emperor, the other member states of the Empire, or their religion.[81] Within their sphere of influence, the warring factions sought to suppress their opposition's writings. In the federal Imperial system, however, censorship hardly affected the longstanding public sphere, which had originally been established out of interest in the war. However, the Prussian media was effective in this way, being quicker to respond, and for a long time was nearly the only writing being disseminated. However, the Vienna Court, Saxony, and other Imperial states and institutions stood in complete opposition, and issued decrees all about it in government publications and other established Imperial

[79] For an analysis of the disputed positions see Schort, *Krieg und Propaganda*, 72–156.
[80] Ibid., 282f.
[81] Ibid., 186f.

communications channels.[82] Public relations experts handled the debate on both sides. The head of the well-known Württemberg family of court officials, Moser, wrote first, and with misgivings, against the Imperial court. Then, as a counterbalance, his son weighed in for Frederick, following the national impetus, yet out of true nationalist sentiment for the cause of the Imperial Court. There was even poetry, readily claimed for the "national literature", by Gleim with his pro-Frederick Grenadier Songs, and by one Johann Peter Utz, who paid tribute to a more imperial patriotism than his fellow poet. And when Goethe in the memoirs of his youth thought back on his "Frederickian" views, that through his reknown he pushed into the German political culture, he was representing his youthful glorification of a view that was heartily disliked by most, and held by only a minority in his home city of Frankfurt. But even this serves as an example of the conflicting views held by the parties that were represented by the divisions in Goethe's own family and in the Imperial City of Frankfurt.[83]

But conflict cannot only separate, it can also serve to unite. The immense number of publications that circulated for seven years had only one theme—the war. Almost all of the publication effort in the communications sphere of the Empire concerned the issues and the events of the war. The controversial interpretations of this conflict gave this flood of communication a discursive unity. The intellectional community of the Empire was not a one-sided construct of a Frederician national identity policy, but worked in an integrated manner so that the German Empire could enable a solution to the conflict and secure its interests against all the confessional and political threats.[84]

The final conclusion of the war, if seen from an objective view, was indeed a triumph for the Empire.[85] With the attainment of a status quo peace no state in Europe, other than the German Empire, had reached its

---

[82] See Andreas Gestrich, "Das Wiener Diarium in der Zeit des Siebenjährigen Krieges: Ein Projektbericht," in Daniel Hohrath und Klaus Gerteis, eds., *Die Kriegskunst im Lichte der Vernunft: Militär und Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert*, Part II (Hamburg: Meiner, 2000), 73–79.

[83] See Helmut Neuhaus, "Hie Österreichisch – hie Fritzisch: Die Wende der 1740er Jahre in der Geschichte des Alten Reiches," in Helmut Newhaus, ed., *Aufbruch aus dem Ancien régime: Beiträge zur Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993), 57–77.

[84] For another viewpoint and an outstanding assessment of the various interest groups and the ongoing discourse between the various authors, parties and groups see Schort, *Politik und Propaganda*.

[85] Concerning this new interpretation see Burkhardt, "Vollendung und Neuorientierung des frühmodernen Reiches, 1648–1763," 438–41; see also Johannes Burkhardt, *Deutsche Geschichte in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009), 119f.

war goals—and a status quo peace had been, in fact, the ultimate goal of the Empire. The Empire wisely chose not to impose the Imperial Law to overturn the status of the province of Silesia that had long been lost to the Vienna Court. Instead, the Empire sought the return of independence to Electoral Saxony and the reestablishment of the Imperial constitutional system—and both goals were attained. The confessional/political attempts to undermine the political system of the Empire, Prussia's secessionist federal plan, the attempts to turn the conflict into a war of religion, and the attempts to secularize the religious states all failed. Elector of Brandenburg Frederick the Great returned to the Imperial system, so that both a confessional parity and a federal stability were restored. But this also brought something new, and certainly the greatest challenge that the German Empire faced: how to integrate two European powers, Austria and Prussia, into the political system of the Empire. To overcome these challenges new ways would have to be found. But it was clear to all that the discursive and political system of the Imperial Order had finally put down the threat of religious war in Germany.

CHAPTER SIX

SWEDEN AND THE POMERANIAN WAR

Gunnar Åselius

On 13 September 1757, in the early morning hours, at Loitz in Pomerania a column of Swedish soldiers crossed the river Peene on a pontoon-bridge and marched ten kilometers through Prussian territory, before they occupied the undefended town of Demmin. Further east along the Peene, other Swedish soldiers from the Södermanland Infantry Regiment left the hamlet of Peenendam, where they had been hiding during the night, and rushed across the bridge over the river into the Prussian border town of Anklam. Luckily for the Swedes, the city gate had been left open and the entire garrison of some twenty soldiers could be taken prisoner. On the small island-fortress of Anklamer Fähre further down the river, fifty grenadiers from the Södermanland Infantry rushed ashore from boats and captured the thirty-five men strong Prussian garrison together with sixteen artillery-pieces, large quantities of ammunition, flour, sail and tackle, as well as a number of cargo-ships. A few hours later, when the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation assembled in Regensburg, Sweden's representative Johan August Greiffenheim read out a declaration, proclaiming that since Prussia had disturbed peace and order in the Empire and Sweden was a guarantor of the 1648-peace treaty of Westphalia, his sovereign had been obliged to invade Prussian territory.[1] In this way, Sweden entered the Seven Years' War.

After the defeat in the Great Nordic War (1700–1721), regaining the lost Baltic empire had become a central theme in Swedish foreign policy. During the eighteenth century, these ambitions led to two ill-advised wars against Russia (in 1741 and in 1788), and they were also the main cause for Sweden's intervention in the Seven Years' War. The aim was to recover territories, which had been lost to Prussia after military setbacks in 1679 and 1720. Although the Seven Years' War was a struggle of global dimensions, in Sweden it is generally referred to as the "Pomeranian War", which

[1] Teofran Säve, *Sveriges deltagande i sjuåriga kriget åren 1757–1762* (Stockholm, 1915), 74–76.

underlines the regional character of Swedish involvement. The theatre of operations was limited to northern Germany, where Sweden's bridgehead in Pomerania dated back to the 1630s.

Traditionally, Prussia's survival against the superior coalition of hostile powers in the Seven Years' War has been described as something of a miracle. Only in recent decades, historians have challenged this view, pointing out the higher efficiency – or ruthlessness – of the Prussian state in mobilizing resources, as well as the structural problems, which confronted any group of states in the eighteenth century which tried to coordinate their diplomacy and military operations in several theatres simultaneously.[2]

Sweden's ability or ambition to contribute to the common strategic effort of the anti-Prussian coalition was no greater than that of any other member state. There were in theory two main operational directions for the Swedish troops in Pomerania. Either, they could advance southwards, directly on Berlin, Prussia's weakly defended capital, seeking to coordinate their movements with those of Austrian or French troops further south and west. Or, the Swedes could advance eastwards along the Baltic coast against Stettin (present-day Szczecin in Poland), to cooperate with the Russians in East Prussia. The latter choice could be motivated by the argument that flanks and rear must be secured before any push against Berlin could be made. From a Swedish point of view, a more important argument to march against Stettin was the fact that before 1720 it had been the capital of Swedish Pomerania.

As we shall see, Sweden lacked the military strength to realize any of these two options. When participation in the war finally ceased in early 1762, there had been no territorial conquests, nor any other significant gains. At least 30,000 Swedish soldiers had lost their lives – the overwhelming majority because of disease – and like other countries which participated in the Seven Years' War, Sweden also suffered a near-collapse in government finances. The war costs were estimated at 62 million Daler (in silver coins) – a sum equivalent to the entire national debt.[3]

---

[2] See for instance the following contributions in Bernhard R. Kroener, ed., *Europa im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft. Kriege* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989): Adelheid Simsch, "Armee, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Preussens Kampf auf der "inneren Linie", 35–46 ; Bernhard R Kroener, "Die Materiellen Grundlagen österreichischer und preussicher Kriegsanstrengungen 1756–1763", 47–78; Johannes Kunisch, "Die grosse Allianz der Gegner Preussens im Siebenjährigen Krieg", 79–98.

[3] Teofron Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 572–573.

Consequently, the Pomeranian War has not gone down well in Swedish historical memory. In 1920 Carl Grimberg, one of the most popular Swedish historians ever, characterized the Pomeranian War as "our most pitiful war, which was started without the slightest notion of real Swedish interest and then conducted [accordingly]..."[4] Parallel to an unanimous view among historians of the Pomeranian War as a reckless mistake and its conduct as grossly incompetent, there is at least in older historiography a tendency to pay tribute to the courage of the troops. This attitude can be found already in the first comprehensive study of the war, published in 1811 by Gustaf von Schantz, who served as secretary of the Field Surveying Corps, an army unit specialized in reconnaissance and map-making but also entrusted with the task of writing the official history of Sweden's wars. Although it draws from the rich funds of contemporary maps and drawings in the military archives, von Schantz's work is in reality a compilation of memoirs and official communiqués and hardly qualifies as serious scholarship according to modern standards. Above all, it should be seen as a contribution to national revival in the shadow of Sweden's most disastrous defeat ever, Russia's conquest of the Finnish provinces in 1809, when a third of the land and a fourth of the population had been lost. Von Schantz admitted that the Pomeranian War was a failure, but claims that the honor of the Swedish army was still preserved as the war contained numerous examples of individual bravery and sacrifice among soldiers and officers. Consequently, according to von Schantz, any claims that the nation's military spirit had been in decay since half a century was surely groundless. The reader – we may assume – would also draw the conclusion that the recent disaster in Finland had not been inevitable, and that Sweden could still confidently go to war in the future.[5]

Before World War I, German military historians dealt in some detail with events on the Pomeranian front during the Seven Years' War. In Swedish nineteenth century-historiography, however (although various political and diplomatic aspects of the conflict were covered, not least in August Malmström's monumental work on Swedish political history 1719–1772)[6] there was to be no serious monographic study on Sweden's military

---

[4] Carl Grimberg, *Svenska folkets underbara öden* 10 vols (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1920), 6: 525; on Grimberg, see Jarl Torbacke, *Carl Grimberg – ett underbart öde?* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1993) (estimates of Grimberg's sale figures – p. 144).

[5] Gustaf von Schantz, *Försök till en historia över det förra pommerska kriget* (Stockholm: Nordström, 1811), especially pp. 159–163.

[6] Carl Gustaf Malmström, *Sveriges politiska historia från Carl XII: s död till statshvälvningen 1772*, IV–V (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1899–1900); long before the famous Grosse Generalstab history on the Seven Years' War, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg*, I–XII, (Berlin, 1901–13), treated

participation in the Seven Years' War. In 1915, Teofron Säve published what remains until this day the principal work on the subject. Säve, who had received his PhD in history back in 1869 and thereafter spent most of his active career as a secondary school teacher and administrator and as a parliamentarian, shared the nationalist-conservative ideology of his generation, viewing mid-eighteenth century Sweden as a society ruled by irresponsible and corrupt party politicians. Nonetheless, Säve too pays homage to the Swedish soldier in Pomerania for his "old good moral qualities". Although there was much corruption and lack of patriotism among the aristocratic officers, he says, even among that lot there were many who tried to "fulfill their duty like honest Swedish men". Säve did not claim any military expertise, but thought that the conflict still deserved studying as an interesting example of small-scale warfare.[7]

During the twentieth century, Säve's study was supplemented by numerous Swedish regimental histories, presenting new research on those individual units, which participated in the war. The last of these works appeared in the 1990s and dealt with the artillery. Even here, the tendency to praise the Swedish troops for their courage and endurance is discernable.[8]

To summarize, the literature dealing primarily with Sweden's participation in the Seven Years' War is not overly extensive. Moreover, much of it dates far back in time, when the study of old wars was expected to offer moral lessons and contribute to the building of national consciousness among citizens. When modern historians study military conflicts in the distant past, they are as a rule driven by other motives. Moreover, there has been much research in later decades on the Swedish eighteenth-century military and their role in society, which helps us to see the Pomeranian War from another perspective than that which came natural to Säve's generation. And although we may think that historians of his age had a tendency to overplay the importance of moral factors to military success, we can still agree with them that Sweden of the 1750s lacked the

---

Swedish operations in Pomerania until 1760, Prussian general Karl Marschall von Sulicki published *Der Siebenjährige Krieg in Pommern und in den benachbaren Marken* (Berlin: Mittler, 1867).

7 Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, vii, 575.

8 Hans Ulfhielm,"Artilleriet i krigen", in *Kungl. Artilleriet. Frihetstiden och Gustav III: s tid*, ed. Sten Claëson (Stockholm: Militärhistoriska Förlaget., 1994), 351–397; for an overview of Swedish regimental histories treating the Pomeranian War, see Klaus R Böhme, "Schwedens Teilnahme am Siebenjährigen Krieg: Innen- und aussenpolitische Voraussetzungen und Rückwirkungen", in *Europa im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen*, 195 *n* 2.

necessary strength to regain her former great power position. My ambition in the following pages is to show why this was so.

I will set out by drawing the political and diplomatic context of Sweden's involvement, to show how the country's system of government and general foreign policy situation contributed to the decision to go to war, and how these factors later affected the conduct of operations. Then, I will describe the Swedish army, which half-a-century earlier had been among the finest in Europe, and why it was now unable to live up to the military standards of its time. Finally, attention will be turned to the campaigns against Prussia in the years 1757–1762.

The Political Context and the Decision to Go to War

The period from 1719 to 1772 is known in Swedish history as the "Age of Liberty." After Sweden's soldier-king Charles XII had fallen outside Fredriksten Fortress in Norway in November 1718, the Swedish aristocracy took the opportunity to end forty years of absolute monarchy and made constitutional reform their condition for accepting the dead king's sister Ulrika Eleonora as successor to the throne. The new constitution – which was approved in its final version in 1720 – made the Swedish four-Estate Diet (*riksdagen*) the centre of the state apparatus, with the right to decide on taxes and make laws, and to continuously review the activities of the administration – not least the activities of the seventeen-man strong Council of State (*riksrådet*), the central body of government. The Diet also selected the candidates (three for each seat) when the king was to appoint new councilors. Apart from their unique powers, the Swedish Estates (*ständerna*) had a broad social basis compared to other legislative bodies in contemporary Europe. Since the sixteenth century, not only the nobility, the clergy and the burghers had been represented, but also the self-owning and crown-land peasantry. This meant that in mid-eighteenth century Sweden, more than half of the male (adult) population owned the right to parliamentary representation. The nobility, however, was the dominating estate and enjoyed a monopoly on most public offices, including the seats in the Council of State.

According to the constitution, the Estates were to meet only every three years, but their sessions often lasted for a year or more, and during the periods in-between the Swedish state machinery worked in a much slower tempo. The Estates did not recognize any limits to their authority: "the idea that the Estates could err is contrary to the fundamental law of the

land", Bishop Johan Browallius of Åbo (present-day Turkku in Finland), member of the ecclesial estate, declared in a famous speech in 1752. Nine years before, the burgher representative Christopher Springer of Stockholm, who maintained that he and his colleagues should at least feel restricted by the will of their constituents, was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Diet majority (the Estates had just elected a hereditary prince against what seemed to be will of a majority of the electorate, and therefore sentenced Springer for having "undermined the royal succession" – he fled to England).[9]

In reality, Sweden in the Age of Liberty was a "parliamentary autocracy" rather than a parliamentary democracy. Responsibility was often exacted through judicial processes against political opponents. The procedures used in modern democracies to ensure a smooth transition of power when a government's parliamentary basis has eroded, were not yet established. The noblemen in the Council of State tended to regard their seats as a form of personal property, a valuable source of income from which they were unwilling to part unless threatened by prosecution. Political processes also threatened ordinary officials, who had done little more than obeying orders from their political masters. For instance, the two unhappy generals who commanded the Swedish troops in the disastrous war against Russia in 1741–1743 were sentenced to death and executed. They were hardly personally responsible for their defeat, but by prosecuting them the Diet majority could shift blame away from itself. No doubt, the demoralizing example from 1743 was to cast its shadow over the Pomeranian War and contribute to the passivity and indecisiveness shown by some Swedish commanders, like Ungern Sternberg and Hamilton.[10]

From the late 1730s, the Diet was divided into two loosely organized parties: the Caps, who were supporters of a strong monarchy and were supported financially from Russia, and the Hats, who dominated the Council until 1765, were spokesmen of an aggressive foreign policy and who received financial backing from France. Older generations of historians saw the influence of foreign money in the Diet as the ultimate proof of Sweden's moral corruption during the Age of Liberty. The historians of

---

[9] Michael Roberts' *The Age of Liberty: Sweden 1719–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), is still the most authoritative introduction in English to Swedish political history in the period. Here, Roberts' translation of Browallius' statement (p. 69) has been used; on Springer, see ibid., p. 121; on social groups in mid-eighteenth century Sweden, see Sten Carlsson, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner 1700–1865*, 2d ed. (Lund: Gleerup, 1973), 22–25.

[10] Cf. Böhme, "Schwedens Teilnahme", 201, 208; Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 35–36.

later times, who have a more positive appreciation of parliamentary government, are less judgmental, claiming that Russia and France merely paid the Caps and Hats to promote political views that they already held, foreign subsidies being the only way for the two parties to fund their organizations.[11]

For various reasons, Swedish state finances in the period were very weak, and after the war against Russia in the early 1740s the budget showed a deficit almost every year. The Estates had nothing against increasing revenues through agricultural reform, foreign trade or industrial development, but they were unwilling to raise taxes as these would have to be paid by the subjects themselves and thus be unpopular. Consequently, those groups in the Diet who dreamed of glory and a restoration of the country's Baltic empire could only hope for the necessary resources for military expansion if some foreign power could be made to pay subsidies to the Swedish crown. When the Hats first came to power in the late 1730s, their desire for an active foreign policy therefore came to tie Sweden closely to France, the country's old ally from the seventeenth century.

When the Anglo-French war flared up in the colonies in 1755, the Estates preferred to stay neutral, hoping that such a position would benefit Swedish trade. In July 1756, Denmark and Sweden even organized an armed neutrality league, sending their navies into the North Sea to protect each other's shipping from British privateers. However, a few months later, when the great alliance against Prussia came into being and the war spread to Sweden's immediate vicinity, dependence on French subsidies made it difficult to stay outside.[12]

Although formally there had been an alliance between Sweden and Prussia since 1747, there were Swedish causes for animosity against Prussia, as Stettin had developed into a major trading post under Prussian rule, diverting traffic on the river Oder away from the port in Wolgast and depriving Swedish Pomerania of valuable incomes. Moreover, the ruling Hat Party's tense relationship with the Swedish royal family also complicated relations between Stockholm and Berlin, as the strong-willed queen, Lovisa Ulrika, was a Prussian princess and the sister of Frederick the Great. Lovisa Ulrika was not at all satisfied with the marginal political

[11] Cf. Michael F. Metcalfe, "Frihetstidens riksdag", Herman Schück et al., *Riksdagen genom tiderna* 2d ed. (Stockholm: Sveriges Riksdag, 1992), 144–50.

[12] Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 18–24, 42–43; Olof Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens* historia, II: 1721– 1792 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1957), 18–19.

role that her husband, King Adolf Fredrik, had to play under the Swedish constitution. In the spring of 1756, a royalist conspiracy to overthrow the constitution was revealed. Eight of the officers who had participated were executed, but the queen was pointed out as the main instigator behind it. Already before, the Prussian king had protested against the way that the Swedish Estates had treated his sister and brother-in-law. This, the Estates had dismissed as meddling into Sweden's domestic affairs and now, when some of the conspirators were received as refugees in Prussia, they were further annoyed.[13]

After Frederick's invasion of Saxony in August 1756, the pressure on Sweden to take a stand grew. A central organ of the Swedish Diet was its Secret Committee, which was composed by representatives from all the estates except the peasantry and was to handle matters that needed to be kept secret from the public, like state finances, defense and foreign policy. Before the Diet was dismissed on 22 October, the Secret Committee left a recommendation to the Council of State concluding that although Sweden in the current international situation should remain neutral and focus on her economic development, the realm must at the same time live up to its old obligations as a guarantee power of the treaty of Westphalia from 1648, and also be prepared to exploit any conjuncture in order to further Sweden's "reputation, advancement, and (if it be possible) expansion." For this purpose, the Secret Committee also issued credits equaling 4.2 million Daler (in silver coin). Shortly afterwards, diplomatic signals from Paris, Vienna and the Saxon capital of Dresden made additional references to Sweden's old duties as protector of peace and order in Germany, urging the government in Stockholm to intervene against Prussia's unlawful behavior.[14]

As it were, Sweden's membership in the Holy Roman Empire offered an additional pretext for going to war. Although the Pomeranian ducal dynasty had died out in 1637, while the country was under Swedish occupation, Pomerania had not been ceded formally to Sweden after the Thirty Year's War but remained a part of the Empire with the Swedish monarch as sovereign. It was thus in his capacity as a German prince that the Swedish monarch was entitled to a seat at the Diet in Regensburg. On 17 January 1757, the Regensburg Diet called upon its members to intervene

[13] Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens historia*, 186–87, 195–96; Böhme, "Schwedens Teilnahme", 201.

[14] Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens historia*, 196–99; translation of Secret Committee report quotation taken from Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 43.

against the King of Prussia for having invaded Saxony and disturbed the inner peace of Germany. Here, an additional excuse for Swedish intervention in the Seven Years' War could be found.

However, the Swedish Chancery President (*kanslipresidenten*, who was chairman of the Council of State and the closest Sweden had to a prime minister), Anders Johan von Höpken, was aware of Sweden's weakness and therefore opposed a war. He tried to formulate a less militant course, according to which Sweden would limit her involvement as a guarantee power in Germany to the diplomatic sphere, together with France officially condemning Prussia's behavior in the Diet in Regensburg. In return, France and Austria should be made to guarantee the territory of Swedish Pomerania, and in case of Prussian armed retaliation allow Sweden to recover the territories she had lost in 1679 and 1720. Treaties along these lines were concluded with France and Austria on 21 March 1757, and the Franco-Swedish joint declaration was presented in Regensburg nine days later.[15]

Nonetheless, a strong activist group in the Council of State was prepared to go further than the Chancery President. Also, France, Austria and Russia kept up their diplomatic pressure on Sweden to join their coalition. In April 1757, the Swedish ambassador in Paris received a formal offer from the French Minister of War, Charles Louis August Fouquet, duc de Belle-Isle: if Sweden would concentrate 30,000 men in Pomerania and start military operations against Prussia, France and Austria would pay Sweden's expenses and agree to her regaining her lost Pomeranian provinces after the war.[16]

During May, the Council of State debated this proposal. Much was said of the need to go to war for honor, an argument that for eighteenth-century aristocrats always weighed heavily.[17] When a vote was finally taken on 8 June, a majority of the councilors was in favor of answering positively to the French offer. However, there were doubts concerning Sweden's ability to muster a force as strong as 30,000. Therefore, one should convince the coalition to accept a Swedish contribution of only 20,000. Soundings with the French and Austrian ambassadors in Stockholm showed that this number would probably be acceptable too.

---

[15] Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens historia*, 198–99; Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 27–31.

[16] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 32–38.

[17] Honour and prestige as a motive to go to war during the eigthteenth century is the subject of a forthcoming doctoral dissertation in history at Stockholm University by Otto Sjöström.

There was, however, the problem of the Swedish constitution, which required that the government seek the approval of the Estates before going to war. The Diet first had to be assembled, and there was no guarantee that it would be supportive. On the other hand, there was no paragraph in the constitution that required that the government should consult with the Estates when it came to fulfilling Sweden's obligations in treaties with foreign powers. Therefore, Sweden's entrance in the war had to be motivated by the country's role as guarantor of the treaty of Westphalia. However, the activist majority in the Council made sure to have a unanimous vote. If the government would go to war without hearing the Diet, responsibility must be shared by everyone. When the unwilling Chancery President Höpken, who had been absent during most of the discussions due to ill-health, finally gave in on 22 June, the last skeptical councilors surrendered. Later, King Adolf Fredrik, who also opposed the war, reluctantly confirmed the Council's decision.[18]

Sweden's participation in the coalition was formalized through treaties with France and Austria, which were signed about a week later, on 22 September. Sweden promised to have begun operations with 20,000 men in the direction of Stettin before the end of the year. France and Austria promised to pay 4.2 million livres (850,000 Daler in silver coins) during the first year and during the following years 3.15 million livres (650,000 Daler in silver coins). If the Swedish troop contribution was raised to 25,000, the larger of the two sums would be paid each year. After the war, Sweden would receive those parts of Pomerania that she had been forced to cede to Prussia in 1679 and 1720.

That Sweden's intervention in the Seven Years' War had to be coupled to the Treaty of Westphalia meant that no formal declaration of war against Prussia was ever issued, only Ambassador Greiffenheim's explanation to the Diet in Regensburg on 13 September. Prussia nonetheless broke off diplomatic relations after the Swedish invasion of Prussian territory. Although Sweden had made no promise to her coalition partners to participate in hostilities against Prussia's ally Britain – the most important market for Swedish iron exports – it did not take long before the British diplomatic representative in Stockholm was called home for the duration of the war.[19]

---

[18] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 38–42.
[19] Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens historia*, 201–2.

The Swedish Army

During the Council's meeting on 22 June, when the last obstacles to go to war had been removed, it was decided to send 17,000 men from Sweden proper to Swedish Pomerania so as to increase the forces there to 20,000. The first troops did not arrive until 7 August, and the concentration had not yet been completed by the end of October. Thereafter, additional time was needed to make the troops ready for battle. A large portion of their muskets were useless, the horses and their saddles were in poor shape, the number of drought-horses and the supply of ammunition, uniforms and shoes was insufficient. Supply wagons had been separated from their load during the transport across the Baltic – in some cases wagons and their wheels had traveled aboard different ships. The poor Swedish performance during the mobilization of 1757 presents a stark contrast to the mobilization at the outbreak of the Great Nordic War in 1700, less than sixty years before, when a Swedish army of 76,000 men had been ready for battle in less than two months.[20]

The Swedish army (which in 1755 counted some 46,382 men) consisted of two types of regiments: the *Indelta* militia-type regiments and the enlisted regiments. The militia regiments (21 infantry, ten cavalry and one independent squadron) in 1755 amounted to 9,969 cavalry and 23,051 infantry and were manned by part-time soldiers, who normally lived in small cottages with their families and cultivated pieces of land that had been allotted to them by the local peasantry as a form of tax in kind. When this military system had been established in the 1680s, the soldiers had been expected to train with their regiments for two weeks every summer, with their company for two days every month, and with their platoon a couple of hours every Sunday before church service (at least between April and November).

Initially, this organization had supplied Sweden with a large, combat-effective army at low cost. After 1721, however, Sweden's changed financial situation meant that regimental and company exercises were shortened or cancelled altogether and that field maneuvers, when several regiments trained together and the officers acquired valuable experience of combined arms tactics, ceased completely. In addition, in years when the Diet was in session, all exercises were cancelled for fear of military coups and because many of the officers were busy as members of the Diet.

---

[20] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 41, 62–66.

Furthermore, in order to save money, a certain number of the assignments in each company – usually 10–12 percent – were as a rule left vacant.

The enlisted regiments (nine infantry and one artillery regiment), according to calculations from 1755 equaling 13,372 men, consisted of professional soldiers who were usually lodged in the homes of private families in garrison towns or lived in barracks. They trained more often than the militia regiments but suffered as much as they from the lack of field maneuvers. Also, in all units, the lack of money affected the renewal of equipment and the quality of horses. The disastrous war against Russia in 1741–43 became a convincing demonstration of Sweden's rapid military decline after the Great Nordic War.

As a consequence of this defeat, Sweden in the 1740s began building the gigantic sea-fortress of Sveaborg (Suomenlinna) outside Helsinki as a bulwark on the eastern border. Major fortification works were also started in the south, against Denmark, and on the island of Gotland in the Baltic. During the following years, these fortification projects were to devour a large part of the Swedish defense budget, further reducing the money available for equipment and exercises. In 1756, the Diet concluded that to equip the army properly with uniforms and baggage trains would cost 1.25 million Daler (in silver coin), equal to the amount spent on fortifications each year. Moreover, much of the construction work was performed by soldiers from the militia-regiments. As a rule, those units which sent personnel away on construction work would cancel all training for a year.[21]

Finally, the quality of the officers-corps had declined dramatically, partly because of the rapid demobilization after the Great Nordic War. In 1719, there had been no less than 55 enlisted and additional militia regiments in the Swedish army, beside the 30 or so ordinary militia regiments which had existed in the year 1700. The noblemen had not been sufficient in number to fill out all officers' assignments in the new units, not least because of the high casualty-rate among officers in the war. In 1719, two thirds of the Swedish officers-corps therefore consisted of commoners. After the war, however, all but five of the 55 enlisted and additional militia regiments were disbanded. Although many officers changed career, were retired or dismissed, there was still not room for all those who wanted to stay on in the new, slimmed-down organization. Like the nobility in France

[21] Lars Dannert, *Svensk försvarspolitik 1743–1757 i dess utrikespolitiska och inrikespolitiska sammanhang* (Uppsala, 1943), 359–60; Nils Göran Nilsson,"Den gustavianska armén", in *Gustav III: s ryska krig*, ed. Gunnar Artéus (Stockholm: Probus Förlag, 1992), 29–38, 58; Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 45–52.

after Louis XIV's wars, the Swedish aristocracy with considerable success forced commoners out of the service. By 1735, already half of the army officers were again noblemen and by 1750 two-thirds. Also, through their influence in the Diet, the officers-corps managed to acquire a heavy increase in the number of officers' assignments in the remaining units.[22]

Although the Swedish state paid careful attention to the corporative interests of the officers-corps – Sweden in the Age of Liberty has even been characterized as a "militarized society"[23] –military professionalism suffered when many officers came to serve in assignments well below their rank or spend years without pay, waiting for a vacancy to appear. Promotion strictly followed the principle of age until 1757, when instead the buying of officers' commissions was formally legalized in order to get older officers to retire at a quicker pace. This reform further lowered the quality of recruitment, but it had limited effect on conditions during the Seven Years' War.[24] However, the fact that there was no career incitement motivating young officers to distinguish themselves, as they could not be promoted out of turn, proved to be a real problem during the war.

When the military identity became less related to practicing a profession and more to being a nobleman, professional norms lost ground to socio-cultural norms in the Swedish army. A similar development can be observed in France during the same period, in the wake of the wars of Louis XIV. A French officer during the Seven Years' War was as an aristocrat expected to play a role at court or in the salons of Paris. Whenever he was needed there, he would leave the front and go home. This did not prevent French officers from displaying excessive personal bravery on the battlefield, as this was also to be expected from a nobleman. However, this kind of courage, which often brought death and destruction on both the officers and their men, seldom served any military purpose.[25]

There are similar examples of wreckless bravery among Swedish officers during the Seven Years' War. Still, one of their main obligations as

---

[22] Not only was the military well represented through the noble estate, but since 1634 commanders of provincial regiments attended the Diet in their own right, as advisors to the nobility on military matters; on the social origins of the officers-corps, Carlsson, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner*, 85; Nilsson,"Den gustavianska armén", 61, *n.* 30.

[23] Cf. Gunnar Artéus, *Krigsmakt och samhälle i frihetstidens Sverige* (Stockholm: Stockholm Militärhistor. Förl., 1982).

[24] Cf. Fredrik Thisner, *Militärstatens arvegods. Officerstjänstens socialreproduktiva funktion i Sverige och Danmark, c: a 1720–1800* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2007).

[25] Bernhard R. Kroener, "Militärischer Professionalismus und soziale Karriere. Der Französische Adel in den europäischen Kriegen 1740–1763", in *Europa im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen*, especially 115–16, 124–26.

aristocrats was to represent their families among their peers at the Diet. Consequently, when the Estates were summoned to Stockholm in 1760, this naturally became an overriding priority for the Swedish officers-corps. Not only those who were heads of noble families, but also those who were commanders of militia regiments or elected representatives of the company/squadron commanders of a militia regiment, were entitled to attend the Diet. No less than 126 officers were concerned, and when the government forbade the heads of noble families to go (the militia regiment representatives could not be stopped), no less than twenty-seven of them handed in temporary resignations. The government's response – to dismiss them for good – surprised and deeply offended most of them.[26]

The Operations of the Swedish Army in Germany, 1757–1762

In the summer of 1757, the garrison of Swedish Pomerania consisted of four enlisted regiments with a total strength of some 5,000 men, most of them ethnic Germans. As reinforcements, twelve militia and two enlisted infantry regiments, one enlisted artillery regiment and six militia cavalry regiments were sent over from Sweden and Finland during the late summer and autumn. This meant that the Swedish army altogether had concentrated 22,125 soldiers on the theater, to which should be added some ten percent officers and NCOs. Each of the selected militia regiments had dispatched between half and two thirds of their personnel. All in all, 46 percent of the Swedish army's ordinary peacetime strength was committed.[27]

During the 1756 Diet, a report to the defense committee had pointed out that the defense of Pomerania must be supported by naval forces because Prussia was a power without a navy. Therefore, the Swedish archipelago fleet – which was specialized in amphibious warfare and only the year before had been transferred administratively from the Navy to the Army

---

[26] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 380–86.

[27] Enlisted regiments stationed in Pomerania in the summer of 1757: Drottningens (Queen's Own), Spens, Posses, Löwenfels = 5 000; reinforcing militia infantry regiments: Upplands, Åbolands, Södermanlands, Dalregementet, Östgöta, Hälsinge, Västgötadals, Västmanlands, Västerbottens, Nylands, Närike-Värmlands, Österbottens = 10 200; reinforcing enlisted infantry regiments: Livgardet (Royal Life Guard), Kronprinsens (Crown Prince's Own), Field Artillery Regiment = 2 885; reinforcing militia cavalry regiments: Livregementet till Häst (Life Horse Guard), Västgöta, Smålands, Östgöta, Norra Skånska, Södra Skånska = 6 754 – from Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 56; cf. Ulfhielm,"Artilleriet i krigen", 352.

(it would be officially referred to as "the Army's fleet" *Arméns flotta*, until it was transferred back to the Navy in 1824) – participated with galleys from its squadron in Finland.[28]

The opponent was weak. Apart from the small garrison in Stettin, there were in reality no Prussian forces available for a war against Sweden. In July 1757, King Frederick therefore ordered the setting-up of ten militia battalions in the Prussian part of Pomerania and the neighboring Brandenburg province of Uckermark, together with a hussar squadron and a horse unit recruited among foresters and gamekeepers. As additional reinforcements, the Prussian king also sent three regiments from his main army to the Pomeranian front. At the outbreak of hostilities, Prussian forces in the theatre counted 9,700 men altogether.[29]

Swedish Pomerania covered a space of some 2,702 square miles. In the west, it bordered to the Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, which was formally neutral in the conflict but whose territory was used by both belligerents repeatedly. The Mecklenburg border ran from Damgarten on the Baltic coast in the west, along the rivers Recknitz and Trebel down to Demmin, where the border against Prussia began and followed the Peene eastwards to Anklam and then northwards to Peene's outlet in the Baltic, Peenemünde. About a quarter of the 90,000 inhabitants of Swedish Pomerania lived on the island of Rügen. The main cities in the province were Stralsund – the capital where the Swedish governor resided – the university-town of Greifswald and the river-port of Wolgast on the Peene.[30]

The arrival of the Swedish army meant a sudden population-increase in the province of almost a quarter, which in eighteenth-century Europe meant a major logistical challenge. Although European agriculture would develop fast during the following decades, most of that development still lay in the future, and more so in places like Pomerania than in Europe west of the river Elbe. In contrast to Sweden proper, Pomeranian agriculture was centered on large estates, worked by serfs. Moreover, the landscape in these parts was not dominated by open fields as it is today, but by forests, swamps, rivers and canals, with only few routes suitable for marching

---

[28] Oscar Nikula, *Svenska skärgårdsflottan 1756–1791* (Helsinki: K.F. Puromies, 1933), 56; Dannert, *Svensk försvarspolitik*, 318.

[29] 14 infantry battalions (2 of which were stationed in Kolberg, outside the immediate theatre of operations), 1 garrison regiment, 1 battalion and 1 artillery company in Stettin, 1 hussar squadron and 1 "horse ranger corps" – from Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 72.

[30] Figures from Ulfhielm,"Artilleriet i krigen", 353; a general introduction to the history of Swedish Pomerania in Jens E Olesen, "Brücke nach Europa – Schwedish Pommern 1630–1815", *Baltic Worlds* II, no. 1 (April 2009).

armies. It thus offered a good defensive terrain, and after the military defeats against Brandenburg/Prussia in 1679 and 1720 large sums had been spent on fortifications in strategic points. As a rule, some 60 percent of the province's meager state budget was used for defense, although this was far from sufficient to keep the installations in shape. Thus, apart from any promises the government in Stockholm had made to Sweden's allies about advancing on Stettin, the need to feed the troops and doubts about the sustenance of Pomerania's fortifications made an offensive into enemy territory a necessity.

In reality, the war would mainly consist of a series of troop movements back and forth across the river Peene, aiming to exhort as much provisions as possible from the opponent's territory before having to withdraw, and of repeated fights over the same small towns and border posts. Both sides also used the territory of Mecklenburg-Schwerin for flanking maneuvers and for supply. The city of Malchin, where hard fighting took place during the final stage of the war, was actually situated on Mecklenburg territory.

Both sides avoided major battles. Nor did battles represent the most frequent form of combat in the period. The Prussians compensated their lesser numbers by developing an advanced type of raiding tactics with light infantry (Jäger) and hussar-type cavalry units. Also, in defiance of what was the established military wisdom of the age, they were not afraid of operating in winter. Klaus R. Böhme, who in the late 1980s published a short survey of Sweden's participation in the war, points out the shortage of light mobile units as a major Swedish weakness during the conflict. Only towards the end of the war had the Swedes acquired similar capabilities.[31]

The first Swedish commander-in-chief, Field Marshal Mathias-Alexander von Ungern Sternberg, was a sixty-eight year old veteran who had served with the French and Dutch during the War of the Spanish Succession, and for his native Sweden during the Great Nordic War and the war against Russia in 1741–1743. He was not only the most senior Swedish field-marshal but also a prominent member of the Cap Party, whom the Hat government had found convenient to appoint as commander-in-chief in order to let the opposition share some responsibility for the constitutionally dubious war. However, Ungern Sternberg was ill and could not report for duty until 10 October. Making the army

[31] On the importance of small-scale warfare, see Wolfgang Petter, "Zur Kriegskunst im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen", *Europa im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen*, 266–67; Böhme, "Schwedens Teilnahme", 208.

ready for operations and planning the campaign was left to Jacob Albrecht Lantingshausen, newly appointed as Lieutenant General. Later, during the first month of operations, command was entrusted to the army's most senior Lieutenant General Gustaf Adolf Hamilton.

According to Lantingshausen's plan, the Swedes were to push the Prussians back from the Peene river as quickly as possible and then concentrate on an offensive eastwards against Stettin, starting by taking control over the fresh-water lake of Stettiner Haff outside Stettin and the two islands of Usedom and Wollin on the mouth of the river Oder, which sealed Stettiner Haff off from the Baltic. It was for this reason that the Södermanland Infantry on the first day of hostilities seized the Prussian border towns of Demmin and Anklam and the frontier post of Anklamer Fähre. On the following day, 14 September, the Södermanland Infantry also conquered the small town of Swinemünde (present-day Swinoucije), while troops landed on Usedom and Wollin. Here, preparations were made to lay siege on Peenemünde. Battery positions were erected right across Peenemünde on the Swedish side of the Peene, and at dawn on 23 September the bombardment began. Already after four hours, the Prussian garrison surrendered.

On 29 September, the Swedes continued their advance down the river Ücker and conquered the towns of Ückermünde, Torgelow and Prenzlau, and in the following days their foraging companies reached the immediate vicinities of Stettin. Also, manned by some 1,000 men, the four galleys from the Swedish archipelago fleet left their base in Stralsund and rowed down the Peene into the Stettiner Haff. Here, they showed the flag outside Stettin and assisted the ground troops in collecting supplies and fodder. However, due to shallow waters, they soon had to return to Stralsund and stay there for the rest of the winter.[32]

On 10 October, when Field-Marshal Ungern Sternberg joined the Swedish army at Anklam, the Swedish campaign had lost all momentum. Out of the 11,000 men in the main force, more than 2,000 were sick, which is why continuing the advance on Stettin was no longer an option. However, the appearance of French troops under Marshal Richelieu on the Elbe in the west seemed to open other possibilities. Already in mid-September, the Council in Stockholm had instructed the Swedish army to join forces with Richelieu's army and advance together with the French on Berlin instead of marching eastwards to Stettin. Unfortunately, not until

[32] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 58–60, 76–82.

mid-November did Ungern Sternberg's headquarters receive a definite answer from the French marshal, explaining that after the recent defeat suffered by the allies at Rossbach, he found an attempt on the Prussian capital too risky. In addition, the Russian army, which had invaded East Prussia, suddenly started to retreat. Unexpectedly, the Swedes stood alone against the Prussians without their mighty allies behind them.

On 14 November, Ungern Sternberg started to withdraw behind the river Peene. Ten days later, Prussian troops landed on the island of Wollin and began to exert pressure on his left flank. He asked for instructions from the government in Stockholm and summoned his generals for discussions on what to do. It seemed clear that as soon as the Peene had frozen, the Prussians would attack across the ice. When the sick and those who had been sent off for garrison duty in various places had been deducted, Ungern Sternberg had no more than 8,500 men at his disposal. The Prussians, commanded by Field-Marshal Hans von Lehwaldt, counted more than 28,000. The orders that eventually arrived from the Council in Stockholm nonetheless repeated that Ungern Sternberg should march westwards to the Elbe to join forces with the French and advance on Berlin. Instead, he decided to retreat, if necessary as far as to Stralsund and the island of Rügen. When the rivers began to freeze during Christmas, the withdrawal began.

In early January, the Prussians had retaken Swinemünde, Demmin, Anklam and Anklamer Fähre, conquered Wolgast, and could take up their winter-quarters all over Swedish Pomerania. Thus, the first campaign did not end the way the Swedes had imagined. The Swedish army was under siege from Lehwaldt's forces in Stralsund and on Rügen Island. Although supplies could be brought in from across the sea, disease ravished in the cramped quarters and Swedish Pomerania had been left open to enemy requisitions. In a letter to the Council in Stockholm on 3 January 1758, Ungern Sternberg asked to be relieved of his command, a decision that the Council had already made. General Lieutenant Count Gustaf Fredrik von Rosen was appointed as his successor.[33]

The Swedish army was in a miserable state after the autumn's operations. Almost a third of the force was sick; there were few horses and little fodder. Therefore, in spite of repeated orders from Stockholm, von Rosen refused to take to the offensive. As a former member of the Council of State, he could allow himself a more assertive tone against the

[33] Ibid., 84–125.

councilors and demanded reinforcements. He also entered into talks with the Russian commander in East Prussia, General Vilim Fermor, about operational cooperation. Nothing concrete came out of these discussions, but a Swedish liaison officer was sent off to the Russian army headquarters, an event unheard of in history and something that greatly annoyed Chancery President von Höpken.[34]

The Prussians also remained passive, first because the ice was too weak and then because they had no boats to take them across to Rügen. The only major success they noticed during the spring was the conquest of Peenemünde, where a garrison of 200 men had remained after the Swedish evacuation of Usedom. On 13 March, after a few days of bombardment, the garrison surrendered with some 30 cannon and went into Prussian captivity. A Swedish amphibious assault to recapture the fortress on 5 April failed miserably, costing 70 killed, wounded and captured.[35]

Now, the government in Stockholm finally accepted that von Rosen needed more troops. To achieve this, the alliance treaty with France had to be revised. In an additional treaty on 13 April 1758, Sweden agreed to raise her army in Pomerania to 30,000 against additional subsidies of 6 million livres during the first year and 1.575 million livres during each of the following years.[36]

Moreover, on 18 June, the Prussian troops, which had laid siege on Stralsund for six months, suddenly evacuated their positions and left, as the Russians had begun moving again in the east. About a week later, the first of totally 8,000 Swedish reinforcements started to arrive in Stralsund. Now, there were few excuses for the Swedes to remain passive. General von Rosen, who was seventy years old and unfit for active command, sent in his resignation.[37]

The army was certainly not in a perfect shape either. In the beginning of July, the number of sick approached 6,000 and the shortage of horses was a crucial problem. However, the winter months had been used for drill and some minor organizational improvements. Before resigning, Ungern Sternberg had emphasized before the Council in Stockholm that the lack

---

[34] Ibid., 128–29, 133–40, 148–53.

[35] Ibid., 135–36, 141–44, 147–49.

[36] Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens*, 205; Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 154–56.

[37] Reinforcing militia infantry regiments: Skaraborg, Älvsborg, Jönköping, Kalmar, Kronoberg, Dalregementet, Närke-Värmland (from the two latter 1 battalion each) = 5,600; reinforcing militia cavalry regiments: Livregementet (800), Västgöta, Smålands, Östgöta, Bohusläns Dragoner (300 each) = 2,000; reinforcing artillery personnel: 660 – Ulfhielm,"Artilleriet i krigen", 363; Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 164.

of light cavalry for reconnaissance and pursuit was a major weakness. He therefore began organizing a number of hussar squadrons. During the course of 1758, these squadrons were molded into one complete hussar regiment. Also, to remedy the shortage of specialized infantry, one light infantry battalion and two grenadier battalions were set up.[38]

As von Rosen's successor, the Council in Stockholm appointed Gustaf Adolf Hamilton, who had commanded the army temporarily in the beginning of the war. Hamilton began moving his forces from the surroundings of Stralsund towards the Peene during July, retaking Demmin and Anklam, which had now been abandoned by the Prussians. Awaiting instructions from Stockholm on what to do, he then turned eastwards to the island of Usedom, which was swiftly recaptured. Peenemünde fell on 27 July, after a weeklong siege.

Having still not received any directives from Stockholm, Hamilton on 16 August slowly started to advance from the Peene into Prussian territory with 16,000–17,000 men. Whether he should move east to join up with the Russians or westwards to seek contact with the French was an open question, until he received news of the Russian defeat against Frederick the Great at Zorndorf. Now, marching eastwards ceased to be an alternative. About the same time – 1 September – the instructions from Stockholm finally arrived. The government proposed that Hamilton should march on Berlin, as such a maneuver would enable him to collect plenty of requisitions as well as restore Sweden's military glory internationally. However, as Hamilton needed several days to get his supply-train in order, it was not until 6 September that the advance got under way.[39]

In Prenzlau, Hamilton learned that after Zorndorf, Frederick the Great had left the Prussian capital unprotected to march against the Austrians in Saxony. Nonetheless, he spent another five days before he was ready to move on from Prenzlau. As the roads were few, the terrain difficult and the Swedish wagon-park in a bad shape, Hamilton needed eleven days to cover 43 miles to Neu Ruppin, which was not even on the direct route to Berlin but some 40 miles northwest of the city. Moreover, a Prussian corps of 6,000 men under Major General von Wedel had arrived from Saxony to protect the capital. Now, the golden opportunity was gone. Wedel started to advance against the Swedes and on 26 September fought a skirmish with Swedish foraging patrols south of the river Rhijn.

---

38 Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 163–67.
39 Ibid., 168–82.

Two days later, he fell upon a Swedish forward detachment at Fehrbellin, 6 miles south of Neu Ruppin, with the aim of securing a passage over the river.[40]

Fehrbellin was a place with an ominous history. In 1675, a Swedish army had suffered a minor defeat in the neighborhood against Frederick the Great's grandfather, the Great Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg. In spite of its military insignificance, this battle had proven disastrous for Sweden's reputation as a great power. Now, 83 years later, Wedel hoped to repeat the Great Elector's triumph. With two cavalry regiments, three fusilier regiments and two grenadier battalions, four 12-pounders and sixteen 3-pounders, he attacked the town on the 28 September at dawn. The Swedish garrison – two battalions with four cannon – defended themselves stubbornly. The battle raged from street to street. The rest of the Swedish forward detachment, which camped outside the town, was slow to come to the garrison's assistance, but when after four hours Hamilton's main force started to arrive from Neu Ruppin, Wedel finally retreated. The Swedes lost 344 officers, NCOs and men as killed, wounded and prisoners. Prussian losses are not known.[41]

Hamilton abstained from pursuing due to his lack of light cavalry. Also, the Prussian garrison in Stettin had sent out minor detachments, which had cut off the Swedish lines of communication back to Stralsund. Therefore, it seemed necessary to leave Neu Ruppin and go north, to protect the Swedish supply routes and to seek cooperation with the Russians on the Oder. Fehrbellin, some 60 kilometres northwest of Berlin, became the furthest point that the Swedes ever reached during the war in their attempts against the Prussian capital.

On 17 October, the main army was back in Prenzlau. Before the retreat could continue, the remaining Swedish forces in Stralsund had to move southwards to clear the passages over Peene, as Demmin and Anklam had again been occupied by the Prussians. In late November, when it was clear that there would be no Russo-Swedish cooperation this year either, Hamilton finally left Prenzlau and marched with the main army into Swedish Pomerania to spend the winter. He had already handed in his resignation, as Chancery President Höpken in one of his letters had criticized his decision to evacuate Neu Ruppin. The Council in

---

40 Ibid., 185–94.

41 Ibid., 195–198; on the battle of Fehrbellin 1675, see Gunnar Åselius,"En kurfurste blir stor", in *Svenska slagfält*, eds. Lars Ericson, Martin Hårdstedt, Per Iko, Ingvar Sjöblom & Gunnar Åselius (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 2003),. 215–22.

Stockholm appointed General Lieutenant Lantingshausen as Hamilton's successor.[42]

Lantingshausen, who had commanded the army during the summer of 1757 and prepared it for war as well as was humanly possible, took over effective command on 19 December. Within less than three weeks, he found himself besieged in Stralsund, like Hamilton had been the previous winter. Unexpectedly, a Prussian force of 13,000 men had marched up from Saxony through Mecklenburg territory and appeared outside the town of Damgarten on New Years' Day 1759, conquering the town after a short artillery bombardment and threatening Swedish Pomerania from the west. Lantingshausen, who defended the Peene, risked being cut off from his main base and hastily retreated to Stralsund and Rügen. Before the end of January, the Prussians had also conquered Demmin and Anklam, where minor garrisons had been left behind. In April, they also turned against Peenemünde, which surrendered on 11 April after an intensive bombardment. About a third of the 278 Swedish defenders were killed by artillery fire and the Prussians razed the remaining fortifications to the ground.[43]

The siege of Stralsund continued until 15 May, when the Prussians retreated and left Swedish Pomerania, just like they had done the year before. After a long winter of disease, Lantingshausen's troops were in no form to pursue them. In the Skaraborg regiment, which had sailed out from Sweden in May 1758 with 937 men, no more than 165 had been fit for service less than a year later. The lack of horses meant that some cavalry units must remain on the island of Rügen until late July, trying to regain their strength.[44]

Politically, the situation was further complicated by French attempts to make Sweden participate in an invasion of the British Isles. The government in Stockholm had no interest in a war with England, but Sweden was still dependent on French subsidies to maintain her army in Pomerania. To ease the pressure from Sweden's allies it therefore became important to demonstrate some initiative in Germany. Lantingshausen was instructed to make a visible effort to surround and besiege Stettin, mainly to impress the French, Austrian and Russian liaison officers who were present in his headquarters. To this end, he should conquer Usedom and Wollin, send

---

42 Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 203–29.

43 Ibid., 233–52, 262–68; Ulfhielm, "Artilleriet i krigen", 374–75.

44 Einar Bensow, *Kungl. Skaraborgs regementes historia*, vol. 3, *Från Karl XII: s död till regementets omorganisation 1942* (Skara: Västergötlands Tryckeri, 1956), 47; Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 255–56; 280–81.

the archipelago squadron into Stettiner Haff and move his troops into Prussian territory temporarily.[45]

In reality, there was no money to conduct a siege. To even get the army on the march, Lantingshausen had to borrow money from the merchants in Stralsund, signing his own name as security. Only on 21 August, he was ready to leave Stralsund with 16,000 men.

The special task force, which was to conquer the islands of Usedom and Wollin, was commanded by Lieutenant General Fredrik Axel von Fersen (whose son Axel would later become famous for his love affair with the French queen Marie Antoinette). It consisted of 3,750 men and the entire archipelago squadron (by now four big and four small galleys as well as 18 smaller vessels). On 18 August, Fersen landed on Usedom with three battalions to lay siege on Swinemünde. By 2 September, the town and all but one of the surrounding fortifications had been conquered – for the second time during the war – by the Swedes, together with 550 prisoners and 17 guns.[46]

The rest of Fersen's force sailed into Stettiner Haff to set troops ashore on Wollin. However, for the first time in a hundred years Prussia now possessed a navy of its own – thirteen cargo ships and fishing boats, which had been hurriedly refurbished and armed. These Prussian ships tried to block the narrow passage between the Peene and the Stettiner Haff to the Swedes, but were driven away on 22 August by artillery fire from ashore. To be able to sail through the shallow straits, the Swedish ships temporarily unloaded their artillery, managed to enter Stettiner Haff but were then kept at bay for more than two weeks by unfavorable winds. Only in the evening on 9 September the winds turned. In the morning of 10 September, the Swedish galleys set sail, attacked the Prussian fleet and due to superior seamanship managed to conquer nine vessels, 106 guns and 500 prisoners in less than three hours. Swedish losses amounted to thirteen dead and fourteen wounded. There was no Prussian navy anymore, and it would be another century before there would be one again.

On 12 September the Swedish fleet set troops ashore on Wollin, and two days later Fersen's troops came up from Swinemünde, where the last Prussian defenders had abandoned their positions outside the town when they heard that the Prussian navy had been destroyed and they risked being left behind on the island of Usedom. After a short siege, at dawn on

---

[45] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 269–78, 281–83; Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens*, 208–09.

[46] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 282–87.

the 16 the Swedes stormed the town of Wollin – on the island of Wollin – taking 682 prisoners at the cost of 15 dead and 106 wounded. All in all, Fersen had captured 1,750 prisoners, 130 cannon and nine men-of-war during his expedition – the most successful operation that the Swedish army was to perform during the entire war. About a week later, Fersen evacuated Usedom and Wollin with the bulk of his forces and joined the main army under Lantingshausen, which had taken up positions around Pasewalk on the river Ücker. Here, the Swedes stayed until early November, before they went back into Swedish Pomerania for the winter.[47]

Like they had done successfully the two previous years, the Prussians soon countered with a surprise offensive, aiming to push the Swedes back to Stralsund and Rügen, and keep them locked up there until spring and in the mean time use Swedish Pomerania to collect provisions. On 20 January 1760, one Prussian column advanced from Stettin over Usedom against Wolgast, while the main force under Lieutenant General Heinrich von Manteuffel attacked from Anklam across the Peene. This time, however, the Swedes managed to reorganize themselves and after the initial shock launched a counterattack. Within a week, von Manteuffel's force had been driven out of Swedish Pomerania and Manteuffel himself taken prisoner.[48]

The Swedish troops stayed in winter quarters around Greifswald until summer, when the Council in Stockholm urged Lantingshausen to move into Prussian territory as soon as possible so he could start living off enemy country. The new Prussian commander, Major General Joachim Friedrich von Stutterheim, had 6,250 men, deployed along the Peene. Lantingshausen's forces counted some 14,800. Although the Swedes were superior in numbers, the plan was still to make von Stutterheim retreat without a fight, by threatening his lines of communication. A diversionary attack was made against Anklam by Major General Augustin Ehrensvärd on 16 August, while Lieutenant General von Fersen attacked the Prussian garrison in Demmin (although very competent and conscientious military leaders, Ehrensvärd and Fersen were both among those who would leave the army to attend the Diet in Stockholm in October). When the Prussians

---

47 Günther Lanitzki, *Galeren auf dem Peenestrom. Die Preussisch-Schwedische Seeschlacht oder wie die Kartoffel nach Skandinavien kam* (Berlin: Ed. Ost, 2000); Dieter Hartwig,"Maritime Aspekte im Denken und Handeln Friedrichs der Grossen", in, *Friedrich der Grosse und das Militärwesen seiner Zeit*, ed. Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, Hamburg: (Verlag E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1987), 99–103; Gunnar Åselius,"Arméns flotta går i strid", Ericson et al., *Svenska slagfält*, 366–373; Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 289–319.

48 Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 325–37.

had been engaged at both Anklam and Demmin, Lantingshausen took the main force across the Trebel, into Mecklenburg and the Malchin area. The appearance of strong Swedish forces south of the Trebel on 17 August made Stutterheim evacuate both Anklam and Demmin and fall back towards the Ücker. Lantingshausen pursued the Prussians eastwards into Prussia and had taken both Pasewalk and Prenzlau by 6 September, but made no attempts to advance deeper into Prussian territory.[49]

During the following month, Prussian hussars made repeated raids against the Swedish positions on the Ücker, which the Swedes had problems to handle due to their lack of light cavalry. Finally, on 3 October, there was a major Prussian attack. The Prussian cavalry general Hans Paul von Werner had recently lifted the Russian siege of Kolberg in East Prussia (a Swedish naval squadron – six ships of the line and two frigates – had supported the Russian siege from the sea in accordance with a Russo-Swedish treaty for the protection of the Baltic Sea, signed in April 1758). Afterwards, Werner crossed the Oder with 5,000–6000 men and marched on Pasewalk against the Swedes. The town was defended by 1,700 men under Ehrensvärd, and had been duly fortified. For seven hours, Ehrensvärd repelled all attempts to storm and when dark came, von Werner retreated. Including those who fell in the preliminary skirmishes outside the city, Swedish losses amounted to 500 killed, wounded and prisoners. Prussian losses have been estimated at 300.[50]

Shortly afterwards, Lantingshausen evacuated his positions along the Ücker and on 26 October crossed the Peene to take up winter quarters in Swedish Pomerania. As the Prussian troops had marched off to fight Russians and Austrians, Prince Eugen of Württemberg, who commanded the Prussian troops on the Pomeranian front, offered Lantingshausen a truce until 1 April 1761, which he gladly accepted. Having been appointed as royal governor of Stockholm, Lantingshausen had repeatedly asked the government to be relieved of his command. On 16 February 1761, this request was finally granted, and the Council appointed Augustin Ehrensvärd as his successor. However, Lantingshausen had to remain in Pomerania until May, as Ehrensvärd had not yet completed his parliamentary duties at the Diet in Stockholm. Only in July did Ehrensvärd arrive to take over.[51]

---

49 Ibid., 368–79.
50 Ibid., 391–400.
51 Ibid., 414–15, 423–24, 437, 444, 448.

Ehrensvärd was an artillery officer, the chief architect of the sea fortress of Sveaborg in Finland and also the man who in 1756 had initiated the transfer of the archipelago fleet to the army. Moreover, he was the only Swedish commander-in-chief during the war that had to confront the mighty Diet before he took up his command. Ehrensvärd, who belonged to the Hat Party and well knew the political game, therefore made sure to present the Estates with a picture of the army's situation which was as gloomy as possible, simply in order to reduce their expectations. He also ensured that his directives would not compel him to do anything outside defending Swedish Pomerania and preserving the army at the lowest possible cost, while retaining the freedom to exploit any opportunity that might arise.[52]

At Ehrensvärd's arrival in Stralsund in July 1761, the army was at its best health-status ever during the war – no more than 5 % of the personnel were reported sick. On 19 July, Ehrensvärd slowly began his advance across the Peene with 14,800 men. It took him a month to reach Boldekow in Brandenburg, situated a mere 70 kilometers into Prussian territory. Here, the army remained standing for seven weeks, while minor skirmishes were fought against Prussian hussar and Jäger units. The Swedish army could hold its ground fairly well as now for the first time it possessed a specialized mobile corps, composed of hussars, light infantry, grenadiers and artillery. It was commanded by a talented young Major – Jacob Magnus Sprengtporten – who Ehrensvärd knew from his time in Finland. On 18 September, this 2,000 man-force under Sprengtporten defeated the Prussian light forces – estimated at 3,000 – at Neuensund, in what was probably the biggest encounter that the Swedes fought in open terrain during the entire war. The Prussians lost 510 officers and men (most of them as prisoners), Swedish casualties were reported as 128.[53]

Already on 8 October, Ehrensvärd withdraw behind the Peene and took up winter quarters. However, when the Peene froze in December, Prussian hussars and Jäger units began raiding into Swedish Pomerania. Ehrensvärd decided to retaliate, fresh reinforcements having arrived from home. On 22 December, the Swedes attacked Demmin and Malchin. The Prussians

---

[52] Ehrensvärd is portrayed by Oscar Nikula in *Augustin Ehrensvärd 1710–1772* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1960); on Ehrensvärd's instructions cf. Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 444–445.

[53] Swedish health statistics from the Pomeranian War goes back to a report by the head of the army's medical service, Pehr Zetzell, *Sjukligheten i fält med anledning av pommerska kriget. Praesidital för Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien* (Stockholm, 1779); Säve, *Sveriges deltagande,* 456, 475–77, 490–97.

evacuated Demmin before the enemy had arrived, whereas in Malchin, they put up a fight against Sprengtporten's force and withdraw only when their position had become untenable.[54]

Within a few days, the Prussians tried to recapture Malchin and push the Swedes back across the border, so that the Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin would only have to attend to Prussian requisitions during the winter. On New Years' Eve, Prince Eugen of Württemberg attacked the town with his entire force – 7,000 men. Prussian artillery fire set fire to many houses, but Sprengtporten held his ground and repelled several attempts to storm. During 2 January 1762, Swedish efforts to break out of the town were also repelled. Prussian losses are reported at 300 men, Swedish losses at eighty.

Meanwhile, Ehrensvärd was approaching from the north with a relief expedition. On 2 January, between Malchin and Neu Kalen, Ehrensvärd's avant-garde fought what was to be Sweden's last military engagement in the Seven Years' War. A Prussian unit consisting of one hussar regiment, three to five battalions of infantry and twelve cannon, tried to block the route to Malchin to the Swedes but was forced to retreat, losing 350 men (about half of them prisoners) and two heavy guns. Swedish losses amounted to 174, of whom 37 killed. Ehrensvärd made some half-hearted attempts to pursue the retreating enemy, but soon gave up due to deep snow and heavy mist. On 5 January, his troops were back on the other side of the Peene, and on the same day, Sprengtporten evacuated Malchin and followed on across the border. Prince Eugen's troops, undisturbed, could take up their winter quarters in Mecklenburg.[55]

Shortly afterwards, Ehrensvärd asked the government in Stockholm to be relieved of his duties due to health reasons. He also entered into negotiations with Prince Eugen for a truce, which was concluded on 7 April. Relieved, he now handed over his command to the most senior Major General in the army, Erik Lybecker, and returned to Stockholm.

At that time, the Swedish government was already negotiating for peace. The short and victorious war had not come true, and France was slow to pay out her subsidies. Sweden's war costs during the first three years were calculated at 39 million Daler (in silver coin), of which the subsidies covered a mere third, and the requisitions made in enemy land no

---

[54] The last militia regiments that sent troops to Pomerania in late 1761 were Björneborg and Tavastehus (1,000 men infantry) and Livdragonerna and Nylands Dragoner (1,000 men cavalry) – Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 500, 508–17.

[55] Säve, *Sveriges deltagande*, 520–34.

more than 2.5 million. The rest had to be financed through state lotteries, foreign loans and the issuing of paper money. This, of course, gave fuel to inflation. Between 1755 and 1764, the level of prices in Sweden doubled.[56]

In reality, in late 1758 the Council in Stockholm began wondering on how to get out of the war without losing respect from Sweden's allies and soon sent out secret feelers to both Britain and Prussia. When the Swedish Diet assembled in October 1760, opposition against the unpopular war could also be articulated publicly. The influence of the Cap Party grew and Chancery President Höpken was forced to resign, although the Hats remained in power. In December 1761, the Diet's Secret Committee urged the government to promote a general peace or – if this proved impossible – make Sweden's allies accept a separate peace between Sweden and Prussia. France and Austria refused, but after Peter III's coming to power in Saint Petersburg at least Russia was encouraging, and this was what was needed to secure Sweden's exit from the war. On 1 March 1762, the decision to negotiate directly with Prussia was made, and suddenly Queen Ulrika Eleonora proved a diplomatic asset, as she could be used to contact her brother, the King of Prussia. On 22 May, the peace was concluded in Hamburg without territorial gains for any part or other changes of status quo.[57]

Although the war had been characterized by lack of resources on both sides and chiefly consisted of maneuvers and sieges along the Peene river, there was no doubt that the Swedish army had proven ill-prepared to fight a modern war. During the decades that followed, the professional discussion among Swedish officers intensified, to the benefit of military reform. Georg Magnus Sprengtporten, who had served under his half-brother Jacob Magnus in Pomerania and distinguished himself, would after the war organize a new type of combined-arms brigade in the Swedish army, dominated by light infantry. Sprengtporten's brigade was designed for operating in difficult terrain on the border with Russia, but he clearly owed his inspiration from the Prussian Jäger and Hussar-units that had created so many problems for the Swedes in 1757–1762, in spite of their inferior numbers, and whom the Swedes had managed to imitate successfully only in the last phases of the conflict.[58]

---

[56] Ibid.; Patrik Winton, "Sweden and the Seven Years War 1757–1762: War Debts and Politics", War in History vol. 19:1 (2012). 22–27.

[57] Jägerskiöld, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens*, 207–16.

[58] Lars Ericson Wolke, *Krigets idéer. Svenska tankar om krigföring 1320–1720* (Stockholm: Medströms bokforlag, 2007), 180–83.

The Hat Party lost control over the government in 1765 when they failed to handle the economic consequences of the war, returned in 1769 and then lost control for good in 1772, when King Gustavus III (who was the son of Ulrika Eleonora and Adolf Fredrik and the nephew of Frederick the Great) organized a military coup which effectively ended the Age of Liberty and the rule of the Estates in Sweden. During their remaining years in power, however, the Hats after the Pomeranian War would adopt a much more cautious foreign policy. As Michael Roberts formulated it – "perhaps the Pomeranian War had not been fought wholly in vain."[59]

[59] Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, 45; cf. Böhme, "Schwedens Teilnahme", 212.

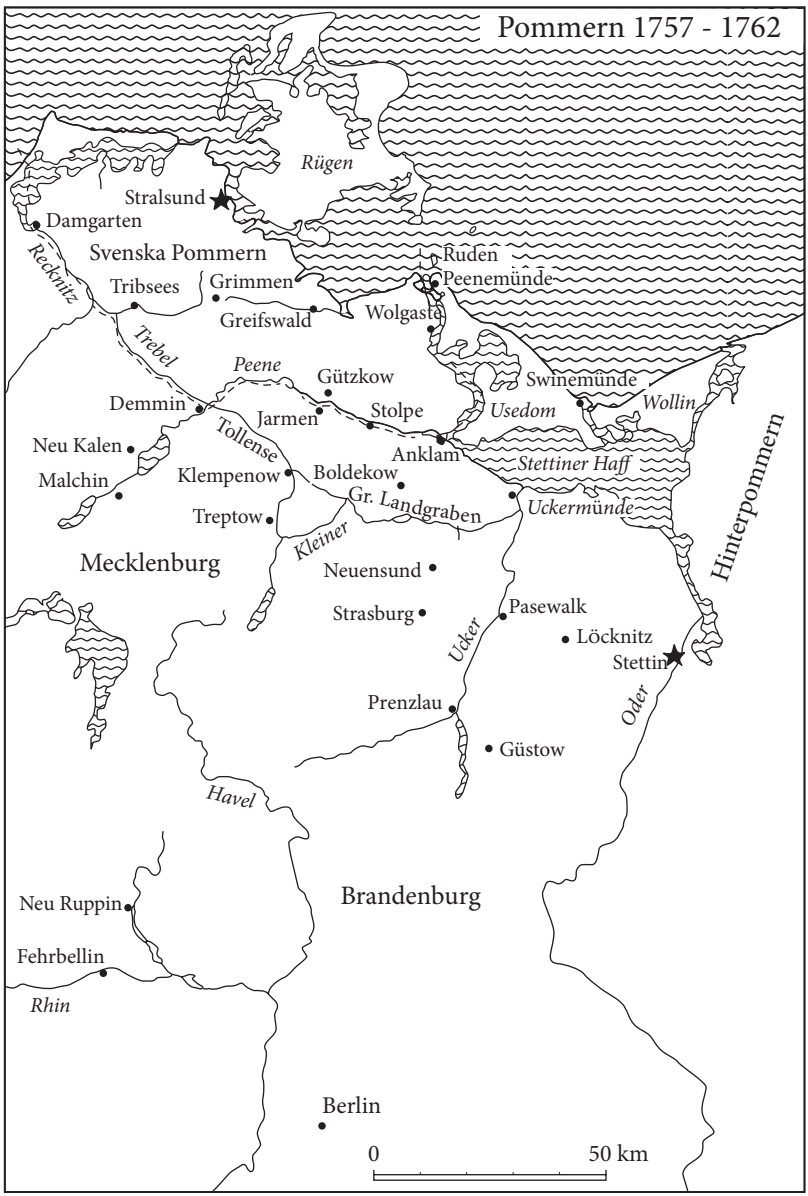


Figure 1. The Pomeranian Theater 1757-1762. Map by Carl-Axel-Wangel; reproduced from Sten Claëson, ed., *Kungl. Artilleriet. Frihetstiden och Gustav III's tid* (Stockholm: Miltärhistoriska förlaget, 1994), p. 357. Courtesy of Carl-Axel Wangel and Militärhistoriska förlaget.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE OTTOMAN ABSENCE FROM THE BATTLEFIELDS OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Virginia H. Aksan

The Ottomans (and the Muslim world in general) were not engaged on either side of the Seven Years War, which begs the question why they are included in a volume of essays examining the war. Even for Ottoman specialists, the period 1739–68 is frequently acknowledged as a long hiatus for an empire, which had spent most of the previous hundred years in a series of contests with the Habsburgs. This essay proposes several explanations for the Ottoman absence from the European battlefields, which include diplomatic neutrality, lack of military preparedness, and loss of control over provincial finances. It begins by situating the Ottomans in the geopolitical context in the mid-eighteenth century, and continues by discussing regional trends in the period from 1730 to 1768, before turning to particular contests that help illustrate the state of the Ottoman military. The conclusion addresses the consequences of the Ottoman absence from the 1756–63 battles of the new eastern powers: Austria, Russia and Prussia.

Although the Ottoman Empire has been drawn into the comparative military history of empires east and west, it remains somewhat undifferentiated by contrast with the recent rich historiographies of Eastern Europe, pre-Raj India, Qing China, and increasingly Central Asia.[1] For the

[1] Examples include: Peter C. Perdue, with Huri Islamoğlu, "Introduction to Special Issue on Qing and Ottoman Empires," *Journal of Early Modern History* 5 (2001): 271–82; Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), and Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Dirk H.A. Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and Jos Gommans, *Mughal Warfare: Indian Frontiers and High Roads to Empire, 1500–1700* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Virginia H. Aksan, "The Ottoman Military and State Transformation in a Globalizing World," 245–58 and Douglas Peers, "Gunpowder Empires and the Garrison State: Modernity, Hybridity and the Political Economy of Colonial India ca. 1750–1860," 259–72, in "Comparing Empires" in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Midde East* 27, no. 2 (2007).

Ottomans, such comparisons across cultures have proved most fruitful in the discussion of frontiers and borderlands; the limits of pre-modern agrarian empires, and the understanding of the impact of local culture on the organization and financing of military manpower in such contexts. The typology of Ottoman frontiers varied from direct and central control as in the Balkan and Anatolian heartlands, to pacts with conquered elites such as in Hungary, to tribute-paying non-Muslim clients such as the elites of Wallachia and Moldavia, and to the hereditary, largely autonomous territories (*sancaks*) of eastern Anatolia and the Arab provinces granted to nomadic and sedentary tribal confederations such as Kurds, Bedouins and Türkmen.[2] It was a distinctly different world from the territories of the Danube River and East Europe, where the Russians and Prussians were undergoing a radical reformation and triumphal rise at the expense of the Habsburgs.

Geopolitical Strategies of the Ottomans & Their Neighbors

So what were the geopolitical strategies of the Ottomans in the eighteenth century? A comparison with Russia and Austria is instructive in that regard. The Russians operated in three theaters, which included the Baltic; the southern tier, where Catherine determined to establish a Russian presence on the Danube and the northern shore of the Black Sea, and the eastern, or Siberian theater, the basin of the Arctic Ocean. Three principles were operative: first, Peter the Great aimed at strengthening the operational base of Moscow. He then concentrated the majority of his regiments there, on the assumption that they could serve as a mobile strategic force for the western and southern theaters. Third, Peter and his successors understood that they would need a permanent cadre of friendly states, client states or groups, such as the Cossacks, or elite families such as the Cantemirs of Moldavia, to ring the core defensive area and act as "fifth columns on the borders." The projection of power so described resulted in the redeployment of the army from the core to the periphery under Catherine, as the frontier expanded, turning "Fortress Russia" into "Fortress Empire." The creation of regional armies and entrenched conservative elites began to show in Russian lack of effectiveness on the Danube after

[2] Gábor Ágoston,"A Flexible Empire: Authority and its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (2003): 15–29.

the Napoleonic War, such as against the Ottomans, in 1828–29, but particularly in the Crimea War.[3]

The Austrians operated as a friendly state for Russia, and the two powers, however unhappily, were allied throughout the century, especially, from our point of view, in the two Austro-Ottoman-Russian Wars of 1736–39 and 1787–92. The geopolitical realities and concerns of the Habsburgs were driven by its function (and service to the rest of Europe) as the "gigantic protective buffer zone to absorb the massive Ottoman threat," and as a "welcome, albeit not too powerful and thus amenable ally to restrain France." The "double conflict" east and west, although it afforded the Habsburg Monarchy a certain foreign affairs cachet, was a source of weakness in the constant need for military mobilization on limited resources. The Austrians continually negotiated the sharing of power and privileges within the Holy Roman Empire simply to sustain the protection of its frontiers with a coalition army. One of the coalition partners was, of course, the house of Brandenburg.[4] The pre-1740 strategy of the Habsburgs was to create a ring of buffer zones on all peripheries. Clientage in the Austrian context involved federative power sharing among the German princes, although the famous *militärgrenze* stretching from the Adriatic to Transylvania could be likened to the military corridors in the Russian Caucasus, illustrating the 'Fortress Habsburg' eastern frontier, and both Russian and Austrian settlement of restive populations. Habsburg hesitancy was apparent throughout the century, which combined with poor leadership brought them up short in the total war with Napoleon, as it had earlier against the Ottomans at Belgrade in 1739.[5]

Ottoman grand strategy of the eighteenth century, especially the period 1730–68, concerned the four frontiers that preoccupied the court in Istanbul: the western (Mediterranean); the southern (Egypt/Red Sea/Indian Ocean); the eastern (Persia and the Caucasus), and the northern (Danubian/Black Sea) frontiers. It should be noted that all were threatened not just by Russian expansionism but also by the rise of the seaborne empires, and defense against such incursions is one explanation for the Ottoman absence from Europe in 1756–63. The Ottomans remained most

[3] Summarized from John LeDonne, "The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831," in *The Military Society in Russia, 1450–1917,* eds. Eric Lohr and Marshall Poe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), esp. 175–95.

[4] Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy 1683–1797* (London: Pearson Education, 2003), 59–60.

[5] Ibid., 438–42.

concerned about corsairs (from Malta and the Greek islands in particular) and piracy, which prevented all-important supplies from reaching Istanbul via the Dardanelles. They managed to maintain local coastal defenses haphazardly throughout our period of study until the arrival of the Russian fleet (aided by British naval expertise) in 1770.

The Ottoman comprehension of the importance of the Red Sea/Indian Ocean frontier has often been underrepresented. The Cairo-Damascus-Mecca triangle was important to the Ottomans for many reasons, not the least of which was the legitimacy derived from being the protector of the two holy cities of Islam. An important aspect of that obligation was to protect the Egyptian annual tribute and trade goods, which accompanied the pilgrimage caravans in the annual trek to and from Cairo, Damascus and the Hijaz, which in turn linked to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Neglected in the first half of the century, Egypt and the Red Sea became the concern of Istanbul again after 1770, in response to significant rebellions by autonomous warlords across the empire. Such uprisings were in part stimulated by the arrival of Russian and British warships in the eastern Mediterranean and the British intervention in Indian Ocean trading in Basra and elsewhere.

The Kars, Erzurum, Baghdad line, long the heterodox Muslim frontier, was disrupted by the Russian arrival in Georgia after 1700. Uneasy peace with the Persians was broken by the collapse of the Safavids after 1721, and their defeat by the Ghalzay Afghans in Isfahan in 1722. Russian and Ottoman troops independently confronted the Afghan forces, with considerable success. In the agreement that followed in 1724, they recognized a Safavid survivor as Shah Tahmasp II and divided their recent acquisitions of Persian territories in the Caucasus and Azerbaijan respectively. Nadir, errant outsider, and later usurper of power, first allied himself with Tahmasp, and brought an end to Ghalzay Afghan rule in Iran, and had himself crowned as Shah in 1736. Thereafter, he invaded India, and sacked Mughal Delhi (1739), which likely contributed to the ease with which the British defeated the Mughals two decades later. His campaigns in Azerbaijan caused ripple effects among semi-independent warlords along the Ottoman eastern border, which the dynasty was hard put to confront. Nadir Shah fought the Ottomans 1732–34, and then sent an embassy to Istanbul in 1736, which prompted a truce, but war broke out again in 1742, leading to Nadir's pivotal siege of Mosul in 1743. That significant challenge to the Ottomans was only defeated by the mobilization of a regional army, which had important consequences for later events in the

region.[6] The treaty of Kurdan was finally agreed upon in 1746. Recovery from that effort contributed to the decision not to become embroiled in the European conflict.

The northern frontier line was marked by the string of massive fortresses from Belgrade to the Danube River basin, which extended via Ochakov on the northern Black sea coast through the Crimean Peninsula to Kars in the Caucasus. This became the do-or-die border for the Ottomans after 1768, and was where the client states of Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as the Tatar groups in the Crimea played an important role as buffer territories for both the Ottomans and the Russians. The obsession with preserving this line becomes clearest only after 1774, but is integral to much Ottoman strategy throughout the eighteenth century. After the treaty of 1739, the Ottomans appear more than willing to maintain the fixed border with Austria, yet another possibility for their absence from Europe in 1756.

Diplomacy over Warfare 1740– 1768

From 1740 to 1768 peace prevailed between the Ottomans and their European neighbors. The era was a time of fiscal recovery in the Ottoman context, as adroit diplomacy, and sustained efforts at neutrality enabled the greater flow of goods and the entrenchment of local notables. The period of peace ended abruptly in 1768 when the Ottomans declared war on Russia, ostensibly because of the violation of Ottoman territory by Russian Cossacks chasing Polish exiles of the Bar Confederation. While the status of Poland was a constant concern of Ottoman officials, it is equally true that the Istanbul war party used Poland as the excuse to reengage the empire along the Danubian frontier.[7]

Two important aspects of the period characterize the empire and its relationship with Europe, and further our understanding of Ottoman neutrality in 1756: the stability of sultanic rule after 1730, which facilitated the rise of a diversified central bureaucracy, and the introduction of multilateralism into foreign affairs. These trends were only evident after a convulsive rebellion in Istanbul itself, which broke out in 1730, and inaugurated a

---

[6] Ernest S. Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006).

[7] See Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged* (Harlow, Eng.: Pearson Education, 2007), chap. 4.

decade of unrest which overthrew Sultan Ahmed III (1703–30), ostensibly because of complaints about a decadent, western-inclined court, but in actuality because the public (army, ulema and artisans alike) were unhappy about the agreements with Russia over the Caucasus, and ongoing wars with Persia. Suffering from continuous shortages of essential goods, they were angry at the misuse of public funds dedicated to the war efforts.[8] Unrest in Istanbul was symbolic of sultanic weakness, and negotiations with the rebels included maintaining neutrality in what were perceived as European (Christian) contests. The rest of the century showed a remarkable continuity in the succession of sultans. One of the explanations for that may have had to do with Ahmed III's ability to produce children: he married sixteen daughters to royal bridegrooms in the practice known as *damatlık*, creating a large coterie of privileged courtiers in Istanbul who served the sultans well. Mahmud I, his nephew, ruled from 1730–54. The reign of Mahmud's brother, Osman III, 1754–57, was notable for little except oppressive restrictions on public life; Mustafa III, 1757–74, and his successor, Abdülhamid I (1774–89) were both sons of Ahmed III. The latter two ruled through the disastrous Russo-Ottoman wars. Their successor, Selim III (1789–1807), the first of the significant reforming sultans, was the son of Mustafa III.

Istanbul of the period is remarked upon as increasingly cosmopolitan, with new interest in public life, the building of private libraries, mosques and gardens. The nature of Ottoman legitimacy, however, was much contested by new coalitions of the population, who first aligned themselves with the Janissaries, the voice of the oppressed until mid-century, and then turned against them as their increasing disorder and military defeats focused the anger of the inhabitants of the city. The rise of competing centers of power in the provinces also contributed to changing perceptions of the Ottoman dynasty, reflected in disparate voices and several significant rebellions across Christian and Muslim territories alike.

The sultan retreated even further into isolation and insignificance, a fact most evident in the deterioration of the classical father-son relationship of the Janissary corps, and the rivalries of provincial households. Warfare became the business of the grand vizier, as none of these sultans

[8] Plague and cholera outbreaks occurred in 1726, 1728, 1729 and 1730. An enormous fire destroyed large parts of wooden Istanbul in 1729. The war tax (*ordu akçesi*) on the guilds and artisanal communities was higher than in any previous campaign (Robert W. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations 1718–1743: A Study of Rebellion in the Capital and War in the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975), 69–71.

led their armies into battle. The period is characterized by the further shifting of the cost of mobilizing men and supplies onto the provinces, which contributed to the rise of provincial nodes of power, and explains the gradual loss of control over provincial revenues.

One of the reasons for the stability in the court had to do with the emergence of a cadre of bureaucrats who were experienced provincial administrators, but not necessarily military men, and the development of a foreign ministry capable of dealing with increasingly complex diplomatic affairs. Such was Koca Ragıb Pasha, *Reis* (equivalent of the minister of foreign affairs) and grand vizier to three sultans from 1741 to his death in 1763, who negotiated treaties with both Persia and Austria, and was crucial to the sustained on again, off again discussions with Frederick the Great about a possible alliance with Prussia.

The striking Ottoman turn to multilateralism, beginning with the 1699 Karlowitz treaty, linked as it was to increasing military weakness, has long been noted. Close to a hundred diplomatic instruments survive from the period under discussion, an archival record of an empire moving from aggressive expansion to defensive mode. Embassies sent abroad to announce accessions, or cement treaties, brought back military and cultural intelligence which stimulated discussion in Istanbul circles about the need for reform.[9]

An official Russian representative joined the diplomatic corps in Istanbul after 1700, adding to the French, Austrian, Venetian, British and Dutch officials already there. The Ottomans could and did manipulate affairs, as much as they were influenced by the hothouse of European diplomacy that the Pera community of foreigners represented.[10] The Ottomans resisted French urgings to war over Poland in 1733 and again in 1756. They concluded a mutual defensive alliance with Sweden in 1739, as a means of blocking temporarily Russian ambitions in the eastern Mediterranean, and even offered to help end the Austrian War of Succession in 1745, largely because of concerns about the disruption in Adriatic trade caused by the hostilities with the English who were particularly signaled out for attacking neutral ships. In making the offer to mediate, the grand vizier drew a line on the map from Arta (Greece) to Sidra (Libya), east of which was to be prohibited to aggression and piracy. The proposed intervention did little more than surprise and embarrass the courts involved, but it offers

[9] Aksan, *Ottoman Wars,* chap. 6.

[10] See discussion in Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 367–71.

historians a window into the Ottoman understanding of eastern Mediterranean politics.[11]

Negotiations at Nemirov and then at Belgrade to end the Austro-Ottoman-Russian 1736–39 War do rightly credit French ambassador and mediator Villeneuve, but Ottoman representative Koca Ragıb's summary of those negotiations, one of the most circulated manuscripts of the eighteenth century, remains a neglected source on the Ottoman interpretation of events.[12] Discussions with Frederick the Great about commercial and defensive alliances with Prussia began as early as 1740, when he initiated talks with Istanbul. Most historians dismiss the initiatives as part of Frederick's diplomatic theater of the period, but it is worth noting that the Ottomans took the discussions quite seriously, especially the second initiative which began with the arrival of Frederick's secret envoy Rexin in Istanbul in 1755. As with the 1740 initiative, polite postponement of discussions forestalled outright dismissal of such an alliance. Frederick's renewal of propositions in 1757 was driven by the delicate military and political isolation he found himself after the Franco-Austrian rapprochement of 1756. Koca Ragıb managed to resist both French bellicosity and Prussian overtures at this stage, but met with Rexin in 1759, requesting British guarantees before entering into an alliance. The outcome of this set of talks was the Prussian capitulations, a treaty of friendship and commercial ties only, ratified by July 1761. Frederick continued to press for a defensive alliance. Beleaguered by a bellicose sultan and restless Janissaries, ready to attack Austria, Koca Ragıb resisted the Prussian overtures until October 1762, when he refused a defensive alliance outright. Nonetheless, the Ottomans sent an embassy to Frederick in June 1763, ostensibly to commemorate the 1761 treaty, but in reality to assess the Polish question in Frederick's court, and discuss an alliance.[13] Ambassador Ahmed Resmi reported to the court on the conditions in Poland following the death of

---

[11] For a further discussion, see Virginia Aksan, "Ottoman-French Relations 1739–1768," in *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History I,* ed. Sinan Kuneralp, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1987), 41–58. For an interesting consideration of Russian diplomacy involving the Mediterranean, see Thomas Freller, "In Search of a Mediterranean Base: The Order of St. John and Russia's Great Power Plans During the Rule of Tsar Peter the Great and Tsarina Catherine II," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004): 3–30.

[12] See Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700–1781* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 8–9, and *Ottoman Wars,* chap. 3.

[13] This became the pattern of such Ottoman embassies until the abrupt, and arguably radical decision by Selim III, to establish permanent missions in European capitals in 1793. See Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, chapter 2. See also H.M. Scott, *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers 1756–1775* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 112–15.

Augustus III as he made his way across Europe to Berlin. The discussions concerning an alliance came to nothing once Catherine II and Frederick had come to terms in April 1764.[14] In spite of sustained pressure by the French to go to war, the Ottomans declared neutrality in the matter of Russian interference in Poland in March 1764. Grand Vizier Muhsinzade Mehmed recognized the election of Stanislas Poniatowski, Catherine's preferred candidate in July of 1765. Until that time at least, Ottoman diplomats preferred sustained negotiations to outright resumption of violence with Europe.

Another novelty of Ottoman-European relations of the eighteenth century was the delineation of fixed boundaries and the renewal of "eternal" treaties, especially with the Habsburgs. The 1739 Treaty of Belgrade recapitulated much of the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, which had articles concerning the establishment and maintenance of fixed borders, and regulations concerning cross-border movements. The renewal of the treaty in 1745 actually did sustain stability along the Austro-Ottoman line until 1788, when reluctantly, Austria had to join her ally Russia in the war against Istanbul. Diligence in the matter of maintaining the conditions of the treaties is reflected in at least one Ottoman mission to investigate Janissary abuses along the Austro-Ottoman frontier in 1760.[15]

The most ticklish negotiations, however, concerned Persia, which was always perceived as both a Muslim rival and as a land of heretical Shiites. We have already seen how the Caucasus was divided into Ottoman and Russian zones in 1724, but Nadir's forces continued to threaten those territories under Ottoman tenuous control as well as the borderlands to the south. The embassy Nadir Shah sent to Istanbul in 1736 arrived with a novel proposal that the Ottomans, perceived leaders of the Muslim umma, accept the Persian return to the Sunni fold as a fifth orthodox school of law, the *Jafari*, with Nadir Shah as its head and an Ottoman vassal. This intriguing proposal was resisted by the Ottoman negotiators, but a truce was declared which was essential as 1736 was also the year that the Russian

[14] An abortive Ottoman-Prussian defensive alliance was signed in May 1790, designed largely to influence an Austro-Prussian rapprochement, resulting in the Convention of Reichenbach of June 1790 which effectively brought a halt to Austro-Ottoman hostilities in the 1787–92 war. For the Ottoman documentation, see Kemal Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı-Prusya İttifâkı* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1984).

[15] There are likely many others to be unearthed in the Ottoman archives. See Virginia Aksan, "Whose Territory and Whose Peasants? Ottoman Boundaries on the Danube in the 1760s," in *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750–1830,* ed. Frederick F. Anscombe (Princeton: Markus Weiner Publishers, 2006), 61–86.

captured Azov in the first round of the 1736–39 war. Nadir Shah renewed his pressure concerning a settlement in 1741, following his conquests in India and Central Asia, requesting the transfer of Arab Iraq to its rightful owner Iran. Freed by the Belgrade Treaty, the Ottomans declared the *Jafari* School outlawed in 1742, and went to war again. Nadir Shah attacked Ottoman Iraq in 1743, and besieged Mosul in September and October of that year, but failed to take the city as we shall see below. In September 1746, the Treaty of Kurdan was finally signed. While acknowledging some of Nadir Shah's demands, in reality the agreement simply reinstated the borders and arrangements of the long-standing Treaty of Zuhab of 1639. It did, however, represent a new stage in Ottoman-Iranian relations, as an instrument between two states, rather than as a contest between religious foes. Like the Treaty of Passarowitz, and subsequently Belgrade, it established the framework for later negotiations and modern inter-state relations.[16]

The State of the Ottoman Military System

Koca Ragıb's concern in keeping the Ottomans out of European arenas was undeniably driven by the state of the Janissaries, the Ottoman standing army. In contrast to Europe, where federative and contractual armies were gradually giving way to centralized, national systems, the Ottoman army was by 1768 highly regionalized, and largely financed at the local level by governors, tax collectors and elites of town and village collectives alike. This redistribution of wealth, as essentially the provincial notables and their entourages acquired semi-permanent, annually renewed rights to taxation, was directly related to the state's need to mount large campaigns, as already suggested, through the period 1700–46. The evidence for the 1740 to 1768 era is striking in the recovery of the Ottoman economy, reflected, as suggested by the new wealth in Istanbul, but resonating everywhere, where trade and agriculture had a moment to flourish. 1768 broke the back of such a recovery: the return to war with Russia revealed the extent to which neither the military system nor Ottoman society in general was prepared to take on another lengthy and costly campaign. That war meant the demise of the Janissary system, and the virtual bankruptcy of the state, forcing Selim III (1789–1807) into the radical

[16] The complete story is available in Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest.*

reorganization called the 'New Order.'[17] The following discussion concentrates on Ottoman preparedness for war 1730–68.

The Janissaries, the Ottoman standing infantry, which as a highly disciplined force, the sultan's own army, stood at some 20,000 (some sources say closer to 40,000) under Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–66), may have numbered over 400,000 by the time the entire corps was eliminated in 1826.[18] This explosion in size did not reflect a fighting force, but rather a large social welfare system, of which about ten percent were battle-ready warriors. The Istanbul garrisons probably numbered 20,000–30,000 battle-ready men *at the outside* in the mid-eighteenth century. The rest were more often than not names registered in the muster rolls, and included long dead, aged, pensioned, disabled, or even non-existent soldiers who were real enough when it came to accession ceremonies, which were marked by large bonuses and raises for the corps members paid out of the new sultan's pocket.[19] Yearly salaries (paid in three month installments in theory) and the extensive privileges insisted upon by the Janissaries were distributed to what amounted to a formative caste. Registration in the corps, as with every other interaction between the Ottoman sultan and his subjects, was a form of belonging to the imperial system. Janissary officers and palace officials alike could become very wealthy by simply having pay certificates in their possession, occasionally in the thousands, which entitled them to the sultan's largesse. What we do know is that shortly before our period opens, the certificates moved into the market, like stocks, and that too guaranteed an income from potential futures of the salaries and other benefits of belonging.

Manpower for the Janissaries, originally drawn from Christian tribute children in the early days of conquest, increasingly included any and all, Muslims, Christians and foreign renegades alike. Registration in the *ocaks*

---

[17] It is worth remembering that "bankruptcy" was endemic to large land-based empires of the early modern world. Both Austria and Russia wrestled with the problem of cash flow and large armies in the same period.

[18] The figure 400,000 is likely an exaggeration. One number from 1784–85, between the two Ottoman-Russian wars, notes a more likely figure of 128,000 Istanbul and provincial garrison Janissaries, at a time when three quarters of the state's revenue went to military expenses. Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi* (*XVIII. yy dan Tanzimat'a Mali Tarih*), (Istanbul: Alan, 1986), 95–7.

[19] Those one-time payouts, viewed as the pledge of the new sultan to his army had become ruinous by 1700. At Ahmed III's accession, in 1703, the palace silver was melted down to make up the payment; Mahmud I distributed 29,530 *kese akçe*, not just to his soldiers, but *seyyids*, distinguished Muslims with impeccable genealogies, numbering in the thousands, were given 1,000 *akçes* each; see Aksan, *Ottoman Wars,* 52. The practice was abandoned by the end of the century.

(regiments) guaranteed some job security, as Janissaries came to be posted to impose order in the provinces and garrison the large fortresses which dotted the frontiers and major cities. By the mid-eighteenth century, an estimated 54,000 Janissaries were assigned to the sixty-eight fortresses across the empire.[20] The state designated various funds to their upkeep such as the non-Muslim poll tax (*cizye*) but it was never enough. The Janissaries of the provinces were no longer required to rotate from city to countryside, or fortress to fortress: they had merged with the local communities, were privy to political rivalries and largely unreliable for other than police work. Most could be found in trades well outside their primary responsibility as soldiers.

The *ocaks* took care of their own, maintaining separate treasuries, investing their money collectively, recouping the estates of dead comrades and the like, and seeing to the well-being of regimental brothers at war. Even routine disciplinary matters were the responsibility of the *ocak* officers. Neither the sultan nor the grand vizier could intervene unless state crimes such as a murder occurred. In local communities, the Janissaries survived by engaging in agriculture, commerce and extending their arms and protection to the highest bidder. These were long term trends that had begun as early as 1600, but had reached an intolerable level by the end of our period. As long as the Janissaries were disciplined and successful on the battlefield, the drain on the state treasury and their abuses of local populations were tolerated. After 1683, when the Janissaries were turned back at the siege of Vienna, the sultan and his advisors began to devise other means of defending the empire. Reducing the rolls was one way: in 1688, 20,000 names were struck from the registers; a century later, in 1771, 30,000 were struck, a measure of the degree of fraud represented in the official records.[21]

Creating alternative forces was another. The traditional provincial soldiers of the Ottoman military system, where alternate forces could be generated, were the feudatory *sipahis*, or timariots, that is, holders of *timars*, a fief in return for military service, largely made up of cavalry. Generally, the system was applied to Anatolia and the Balkan provinces, less so in the southern tier of empire. Inheritance was not guaranteed, but dependent upon performance in battle. Volunteers on the battlefield were there in the hopes of being assigned a *timar* for valor. The *timarlı* or *sipahi* was

[20] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapukulu Ocakları*, vol.1, 3rd Printing, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 329–30.

[21] Aksan, *Ottoman Wars,* 46–53.

required to outfit himself and his retainers, and show up when called to war with horse, a number of additional warriors, weapons and supplies. By the time of the 1736 war, such forces were unruly and unreliable, and completely unable to sustain a living from their agricultural holdings. Where once some 80,000 might have reported for duty for major campaigns, by the mid-eighteenth century, no more than half that number was available for duty. Although the force was in steep decline, and repeatedly subject to reforms, the Ottomans did not eliminate it completely until the time of Selim III, as confiscation could often result in rural unrest. What is clear is that *timar* vacancies (deaths, abandoned lands, etc.), once under the purview of provincial governors for redistribution, were quite often recovered and redistributed by sultans and grand viziers, as part of reform efforts, and in a system of rewards for outstanding service on the battlefield. As with the Janissaries, no-shows could be and were struck from the rolls. In the eighteenth century, the Janissaries were clamoring for *timars*, many of which they had already acquired, and notable families achieved sizable estates as rewards for service from recouped *sipahi* lands.

What arose instead of the traditional *sipahi* feudatories were paramilitary bands, mercenaries, or private militias of one sort of another, made up of demobilized soldiers, or those struck from the rolls, destitute feudatories, and Janissary hopefuls. The soldier for hire has a long history in the Ottoman context. As early as the sixteenth century, in wars with the Habsburgs, the sultan's advisors observed the need for armed infantry, or musketeer bands, called *sekban* or *sarıca*, whose early performance distinguished the name. Later, such bands were composed of soldiers called *levend*, a term of opprobrium first used for vagrants and landless peasants, but which reverberated well into the nineteenth century as local militiaman, employed by provincial officials, especially governors. The term also applies to the mobilization commitment of provincial officials, manpower theoretically paid for out of central treasury funds. By the 1720s, a provincial governor was expected to attend the major campaigns with 200 of his own retinue, and anywhere from 1,000 to 2,000 recruits, cavalry and infantry, the latter paid from Istanbul. Between 1683 and 1769 the recruitment of such bands increased tenfold, from 10,000 to 100,000.[22] These troops were the cause of much woe for commanders in the 1768–74 war because of their unreliability and lack of training, and their tendency to fly after the first exchange of fire.

---

[22] See Virginia H. Aksan, "Whatever Happened to the Janissaries?" *War in History* 5 (1988): 23–36.

Apart from the Janissaries, there were other regiments in Istanbul, such as court cavalrymen, the *Sipahis*, or the palace guards (*Bostancıs*), along with other auxiliary forces as the armorers (*cebecis*) and the wagoneers (*arabacıs*), both connected to the production, storage and transportation of weapons and gunpowder. They supported the bombardiers (*humbaracıs*) and artillerymen (*topçus*), who were probably the two corps that received the most systematic, if somewhat erratic, reform attention by Ottoman officials over the centuries.

The Crimean Tatars, formidable raiders and slave traders of earlier centuries, could and did make up a huge force of horse and men for major campaigns, and were often sent into Poland and Ukraine in particular at the start of large confrontations. Their exploits are the stuff of legends in Eastern Europe and Russia, but by the period of study here, two factors had served to reduce their effectiveness. The first was the Russian expansion south, and the incorporation of many ethno-religious communities such as the Tatars into military garrison communities along the Ottoman-Russian border as part of the settlement of Ukraine. The second was the Austro-Ottoman accord after 1739, when the establishment of fixed borders placed the obligation on both sides to control such mobile soldiery. The 1768–74 war signaled the end of the Ottoman-Tatar association as the Küçük Kaynarca Treaty included a clause concerning Tatar independence, which led Catherine to annex the Crimea unilaterally in 1783. By then, the Ottomans were in no position to retake it.

Without a doubt, the Janissaries were the best organized and best fed army of Europe in earlier days, and the Balkans and the client territories of Wallachia and Moldavia (present-day Romania and Moldova) were absolutely essential to the ability to supply the sheep, grain, butter and honey which fed the privileged corps. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of those two principalities to the Ottoman war effort in terms of logistics and supplies. By agreement, Wallachia and Moldavia were allowed to remain Christian territories, without more than a token presence of Janissaries. In return, they served as the Istanbul breadbasket and the key to supplying the major campaigns in the Danube and northern regions. In the national history of Romania, the period of Phanariot rule (1715–1820s) is painted as the blackest period of oppression. From a military point of view, this had to do with almost constant warfare in the area from the 1730s forward, Russian occupation in Jassy and Bucharest during the Russo-Ottoman wars, and the intense pressure on the peasantry to supply two opposing armies.

Pre-Napoleonic warfare was dependent on the willingness of local populations. This was especially true in the Ottoman context, where the roads to the battlefront were carefully prepared for the passage of the Janissaries, and communities within proximity of bivouacs and way stations could benefit from the largesse of soldiers and Ottoman officials alike. The guild commitment to supply the Ottoman wagon train was the most obvious symbol of empire-wide engagement in the preparations for war. But, as Europe had learned to its dismay during the Thirty Years' War, so the Ottomans began to see public opposition (quite often in rebellions by the Janissaries themselves.) to the exactions of warfare. While it is impossible to put a particular date to the end of the willing participation of the countryside (to various degrees of course), rebellions in the capital after 1700 tell us that the urban population had reached its limit of toleration, and lost confidence in the Ottoman management of war. At least one of the consequences of the absence of the Ottomans from the European battleground in the mid-eighteenth century was the complete collapse of the renowned Ottoman military supply system, which had to be re-imposed on the countryside with great difficulty at the beginning of the 1768–74 war.[23]

The Question of the Economy

As with all pre-modern empires, military expenditures consumed a majority of the Ottoman purse, and the increasing inability of the state to support the major campaigns had become all too evident in the long engagements with the Habsburgs in the 1680s. Ottoman bureaucrats made efforts to reform some traditional taxation policies, which included equalizing *cizye* payments, minting a new silver coin, the *kuruş*, which became the stable coinage of the eighteenth century, and introducing the widespread use of life-term tax-farming (*malikane*) after 1695, for all transactions of the state: agriculture, customs, and excise taxes. Those who possessed *malikanes*, largely the wealthy elites of Istanbul, and their local agents, were assigned a set income against the revenues expected of their holdings, and obligated to pay up to three years advance to the state. The effect of the initiative was to devolve control of the tax revenues to a cadre of local officials, who acquired independence even from their patrons in Istanbul. In 1722, such sales netted 1.45 million *kuruş*; by 1768, this had

[23] See Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 147–51.

risen to 9.78 million; by 1787, 13.16 million, approximating the annual revenue of the period which in this time of general stability ran 15–16,000,000 million *kuruş.* The system "constituted a form of long-term borrowing by the state, secured against tax revenues."[24] A further development was the diversification of such investments as shares, creating private wealth of extraordinary degree, with an urban class, as Darling notes, involved largely in "debt patronage" rather than agricultural or industrial development. In 1775, shares of such potential revenues were even sold to the public. Janissaries and central state elites were largely beneficiaries.[25] Non–Muslims were excluded from the system, but themselves profited as bankers and moneylenders, and increasingly, as mediators with the foreign trading communities of the empire. Here again, revenue was generated by the selling of patronage certificates (*berat*) by the foreign consuls, first granted from the Ottoman government – often in cash, as were most of the transactions of the eighteenth century.[26] Local merchants, largely non-Muslim, thus acquired both the privilege and protection of the capitulatory regime of the foreign nation, alienating both citizen and investment capital from the Ottoman dynasty.

The connection of these trends to the rise of provincial armies resulted from the explosion of large estates, managed by long distance landlords across the empire. Local provincials, and not just the official governor whose power was repeatedly challenged by local urban elites in this period, benefited from the devolved tax regime. A population of notables called *ayan* arose, which became considerable sources of power by the mid-century, with households requiring protection, which in turn attracted the paramilitary elements described above. As one recent study has noted, "After the provincial notables (*ayan*s) stepped in with their financial and social capital to fill the void left by the *timar* system, it was only automatic that the mercenary troops, most of whom belonged to the retinues of the *ayan*s, would become an integral part of whatever army the Ottomans were able to put in the battlefield."[27]

---

[24] Linda Darling, "Public Finances: The Role of the Ottoman Centre," in *Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3*: The Later Ottoman Empire 1603–1839,* ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 124–28. Figures are on p. 127, and drawn from the work of Mehmet Genç and Ariel Salzmann.

[25] Linda Darling, "Public Finances," in *Cambridge History of Turkey,* 3: 124–28.

[26] Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade," in *Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3: 321.

[27] Murat Çınar Büyükakça, "Ottoman Army in the Eighteenth Century: War and Military Reform in the Eastern European Context," MA (Middle East Technical University) 2007, 19.

Additional exaction rights were given such local officials in times of war. These included the *imdad-i seferiye,* or special campaign taxes, as well as state monies to raise regiments of troops, cavalry and infantry, the *levends*, as the occasion warranted. Elaborate records were maintained of village commitments and guarantees for such troops, and certificates of payments owed by the state, which were often subsequently utilized as tax credits, became routine parts of the mobilization and supply strategies of Ottoman officials of mid-eighteenth century. All were predicated on the ability of the state to pay, which after 1768 became very difficult. Expenditures outran income consistently, and the system was unprepared to accommodate the steep debt that war by that time entailed, having, in a sense, already overextended its credit with it subjects through tax farming. After the 1790s, especially, the Ottomans entered the most severe financial crisis of the entire span of dynasty.

The Technological Question

Barebones financing is at least part of the answer for the apparent inability of the Ottoman system to keep pace with European military developments, but it is not the whole question. While it is generally true that the debates over technology transfer and "the military revolution" have broadened to include large parts of the non-western world, it is still the assumption among military historians that the Ottomans were disinclined or unable to benefit from the changes occurring in Europe because of religious backwardness and cultural obstinacy.[28] Continued success, however ephemeral, could strengthen cultural resistance to change, for reasons that I have tried to make clear throughout this article and elsewhere, and having very little to do with 'Islam'.[29] There is no doubt that the Ottoman bureaucrats found themselves in the curious position, much as did their Russian (and Austrian) equivalents, of having to destroy the very system which kept them in wealth and power. Even so, a few of the brave ones began to discuss military reform at the very end of our period.

---

[28] For the later period, Peter Menzel has recently offered better explanations: *Transportation Technology and Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, 1800–1923* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association Society for the History of Technology, 2006), 9.

[29] Virginia H. Aksan, "Breaking the Spell of the Baron de Tott: Reframing the Question of Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1760–1830," *International History Review* 24 (2002): 253–77.

But that is entirely different from the arguments about technology and the transfer of new ideas. As Gábor Ágoston has effectively demonstrated in his *Guns for the Sultan*, "military acculturation" was a continuous dialogue in the capital city. "Istanbul was more than a simple recipient of foreign technologies with its Turkish and Persian artisans and blacksmiths, Armenian and Greek miners and sappers, Turkish, Bosnian, Serbian, Hungarian, Italian, German and later French, English and Dutch foundry men and military engineers, as well as with its Dalmatian, Greek and North African shipwrights and sailors."[30] The Ottomans had the human and natural resources to hand, and continued to maintain pace with Europe on small cannons, siege guns and ammunition well into the eighteenth century. On small arms, the record is not as impressive, and foreign imports of handguns were a feature of the latter empire, although Ágoston notes that such imports were not a significant burden on the state. Selim III undertook reforms of gunpowder production and cannon foundries, which brought the Ottomans back up to native production levels equivalent with Europe in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Differences with the evolving technologies of Europe had to do with the lack of standardization,[31] the lack until the very end of the nineteenth century of any equivalent of the industrialization of the military industries of Europe, and as emphasized above, the decentralization of state revenue sources, which included such items as gunpowder. So, when the Ottomans returned to war in 1768, the systems of manufacture and distribution of military supplies were in almost total disarray and out of reach of the central government.

On the question of discipline and drill, there is no doubt that the Janissaries were an undisciplined lot by 1700. This was not the case in earlier centuries. The Janissaries took up volley fire formations perhaps as early as 1520s on the battlefields with the Hungarians and Habsburgs, as recently argued, and a "hot war" was just as significant a locale for military acculturation as foreign expertise, especially in the innovative Hungarian theater.[32] All European observers remarked on the solemnity and order of

---

[30] Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 193.

[31] As Ágoston notes, European tended to melt down Ottoman cannons and recast them while the Ottomans simply kept the booty of their enemies and reused it. (*Guns for the Sultan,* illus., 188)

[32] Günhan Börekçi, "A Contribution to the Military Revolution Debate: The Janissary Use of Volley Fire During the Long Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1593–1606 and the Problem of Origins," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* 59 (2006): 407–38.

Ottoman camps before Karlowitz. Even the remnants of the Janissary army who fought at Kartal (Kagul) north of the Danube in 1770, an unmitigated disaster for the Ottomans, were admired by Russian Field Marshal Rumiantsev for their bravery and perseverance.[33] Cash rewards on the battlefield (for special deeds, for numbers of enemy killed, for battle wounds), the continuation of the cult of individual valor, the persistence of cavalry as a major component of the Ottoman military, and the lack of control by Istanbul over war *matériel* across the empire, are all aspects of the latter-day environment. Selim III was brought down in 1807 by a military revolt, which erupted over new uniforms; in 1826, when Mahmud II (1808–39) finally eliminated the corps, it was in response to a last Janissary revolt over new drills.

These were not populations susceptible to the kind of disciplinary regimes imposed on Europe. An additional problem was that military command was awarded by seniority (and in reality, often based on heritage, as becoming a Janissary turned into a family affair), rather than merit and training, or even battlefield reputation. This manner of promotion plagued even the modernized Ottoman army well into the nineteenth century. The commander of the army, the grand vizier, was chosen from among palace favorites by the mid-eighteenth century, and was often without either the military training or provincial experience as had been the case of provincial governors of earlier centuries. An officer training school was established only in 1834. The chain of command was particularly diffused by the practice of sending the entire bureaucracy to the battlefront, leaving placeholders in Istanbul, and by the creation of the regional armies described above.

Sample Engagements of 1730– 1768

Ottoman military preparedness will be illustrated in the description of select battles of the 1736–39 War[34] and of the siege of Mosul by Nadir Shah in 1743. The Ottomans fought on two fronts in the 1736–39 War: the Crimea and Romania, against the Russians, and the Danube region in Bosnia, Hungary and Serbia, against the Habsburgs. While the Austrians are castigated in hindsight for weaknesses in command throughout the

[33] Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 154 & 177, footnote 67.
[34] As described in Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, chap. 3.

war, endemic difficulties regarding mobilization and supply were true for all three participants. The Austrians had to rebuild the army on the Hungarian front from scratch, as the imperial army had been deployed on three different fronts for too long a period. The Russians suffered acutely by underestimating the distance and logistical needs of the march from Moscow to the Black Sea. Until the spring of 1737, the Ottomans simply did not believe that Austria would join the war, which accounts in part for the unusually late mobilization on the upper Danube. All sides were crippled by disease and unsanitary conditions. 1737 to 1739 are notable plague years and disease accounts for more deaths than fighting. By the time of the Belgrade treaty in 1739, for example, the Russians had been forced to withdraw from the Crimea because of the impossibility of maintaining healthy and well-supplied garrisons in the area. At Ochakov alone, an estimated 60,000 Russians were lost before it was razed and abandoned in late 1738.[35] It is practically impossible to estimate the loss and desertion figures of the Ottomans, although archival documents will occasionally reveal the continuing problem of getting men to the battlefield and keeping them there. In short, it was a typical war of its age, when the size of armies had begun to outrun the systems designed to manage them, when command was still very much federative, and when warfare was a seasonal matter. The lower Danube is infamous for its tricky weather, waterways and unhealthy climate, which would continue to affect all armies who fought in the area until the Crimean War.

On both the diplomatic and military fronts, the Ottomans exhibited a tenacity which exasperated diplomats and discouraged both opponents, especially on the question of the territory around Orsova and the island of Adakale (Orsova Island or New Orsova), absolutely pivotal for defense of the Balkans, and the gateway to Europe. The pattern of victory and retreat set in 1736 and 1737 continued in the few confrontations of 1738, but Ottoman exertions had one aim in mind: the capturing and fortifying of the string of garrisons that marked the Danube path to their main objective, Belgrade. The campaign season opened in February, when Commander Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, veteran of the victory at Banjaluka in 1737 (and of Tabriz in 1732), then Governor of Bosnia, sent 15,000 Bosnians into Serbia, capturing strategic border garrisons in the Morava valley,

[35] Lavender Cassels, *The Struggle for the Ottoman Empire* (London: John Murray, 1966), 152. At the Belgrade siege the same year, an estimated 80–100 Austrian troops died each day of plague, malaria and dysentery (153).

which reestablished Ottoman control in Serbia.[36] As the campaign season opened, Austrian forces on the Danube were badly depleted; most garrisons were undermanned, and the imperial treasury stretched.

Most of the 1738 campaign season was spent in investing and forcing the surrender of the strategic areas around Orsova, specifically Adakale, an island just downriver from the treacherous rapids called the Iron Gates.[37] Orsova on the northern shore fell to Commander-in-Chief İvaz Mehmed in early May. By June the Ottomans had captured Mehadia, allowing them deep access into the Banat. On August 15, 1738, the Austrians surrendered Adakale, in spite of their valiant resistance and recapture of Mehadia. The surrender of the island was achieved through the perseverance of Commander-in-Chief İvaz Mehmed, and with the support of the main artillery corps. Logistics kept the Austrians from advancing further, even though the victory at Adakale was followed by a quick dissolution of the Ottoman will to fight, a general flight downstream, and the abandonment of the Ottoman camp, notably 1,500 wagons, three thousand head of cattle, fifty cannon and fourteen mortars.[38]

The Ottoman main army under Grand Vizier Yeğen Mehmed had arrived in Vidin by 9 July, but was hampered by having to await transport and supplies. Austrian commanders inexplicably disregarded intelligence concerning Ottoman troop strength and preparations for what would prove to be the main offensive of the war, perhaps related to the eighteenth century preference for open-field confrontation rather than the defile strategy demanded by the mountains and valleys of the Orsova area, and the generally accepted notion that open battles were to be avoided unless victory was certain. Scarcity of food and transport particularly afflicted the Austrian side. Even as the Ottomans closed in on Orsova, the Austrian General Königsegg ordered the retreat of the relief force.

By July 18, the siege of Adakale was once again underway, this time with the entire Ottoman arsenal, perhaps as many as eleven batteries of 120 cannon and 14 mortars.[39] More significantly, the Ottoman sappers undermined the defenses, and the dry summer lowered the Danube level

---

[36] Michael Robert Hickok, *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth Century* Bosnia (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 35. A.Z. Hertz, "The Ottoman Conquest of Ada Kale 1738" *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 159. Hertz made significant use of German and Ottoman contemporary descriptions of this campaign.

[37] Orsova Island had become Austrian territory in 1717, and their fortress, St. Elisabeth, had taken over a decade to build. (Hertz, "Ottoman Conquest," 152–3.)

[38] Hertz, "Ottoman Conquest," 169; also Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars*, 215.

[39] Hertz, "Ottoman Conquest," 170–77.

sufficiently to allow the besiegers easier access. Capitulation occurred on August 15, just in time for İvaz Mehmed, who was facing massive problems on his side.[40] The two belligerents spent the remainder of the year rehearsing the final confrontation beneath Belgrade the following summer. By the end of the year, French mediation was accepted as a fait accompli by both sides. The 1738 campaign left the Ottomans in a position of strength, as the fall of Adakale proved to be pivotal.[41]

For the 1739 campaign, Wallis was Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian forces, and he arrived in Belgrade by mid-July. İvaz Mehmed was stationed southeast at Semendre, Habsburg headquarters the previous year, with an advance guard at Grocka, a day's march to Belgrade, on the southern Danube shore. Wallis marched to Grocka with his cavalry on the night of 21–22 July. The same night the Ottomans moved their entire army to defend the narrow pass and road at Grocka. The most significant confrontation of the year occurred there, with the Austrians gaining the upper hand after an exhausting daylong contest, and the arrival of cavalry reinforcements under Neipperg. The carnage left over 3, 000 Austrian dead, with another 2,500 wounded. The following year a traveler would note that "one cannot go ten steps without stepping on human corpses piled on top of one another, all only half decomposed, many still in uniforms."[42] Wallis retreated in the middle of the night of July 22, fearful of the Ottoman strength. Remarkably, the Ottomans did not harass the withdrawal, which would have been more typical. İvaz Mehmed's restraint must have been dictated by the certain knowledge that they had lost the battle, but won the day.[43] By August, Belgrade had been invested by the Ottomans and Commander-in-Chief Wallis was in slow retreat. The Ottoman forces at Grocka included a Bosnian contingent of 30,000 men, under the aforementioned Governor Ali Pasha.[44]

---

[40] More than half the army had disappeared from death and disease. The Ottomans had resorted to leaving empty tents erected to disguise their reduced strength. Hertz, "Ottoman Conquest," 187.

[41] A.Z. Hertz, "Ada Kale: The Key to the Danube" *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1971): 164, and "Ottoman Conquest," 194–96.

[42] Roider, *The Reluctant Ally,* 160–61. The Earl of Crawford's *Memoirs* includes a list of the dead and wounded (*Memoirs of the Life of the Late Right Honourable John Lindesay, Earl of Craufurd and Lindesay*, by Richard Rolt (London, 1753), 204). Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars*, 215, lists 2,000 dead (including five generals), and 3,000 wounded.

[43] Crawford was bewildered as to why Wallis retreated, and equally surprized at the Ottoman restraint, but complementary of İvaz Mehmed's command. (Rolt, *Memoirs,* 201–02.)

[44] Cassels, *The Struggle*, 168–9.

The Treaty of Belgrade was signed just as the Austrians and Russians regained the momentum against the Ottomans, so, in reality, the "triumph" alluded to at the beginning of the essay was elusive. Nonetheless, the Ottomans could and did hold their own on the Danube in this set of campaigns, because of occasional good command, astute diplomacy and the loyalty of Bosnia to Ottoman defensive needs on the European frontier. Leadership at the center, however, had become precarious, evident in the rapid turnover among grand viziers: five in the 1735–39 period; six during the 1768–74 war. Few grand viziers, apart from the able Koca Ragıb, who actually never led an army, had the time to establish authority and continuity over a coalition of unruly troops and commanders. This command disarray, mirrored in the complete lack of discipline among the Janissaries, and coupled with the endless need to replace deserters, foreshadowed the campaigns beginning in 1768, and created the opportunities for the accumulation of power in the provinces. During 1736–39, the Ottomans fought sieges on terrain they understood, traditionally their strength. In 1768, the seat of war moved further down the Danube, although Vidin would often play a key role. What remained were the lower fortresses of the Danube, as essential, if not more so than Vidin, to Ottoman survival: Silistre, Şumnu (Shumen), Ruşcuk (Ruse), İsmail, İbrail, Bender and Ochakov on the Black Sea. These would be even more fiercely contested during the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1768–92, when the Ottomans found themselves fighting largely on their own territory, and the Russians threatening Istanbul itself, with all the implications for the impact on the local populations.

Mosul in 1743

A significant consequence of these campaigns of the 1730s on the Danube was the further loosening of the bonds with the southern and eastern sectors of the empire. This proved exceptionally true in the sporadic confrontations between Nadir Shah and the Ottomans around Mosul. From 1730–34, Nadir Shah occupied Tabriz and Hamadan and threatened the Ottoman-Iranian border by laying siege to Baghdad in 1733, part of a continuing crisscrossing of investment and liberation that characterized the post-Safavid period. Ottoman garrisons from Kars and Van, as well as troops from Erivan and Tiflis were mobilized to rout Nadir Shah on this particular occasion (July 1733), and managed to do so, but the troops retired too early, Commander-in-Chief Topal Osman fell ill, and the presence of the troops engendered many local rebellions. Nadir regrouped,

strengthened his army, and besieged Mosul, which proved capable of defending itself and defeated the besiegers in October 1733. An uneasy truce was brought about in 1736, essential to the Ottomans who were soon at war on the Danube.

When Mahmud I declared war against Persia again in 1743, the mobilization effort of the Ottoman capital was aimed at defending Erzurum and Baghdad, both threatened by Nadir Shah, who continued to demand recognition of his *Jafari* school of law, and a sharing of power with the Ottomans. Istanbul was the site of rebellions once again, but largely among unruly non-Janissary forces such as the Albanian irregulars and other such *levends,* who were often blamed for insurrection and mutiny. Salaries for the garrisons in both Erzurum and Baghdad came directly from the sultan's inner treasury, and provisions shipped to Trabzon in early 1743, but only with difficulty and amidst much resistance by Istanbul and local populations alike.[45]

When Nadir Shah besieged Mosul again in 1743, then, after bombing and capturing Kirkuk in August 1743, it was to find the city well defended by Husayn al-Jalili Pasha and his regional forces, not by any major relief force from the center. The city and surrounding areas had become largely self-reliant as a result of the rise of the political household of the Jalilis, who built an extensive network of local alliances among Arab and Kurdish tribal confederacies, had established relations with local Jewish and Christian creditors, and maintained independence based on their continued ability to supply the Ottoman center with provisions (and more occasionally men) for the army. As suggested earlier, this was the system facilitated by the central government as a means of generating operating revenues, and by the appointment of the Jalilis as provincial officials. The Jalilis, like similar families in Aleppo and Damascus, also infiltrated local Janissary regiments *and* the timariot properties, and in effect, created a defense system organized out of rival households which effectively privatized warfare and kept much of the state's intended revenues in the provinces. The governor of Mosul at the end of our period might have had as a result of his networks and tax responsibilities, some 1500–2000 potential warriors at his personal command.[46] Mosul may have had as many as

---

[45] Stanford Shaw, "Iranian Relations With the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 7, Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 297–313, and Olson, *The Siege of Mosul,* 89ff.

[46] Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul 1540–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1997, chapter 3 particularly. This process is also

30,000–40,000 troops in the garrison at the time of Nadir Shah's siege. Of these, perhaps 15,000 came from the Janissary garrison at Aleppo, itself developing as an independent regional network, although always more closely bound to Istanbul as part of the Anatolian sphere. Nadir Shah bombarded Mosul heavily starting in September 1743, but fierce resistance meant that the siege was lifted by the end of October. Nadir Shah himself was plagued by rebellion among his commanders and the disorder of the countryside. The victory did prevent Nadir Shah from overrunning Iraq, and cemented the reputation of the Jalilis as local heroes, but ushered in a period of considerable strife among rival political households, which generated into civil war by the end of the century.[47] Masters also argues that the period created a dependence of Arab elites on the Ottoman center, who "developed a vested interest in the survival of empire as a counterweight to the dynastic families of governors. Simply put, faced with a choice between the sultan or the local dynast, many in this group opted for Istanbul."[48]

So, what did the Ottomans miss by not participating in the Seven Years War? The answer to that is fairly simple: they missed the consolidation of Russian military might as an eastern power, which would soon become evident on the battlefields of 1768. Russian lessons in the Seven Years War taught them the utility of maneuverability, and the use of formations of smaller numbers of troops and light artillery; the virtue of night attacks, and the reintroduction of the bayonet against cavalry. The consolidation of the bureaucracy around military supply and logistics, and even the merging of battlefield command, trends not fully evident until Catherine's wars against the Turks, were also legacies of the long confrontations in Europe. Rumiantsev, commander in both European and Danubian arenas, and governor of the new Russian territories in Ukraine after 1764, granted the title of field marshal after his defeat of the Ottomans at Kartal in 1770, also understood the necessity of accommodating warrior traditions as part of the regimental structure of the Russian army, by way of reducing

---

succinctly described in Bruce Masters, "Semi-Autonomous Forces in the Arab Provinces," in *Cambridge History of Turkey,* vol. 3, 186–206. For those who follow French history of the period, the process of war indebtedness and the creation of a service gentry look very similar. (James C. Riley, *The Seven Years War and the Old Regime in France: The Economic and Financial Toll* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 178ff.

47 Khoury, *State and Provincial Society,* 205.

48 Masters, "Semi-Autonomous Forces," in *Cambridge History of Turkey,* vol. 3, 196, and elsewhere that the "devolution of economic resources" led to a "widening of their identity to include the possibility of being Ottoman for the first time." (206)

and controlling the horsemen of the steppe, and assimilating them to imperial Russian society. The army, which ran on serf cannon fodder, often half starved, and a landed gentry class whose legitimacy was reinforced to the degree that Catherine the Great required their loyalty for her southern project, was commanded by foreign and Russian officers who had shared the European conflicts, and brought a new culture of discipline and camaraderie to the battlefields of the east.

Financial difficulties, frantic efforts at mobilizing mobile manpower, and the continued necessity of quelling rebellions across the empire, prevented the Ottomans from confronting the looming necessity of reorganizing the military system, although Mustafa III did introduce the new regimental structure around rapid fire artillery as early as the 1770s.[49] The expense of returning to war in 1768 overwhelmed a faltering system, and exposed the true reluctance of large parts of the population to engage or contribute to the war effort except for those private contractors and/or independent warlords of the military economy as described, who *did* have a stake in the survival of the empire. What compelled the sultan to declare war in this context? Perhaps it was the only conceivable way to bring violence under the control of and restore legitimacy to a disintegrating sovereign authority.

[49] Aksan, *Ottoman Wars,* 142–54, and 198–213. The regiments remained underfinanced and ill-utilized as the 1768–74 war wound down.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PRIDE, PREJUDICE AND PRESTIGE: FRENCH OFFICERS IN NORTH AMERICA DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Julia Osman

When M. de Bourlamaque heard rumors of a potential war brewing between France and Prussia in 1755, he hastened to write the King of France and present his candidacy. Like many other officers of the French army, he had "languished during the peace," following the War of the Austrian Succession, and the rumors refreshed his hopes for the glory in battle that would advance his position and solidify his reputation.[1] Begging the king for a prominent role in the upcoming conflict, he presented "no other ambition, Sir, than to be able to serve in a manner that is essential [to the army]."[2] Hundreds of other officers offered their services, pledging their "live[s] and possessions"[3] and expressing sincere "attachment to [the king's] service."[4] The Seven Years' War did provide a platform for Bourlamaque and his fellow officers to exhibit their talents and zeal, but it also challenged their military culture and shook their traditions to their foundations.

Especially in North America, where Bourlamaque was to serve, the French officers' culture and priorities brought them into conflict with the Canadians and their Amerindian allies. Amerindian warriors also relied on the war to advance their positions in society, and they competed with French officers for glory on the battlefield, vying with them for bragging rights at the end of the conflict. Louis-Joseph, marquis de Montcalm, the commanding general of the French troops, and Pierre de Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor-general of Canada, bickered over the necessity of Amerindians allies for the war effort and the French reticence to use them. Montcalm disparaged involving these untamed "wild men," or

---

[1] Service Historique Armée de Terre, Vincennes (SHAT), 1 A 3418 Caulincoud to the minister of war, July, 1755.

[2] SHAT, 1 A 3418, Bourlamaque, July 1755.

[3] Ibid.

[4] SHAT 1A 3418, Bauyn de Perreuse, July 1775.

Sauvages, because they proved so necessary to the war effort that they rivaled French officers as *the* defenders of France.[5]

The *troupes de la marine*, deployed by the French navy for colonial fighting, and the Canadians of New France may have shared some customs with the French officers, but they would have appeared more "Indian" than European.[6] Unlike the British colonial system, which worked to establish a landscape and a lifestyle very similar to the home country, the French colony in North America required a heightened degree of cooperation, and even assimilation, with Amerindians.[7] The Canadian militia frustrated French officers because of a different understanding of military hierarchy and motivation. All men between the ages of sixteen and sixty formed a loose military system that closely resembled a citizen army, inherently different from the aristocratic basis for French forces. Tactical differences existed as well, but French officers recognized Canadian techniques as "petite guerre" and felt more challenged by the Canadians' loose hierarchy and command structure than by their partisan tactics.

These frustrating relationships, combined with a "defeatist attitude" towards the war in general, expressed themselves in part through an increasing emphasis on *zèle*, the officers' zeal for serving the king, over actual success in battle. The gradual bureaucratization of the French army had made it necessary for officers to keep a careful record of their struggles and sacrifices to snare the rewards they believed they merited. Letters to the ministers of war and marine consisted largely of accounts of wounds received and sacrifices made for the king rather than accomplished missions. The attitude in these letters suggests that in Canada, French officers were not concerned with saving the colony so much as they were concerned with behaving honorably in the face of defeat.

Because of its unfamiliarity for European armies, the American theater provides an apt laboratory for viewing the particular aspects of French military culture that caused them to lose the Seven Years' War and their North American empire in such humiliating fashion. The French army suffered from lack of supplies, unfamiliar terrain, and poor troop quality in North America, but it was the inability of the officers to work effectively

---

[5] SHAT, 1 A 3417, no.182, anonymous letter; for a complete discussion of how Amerindian culture was at variance with French military methods, see Christian Crouch, "Imperfect Reflections: New France's use of Indigenous Violence and the Crisis of French Empire during the Seven Years' War, 1754–1760," (PhD diss., New York University, 2007).

[6] Philippe Jacquin, *Les Indiens Blancs: Français et Indiens en Amérique du Nord* (XVIe-XVIIIe Siècle) (Paris: Payot, 1987), 180.

[7] Ibid., 11.

with their Canadian and Amerindian allies that sealed their defeat. The behavior, attitudes, and priorities of the French officers are essential to understanding the weaknesses in the aristocratic French military culture that would be challenged in Canada and upended shortly following the war. Bourlamaque and his fellow French officers' need to exhibit their mastery of European warfare for the purposes of recognition and promotion overshadowed the larger mission of saving Canada and cast their military culture as obsolete.

Warrior Rivalry: The Threat of the *Sauvages*

From a North American perspective, the Seven Years' War began in what is now western Pennsylvania with the famous meeting between a young George Washington, his Amerindian allies, and a collection of French Canadians who came to blows over the disputed borders between French and English territory.[8] By 1756, the colonial conflict became part of a world war that saw the French army spread thinly over three theaters. Jean Amrond Baron Dieskau arrived in Canada with French troops, but was seriously wounded early in the war and replaced by Louis-Joseph, marquis de Montcalm. Montcalm, in turn, operated under the command of Pierre de Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, who served as the governor general of Canada and the strategic mind behind the North American theater.

Of all the challenges that the French army would face in North America—terrain, weather, lack of supply, and long marches—their greatest complaints stemmed from having to work with the Canadians' Amerindian allies. Vaudreuil, who had been chosen as governor-general of Canada partly because of his ability to negotiate with the various Amerindian nations, had cultivated alliances before the arrival of the French, and continued to renew them during the war, as vital to French interests.[9] In his letters to Montcalm and his superior, the minister of the marine, he boasted of his popularity among the Amerindians. At one meeting, they responded to his call for their military aid by declaring, "your presence today is like a new sun whose rays draw in all our members and our hearts." They were ready with a "new ardor from our hearts to serve under

[8] Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 5–7.

[9] William J. Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500–1783* (Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1998), 210.

you—ho!"[10] Vaudreuil may have exaggerated the Amerindians' affection and respect for him, but he undoubtedly found their alliances necessary to his success against the English and Anglo-Americans.

Amerindians, or *les Sauvages*, as the French called them, excelled at removing settlers, or getting settlers to remove themselves, from the frontier. As early as 1755, the minister of war received word that, "The *Sauvages* during winter burned many English homes and captured a great quantity of prisoners and took many scalps."[11] Amerindian raids would destroy whole settlements, turning an entire village and the land surrounding it to ruin. Their raids "kill[ed] animals, burn[ed] large numbers of magazines [of ammunition] and ravag[ed] large quantities of grain."[12] As in Europe, these raids took supplies from enemy forces and rendered towns uninhabitable. Even the marquis de Montcalm, a great adversary of Amerindian warriors, happily admitted that they "bring desolation to the English colonies … During some diverse small *partis*, they sent more than 200 prisoners or scalps."[13] As a *parti* inferred a coordinated, organized attack, Montcalm recognized that the efforts of the Amerindians on the frontier constituted legitimate military action.

Vaudreuil reveled in the success of these raids and the positive effect they had on the war effort. He praised the Amerindians to his superior, the minister of the marine: "The excursions of our *Sauvages* are quite intimidating," as "many English families retreated to the provinces of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to escape the fury of our *Sauvages*."[14] Amerindian fighters created an atmosphere of such fear that terrified settlers left the frontier on their own accord rather than risk finding a raiding party in their settlement. With such allies, Vaudreuil could strike the English in several places at once, causing "great hurt to the enemy, in burning their houses and destroying their animals."[15] Some French officers might have found these raids "dishonorable," but they reduced the threat of the frontier, allowing French fighters to concentrate on larger battles and sieges.

French army officers, however, expressed mostly disdain for the Amerindian allies and their role in the war. Junior officers could not seem to work with them. By Vaudreuil's account, Amerindian warriors responded

---

[10] Archives d'outre mer, Aix-en-Provence (AN) Colonies, C 11A, vol 100, Vaudreuil, 1755.

[11] SHAT, 1 A 3417, no. 122, *Détail de ce qui s'est passé en Canada depuis le débarquement de troupes de terre dans le mois de Juin 1755 jusqu'au 1 mai 1755*.

[12] AN Colonies, C 11A, vol. 102, Vaudreuil to the king, 7 October 1757.

[13] SHAT, 1 A 3457, Montcalm to the minister of war, 1757.

[14] AN Colonies, FM f/3/15, Vaudreuil, at Montreal, April 17, 1757.

[15] AN Colonies, C 11A, vol. 102, Vaudreuil to the ministre de la marine, 12 September 1755.

well to the direction or coordination of the few Canadian officers who typically accompanied them on escapades to harass the English or Anglo-American troops. When raids or skirmishes involved staying in the woods for some time, Amerindians and the Canadians who accompanied them could live in the woods and travel easily, carrying only ammunition.[16] Montcalm's attempts to place French officers in charge of Amerindian forces damaged the alliance. As Vaudreuil explained, "the Canadians and the *Sauvages* do not work with the same confidence under the orders of a commander of the troops of France, as with the officers of this colony."[17] Accustomed to mercenary and auxiliary troops, French officers clashed with Amerindian warriors who did not submit readily to their authority.[18]

French officers also objected to their military methods. Scalping, for example, a "custom of these barbarians that revolts nature," horrified French sensibilities.[19] In a culture where pride and honor in warfare reigned supreme, perhaps French officers considered such an alliance "damaging to their reputations."[20] But were those practices really so different and shocking? Even if the French voiced their revulsion at this particularly "barbaric" means of making war, their army was no stranger to similar forms of violence. The burning, murder, pillage, and rape that occurred in many French campaigns had most recently contributed to the taking of the Fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747, just eight years before French troops arrived in North America.[21] French officers did complain about the "barbaric" nature of Amerindian warfare, but the institution of the French army was no stranger to scorched earth tactics. The army had terrorized people on the borders of France during the Dutch wars and the Nine Years' War, and had killed women and children in cold blood during campaigns against French Protestants. The "unruly character of combat"—the Amerindian tendency to hide in the woods during a skirmish—appeared as well in French combat, as the army had been using partisans and *petite guerre* in both their international and domestic conflicts.[22] Neither were

---

16 SHAT, 1 A 3499, Vaudreuil to comte de Noailles, 6 August 1758.

17 AN Colonies, C 11A, Vaudreuil to the ministre de la marine, October 30,1755.

18 For a discussion of Amerindians as auxiliaries versus mercenaries, see Arnaud Balvay, *L'Épée et la Plume: Amérindians et Soldats des Troupes de la Marine en Louisiane et au Pays d'en Haut (1683–1763)* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006), 241–46.

19 SHAT, 1 A 3417, no.182, anonymous letter.

20 Crouch, "Imperfect Reflections", x.

21 Edmond-Jean-François Barbier, quoted in Rohan Butler, *Choiseul: Father and Son, 1719–1754* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 707.

22 George Satterfield, *Princes, Posts, and Partisans: the Army of Louis XIV and Partisan Warfare in the Netherlands, 1673–1678* (Boston, Leiden: Brill, 2003); John Lynn, "A Brutal

Amerindians more "war-like" than French officers; they shared a common need for military valor.[23] Even the types of torture that Amerindians used on their captives bore some similarity to the torturous practices that the French army used against unwilling religious converts.[24] While French officers may have grimaced at certain Amerindian military practices, there had to have been other motivations behind French rejection of the Amerindians, considering the vital role these allies played in the war effort.

Montcalm's undiplomatic manner extended to all Amerindians; even Mission Indians who had willingly adopted European religion and customs complained of poor treatment, including verbal insults and exclusion from military action. The most astonishing examples followed the successful French defense of Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga). In July of 1758, Montcalm and his French defenders, along with some *troupes de la marine* and Canadians, put up a staunch resistance against British forces, who outnumbered them two to one. After charging several times and being repulsed, the British withdrew, suffering nearly 2,000 casualties, whereas the French suffered less than 400. French officers crowed over their victory in letters to minister of war. Doreil credited the bravery of the officers in the battle, "the staunchness of Mr. the Ch. de Levis and of M. le Bourlamaque," and "M. le Ms. de Montcalm exposed himself during all the action … like the least soldier." What made the victory stand out in French minds, however, was the fact that it was won with "only French troops."[25] Vaudreuil, when hearing that the fort was in danger of attack, had sent a large contingent of Canadians and Amerindians to help, but they did not arrive until several days after the victory, and "the *Sauvages* of the Five Nations" were merely "spectators" to the French triumph.[26]

When the Amerindians arrived at Fort Carillon, three days after the conclusion of the battle, they were so insulted and so angered by their

---

Necessity? The Devastation of the Palatinate, 1688–1689," in *Civilians in the Path of War,* eds. Mark Grimsley and Clifford Rogers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

[23] Gilles Havard and Cécile Vidal, *Historie de l'Amérique Française* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 239–40.

[24] For a complete discussion of Amerindian forms of warfare and built-in cultural restraints, see Wayne Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500–1800," *Journal of Military History*, 71, no. 3 (July 2007): 701–41; For examples of French soldiers torturing civilians, see Jean Migault, *Les dragonnades en Poitou et Saintonge: le journal de Jean Migault*, eds. N. Weiss and H. Clouzot (1910; reprint, Paris: Le Poiré-sur-Vie, 1988), 79.

[25] SHAT, 1 A 3498, Doreil to Paulmy, Quebec, 30 July 1758.

[26] AN Colonie, C 11A vol. 103, unknown author, *Relation de la Victoire remportée à Carillon par les tropes du Roi le 8 Juillet 1758*, 1758.

reception that they told Vaudreuil that they "would never want to return to that place while [Montcalm] is the commander." Amerindians complained to him "of the real pain that we feel in the way M. de Montcalm received us at Carillon.... we were quite mortified not to have participated in the victory." They recounted how Montcalm "brusquely" received them when they arrived after the battle, and said, "'I do not have need of you, you have come only to see corpses.'" The next day, Montcalm refused them again, "banged the table and said ... 'go to the Devil if you are not happy!'" He then reportedly threw a discontented Amerindian out the door.[27] Vaudreuil responded to these reports anxiously; the Amerindians were far too important to the French war effort in Canada to risk their alliances with relatively petty disagreements or altercations. "I beg you, Sir," he wrote to Montcalm, "to have for these nations all the regards that they merit. It is the intention of the king; they have contributed for a long time to the honor of his army and to the defense of the colony."[28]

This reply holds a clue to why Montcalm and many of his officers found it so difficult to accept Amerindian allies. The fact that Amerindians had "contributed for a long time to the honor of the [King's] arms" impinged on the purpose of the French army—whose members believed that job to be their sacred duty, a task for which they had been born and for which they believed themselves to be uniquely capable. When Vaudreuil emphasized the Amerindian allies as being indispensable for the "defense of the colony," it must have riled French officers. Were they not the elite warriors who were born to fight, who had come across the Atlantic to save Canada and defend French territory from the English? Was it not their duty to shed blood for the glory of the king and France? Vaudreuil, either out of genuine appreciation or a desire to defend his alliances with the Amerindians, praised their zeal for the service of the king in his letters to the ministers of war and marine. One anonymous letter reported to the minister of war that the "*Sauvages* performed marvels" in a raid against the English.[29] Vaudreuil praised the loyalty of the Amerindians to the minister of the marine, recounting how the Illinois nation sent him "two young warriors ... [who] assured me on behalf of their chiefs and their entire nation ... that they were entirely declared for the French." They had

---

[27] AN Colonie, C 11A vol. 103, Nipissignes, algonkins, abenakis, et Mississagués, 30 July 1758.

[28] SHAT, 1 A 3498, Vaudreuil, *Copie de la lettre de Mr. le Marquis de Vaudreuil au Marquis de Montcalm*, 1 August 1758.

[29] SHAT, 1 A 3498, author unknown, *Nouvelles de Carillon*, 2 June 1758.

"resolved to never leave the French and to die with them."[30] Vaudreuil took pleasure in presenting medals to the Amerindians to honor chiefs who had expressed support for the French or whose warriors had behaved courageously in battle, accompanied by commissions very much like those read to French officers. Prominence of Amerindians in French ceremonies must have undermined French officers' attempts to gain prestige for *their* services.[31]

Allying with Amerindians presented the French Army with a new military challenge. In the past it had fought alongside troops of lower status from its own country, such as the *troupes de la marine*, who were considered a secondary force, or the *milice*, which consisted of untrained temporary fillers. Alliances with other countries in Europe usually involved separate battles on separate fronts. In North America, however, French officers had to adapt to fighting with allies who were elite warriors in their own right but who practiced a different kind of fighting. Moreover, these allies would not humble themselves before French authority, even when they fought in conjunction with French troops. Vaudreuil praised the Amerindians to his superiors as the indispensable force, perhaps more integral to French victory than the French army itself. As French officers had been eager for wars specifically so that they could exhibit their courage and military prowess, and they resented being upstaged by these *Sauvages*.

French feelings of jealousy towards Amerindians would explain the universal elation the French officers expressed over their victory at Carillon. Montcalm and Doreil took great pleasure in describing the French valor in battle and trumpeted their victory, but the absence of Amerindian fighters seemed to count as the greatest achievement of all. As Montcalm crowed to Vaudreuil, "the [French] army, who had only 2,900 combatants of our troops and 400 Canadians or soldiers of the colony, resisted all of the attacks with a heroic courage." Throughout the battle, "the officers here did incredible things," and likewise "encouraged the soldiers…. What a day for France … here is a great action, and perhaps the first that there's been in Canada without *Sauvages*!"[32] Doreil gleefully wrote to the minister of the marine to that "Messieurs the commandants of the corps and officers made particularly brilliant examples of valor, and nothing was

[30] AN Colonies, C 11A vol. 101, Vaudreuil [to unidentified], at Montreal, August 4, 1756.
[31] Havard and Vidal, *Historie de l'Amérique Française*, 184; Balvay, *L'Épée et la Plume*, 250.
[32] SHAT, 1A 3498, Montcalm to Vaudreuil, Carillon, 9 July 1758.

comparable to the courage of . . . the soldiers." However, more than French valor, "what excites the most admiration and public joy is that no *Sauvage* contributed to this great event, something that has not ever happened in this country; there wasn't even one!" This lack of Amerindians, and the ability of the French troops to overcome the difficult conditions in Canada entirely on their own, made "the glory of the general and the French troops ... the most grand."[33]

Up to this point, all the of the French victories, even those orchestrated by General Montcalm, such as the siege of Fort William Henry and the victory at Fort Chouagen (Oswego), had included bands of Amerindians. With the battle of Carillon, though, the French army did not have to share any of the credit for the victory with the Amerindian allies, who had up to this point prevented the French officers from gaining the glory and prestige they needed to maintain their social and political rank and family reputation. As Montcalm wrote to Marc Pierre de Voyer de Paulmy, comte d'Argenson, the secretary of war, "You will learn with pleasure that without *Sauvages*, with only our battalions, not having but 400 Canadians, I came and saved the colony, having withstood a combat as lively and tenacious that lasted from one in the afternoon until dusk against an army of at least 20,000 men."[34]

French emphasis on their role in the war lost them many of their allies. Vaudreuil bemoaned the poor diplomacy of engaging the English in combat without the Amerindian allies, who were "quite mortified" to have missed "the brilliant victory of M. the Ms. de Montcalm" that would have won trophies, prisoners, and glory for their nations.[35] Vaudeuil complained to the minister of the marine that, "M. the Marquis de Montcalm was so transported with joy, that he forgot the moderation with which he should hold himself," and "exalted his victory in such intemperate terms" that there was no hiding his disdain for minister of marine's "recommendation in favor of our *Sauvages*." Vaudreuil included Amerindian reports of "the most angering things [that] happened to them."[36] Shortly before the battle of Quebec, which would seal the fate of Canada, Vaudreuil sent an alarming message to the minister of the marine that the English had raised a great deal of Amerindian support to help them "reestablish peace"

---

33 AN Colonie, C 11A vol. 103, Doreil at Quebec, 28 July 1758.

34 SHAT, 1 A 3498, Montcalm to Paulmy, Carillon, 20 July 1758.

35 SHAT, 1 A 3499, Vaudreuil to Cte de Noailles, Montréal, 6 August 1758.

36 AN Colonie, C 11A vol. 103, Vaudreuil to the Ministre de la marine, Montreal, 4 August 1758.

in the Ohio Valley.[37] French insistence on being the only army worthy to fight for France resulted in the loss of some of their most important allies, and with them, the colony.

Competing Hierarchies

French officers considered the Canadian militia a more acceptable fighting force, but their fluid hierarchical system challenged established French practices. Since the earliest days of New France, settlers had taken charge of their own defense. They received periodic help from the *troupes de la marine*, but only when European conflicts spilled into the colonies, and they had never seen the French army until 1755.[38] All men between the ages of sixteen and sixty served in the Canadian militia. They were "very adept in the war of the woods" and understood how to navigate the terrain and use it to their advantage. French accounts disapprovingly noted, however, that the "immense, uninhabited land" encouraged Canadians' sense of individuality and autonomy in military matters, as they relied more on individual initiative than a structured chain of command. This type of army organization clashed sharply with that of the French, who viewed "the militia" as something that contained "neither order nor subordination."[39] Montreuil judged the Canadians as "appropriate for *petite guerre*, very brave behind a tree, and very timid when he is discovered."[40] Early Canadian victories, however, spoke to their effectiveness. One of the first reports received by the minister of war included news that "200 *Sauvages* and some Canadians entirely destroyed a detachment of 164 English" near Fort Carillon.[41] M. Bellêtre witnessed the success of all three forces at another British fort, which by their musket fire and war-cries, "frightened the English to the point that [they] opened the doors [of their fort] and begged for their lives."[42]

---

37 AN Colonie, C 11A, vol. 104, Vaudreuil to the Ministre de la marine, 13 February 1759 ; also see AN Colonie, C11A, vol. 104, Montcalm to Maréchal de Belleisle, 12 April 1759.

38 Catherine Desbarats and Allan Greer, "The Seven Years' War in Canadian History and Memory," in *Cultures and Conflict: The Seven Years' War in North America*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 162.

39 AN Colonies, C 11A, vol. 103, *Inconvénients dans les conditions du ces milices qui empêchent leur utilité. Moyens et d'en tirer parti la campagne prochaine*, 1758.

40 SHAT, 1 A 3417, Montreuil, Montreal, 12 June 1756.

41 SHAT, 1 A 3498, Montreuil to the Minister of war, Montreal, 20 April 1755.

42 SHAT, 1 A 3457, unknown author, Précis de la Campagne de M. de Bellêtre, 28 November 1757.

As with their Amerindian allies, French officers seemed reluctant to work with Canadian forces. The Canadians' approach to warfare as a citizen militia, where each man had a certain amount of autonomy and that prized individual initiative in combat, affronted French methods. French soldiers, never given to the harsh discipline characteristic in European warfare, preferred the company of their Canadian militiamen to their officers. Soldiers got along so well with their fellow fighters that Montcalm considered them "like brothers with the Canadian and the *Sauvage*."[43] French officers had been largely inconsistent with enforcing discipline for the past century, but their control disintegrated in Canada. "Scattered in the homes of the inhabitants," where he "lived in a state of independence far from the view of the officer or sergeant," the soldier was nearly impossible to drill or train.[44]

All three fighting forces in Canada suffered from "a general misunderstanding on how to share the authority" that hampered all efforts of working together, and contributed to a sense of competition between the French officers and Canadians.[45] Montcalm seemed eager to prove to the minister of war that French troops could fight just as effectively in the New World as the Old, despite adverse conditions that they had never encountered. After the army's first exhausting six-week march through Canada with the militiamen and *troupes de la marine*, Montcalm sent boastful reports to France about the army's success. "These Canadians were surprised to see that our officers and soldiers did not cede anything in the genre of marching in which they are little accustomed. It is necessary, in effect, to agree that one has no idea in Europe of the exhaustion where one is obligated for six weeks to march and sleep half the time in the snow and on the ice, to be reduced to bread and lard, and often to drag or bring supplies for fifteen days." But the French soldiers and officers "did not cede to them a thing." Rather, he alleged, "we bore it with much gaiety and without the slightest complaint."[46] It is unlikely that French soldiers, tough though they might have been, would weather such a march so easily, but French officers could not send back reports of being bested by local militiamen.

---

43 SHAT, 1 A 3457, Montcalm to the Minister of war, Quebec, 18 September 1757.

44 SHAT, 1 A 3499, Montcalm, Carillon, 21 October 1758.

45 AN Colonies, C 11A vol. 104, 1759, *extrait d'un Journal tenu à l'armée que commandait feu Mr. de Montcalm lieutenant Gnl.*

46 SHAT, 1 A 3417, Montcalm, at Montreal, 24 April 1757.

Montcalm was not shy about expressing his distain of Canadian fighters. He scorned their lack of discipline (though it was something that he apparently tolerated in his own troops), and with what he called their "boasting."[47] Vaudreuil's brother, Rigaud, reported that Montcalm treated Canadian militiamen as inconveniences. While leading a band of the Canadian militia, Rigaud found himself "obliged to plead the case of the Canadian who had emptied his horn of powder during the action," and wanted to refill it. For Rigaud, "it was some trouble to obtain this consideration from M. de Montcalm."[48] Vaudreuil agreed with his brother about the marquis's impatience, adding that the Canadians have "suffered much from the intensity and the anger of M. de Montcalm."[49]

Disagreements over the tactical approach and method of fighting soured relations throughout the war, as Montcalm insisted that the Canadians conduct themselves like European troops. A disciplined European soldier—who held the line, advanced on the enemy, fired in unison with his fellow troops, then withstood enemy fire—took two years to train, and the Canadians had not received any such preparation. Vaudreuil faulted Montcalm with misusing the Canadians, "whom everyone knows is in no way appropriate for fighting in battle lines" at the siege of Quebec. Montcalm's insistence on maintaining European methods in Canada, when it was generally known that the kind of war one "pursues in Canada is not the kind that one pursues in Europe," indicates that tactics were not the greatest points of contention.[50]

European armies, especially the French army, were familiar with the "North American" type of warfare that included fighting *petite guerre* in small groups, conducting raids, ambushes, and fighting in difficult, mountainous terrain. Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the French troops had used partisan tactics against the Dutch, on the German Palatinate, in the War of the Austrian Succession, and in exterminating French Protestants.[51] While the French army had proven in the past that it could execute partisan tactics effectively, it was important to Montcalm to maintain a linear approach to fighting. The crux of the

---

47 SHAT, 1 A 347, Montcalm, at Montreal, 24 April 1757.

48 AN Colonies, Fonds ministériels f/3/14, Vaudreuil, Montreal, *Nouvelle relation relate de tout ce qu'il est passé avant, pendant et après le siège de Chouegaen*, September 1756.

49 AN Colonies, C 11A, vol. 103 Vaudreuil au ministre, 1758.

50 AN Colonies, C 11A vol. 104, *extrait d'un Journal tenu à l'armée que commandait feu Mr. de Montcalm lieutenant Gnl.*, 1759.

51 Roy L. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion, and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

disagreements between the officers, therefore, points not to tensions over tactics, but a struggle over hierarchy. To fight the war as Vaudreuil had recommended, focusing most of their energies on raiding the long frontier that stretched from the great lakes down towards Louisiana, would necessitate a further breakdown in discipline and the subdivision of French troops into smaller units. Even if the French army stayed whole and allowed the Canadian militia to conduct most of the fighting, French forces would see little action.

Montcalm betrayed his prejudice for structure and hierarchy when he complained of disorderliness among the Canadian personnel, which had forced him to take on a commanding role. "The officers, the interpreters, and the missionaries," he said, "have in general the spirit of republicans, and I have the misfortune that the *Sauvages* seem to have confidence only in me!"[52] Montcalm regarded the Canadian's "republican" methods to be more egalitarian, less ordered, and therefore less reliant on the strict hierarchy essential to the regular French army. Montcalm came from a military culture that emphasized military rank and associated one's place in the army with one's place in society—a "republican" force like the one in Canada affronted his sense of hierarchy and his place in an aristocratic fighting force. The marquis was not just defending Canada with his army and his arms; he was also defending the hierarchical system that defined him.

Of Zeal and Defeat

Montcalm and Vaudreuil—and their respective subordinates—butted heads most strongly over their very motives behind the war. Vaudreuil saw the preservation of Canada and its people as central, whereas Montcalm had to balance that goal with the need for French officers to demonstrate their zeal and obtain medals, rank, and pensions. By European standards, maintaining French honor did not require Montcalm to win the North American war but that he put up a staunch defense.

Members of the Canadian militia, fighting for hearth and home, called on their strong feelings of patriotism to propel them into the fray against their English foe. The idea of patriotism was not new to France—it had been praised as a worthy virtue in ancient Greece and Rome and considered partly responsible for their military successes—but before the Seven

[52] AN Colonies, C 11A, vol. 102, Vaudrueil, letters to the king, Montreal, 18 August 1757.

Years' War it had limited relevance in contemporary Europe. Military success, in particular, relied more on the discipline of the troops than their sentiments regarding the cause of the war. In Canada, however, Vaudreuil used patriotism to rally his men, especially in his desperate attempt to retake Quebec city after it fell to the English. As Vaudreuil explained to the minister of war in France, his desire to retake Quebec came from "the sad state of the Canadians, their sentiments of zeal for the service of the king and their attachment to the *patrie*" or homeland. To take the fort, Vaudrueil called on his "brave Canadians," to "risk all for the conservation of your religion and to save your *patrie*."[53] For Vaudreuil and the residents of New France, preservation of their land, religion, and lifestyle were paramount in their fight against the English. Especially because of the religious difference between Catholic Canada and the Protestant English colonies, Canadians fought for their very existence. Vaudreuil's militiamen apparently rallied at this call, as "it penetrated all hearts as each one of us said loudly that we would [continue to fight] under the ruins of Canada, our natal country, sooner than surrender to the English."[54] This last patriotic push did not succeed in retaking Quebec or saving Canada, and Vaudreuil pointed the accusatory finger at Montcalm and his recognition-centered motivations for the overall French failure in North America.

By Vaudreuil's account, Montcalm simply used the war in Canada as a means to further his career and those of his officers. Shortly after the victory over General Abercromby, Vaudreuil wrote bitterly of the information that Montcalm had failed to report. "I will not relate to you all the exact details of the brilliant victory that we have just had," as "Monsieur the Marquis de Montcalm has the honor of telling you very detailed accounts [of how] all the officers distinguished themselves as well as the troops in general." Vaudreuil humbly asked that they would allow him "to add [that] … the *troupes de la marine*, the Canadians and the small number of *Sauvages* that he had with him exhibited the same ardor and the same zeal as the *troupes de terre*."[55]

Through his letters, Vaudreuil competed with Montcalm for recognition on behalf of his men. Many Canadian officers, as well as the French, wished to demonstrate zeal in the course of battle. Vaudreuil would send the minister "the best accounts of the officers of the militia of the colony" who "distinguished themselves particularly… by their zeal … and their

53 SHAT, 1A3574, Vaudreuil, Montréal, 1 April 1760.
54 AN Colonies, C 11A, fonds ministerials f/3/15, Vaudreuil, Quebec, 28 May 1759.
55 SHAT, 1 A 3499, Vaudreuil to Bellisle, Montreal, 3 August 1758.

merits." He hoped that his accounts would allow these troops to "have some part in the distribution of the favors of the king" which had been made available to Montcalm to distribute to worthy members of the *troupes de terre*. The two commissions that Vaudreuil had already awarded "had contributed much to making their zeal untiring."[56] By recognizing "the zeal" they have exhibited in the midst of the "trouble [that] this war has caused" the king's favors would spur the Canadians to fight harder.[57] Vaudrueil, in response to some of the less complimentary reports that Montcalm had sent to the ministers of war and marine about the *troupes de la marine*, also made sure that this body of troops received due credit for its efforts in North America. He wrote that he had "no stronger ambition than to … inform you of their constant service," with hopes that they would receive what "is due to them."[58] Because the king seemed to reward the zeal of the *troupes de terre* with commissions and awards, Vaudreuil did not want the efforts of the Canadians and *troupes de la marine* to go unnoticed.

In addition to tensions over awarding credit and commissions to the French or Canadian fighters, Vaudreuil complained of Montcalm's resistance to follow his orders—a legitimate gripe as Vaudreuil outranked Montcalm and had been given charge of the entire North American war effort until Montcalm received a promotion later in the war. When Vaudrueil ordered the marquis to execute certain plans for the defense of the colony, for example, Montcalm, though he had "enough zeal … for the service of the king and the defense of this colony," apparently found the "obstacles that he envisioned" sufficient to call off the attack. Vaudreuil countered that Montcalm's concerns only stemmed from the fact that he did not know the colony thoroughly enough, and assured Montcalm that he would "attribute to him all the glory," of the completed attack.[59] Vaudreuil contrasted his "true and more solid interest in the colony" with Montcalm's admission that "the *troupes de terre* want only to conserve their reputation and would desire to return to France without having suffered a single difficulty." In short, Vaudreuil lamented, "they think more seriously of their particular interests than of saving the colony." Vaudreuil did not seem displeased with the *troupes de terre* themselves, whom he

56 AN Colonies, C 11A, vol. 102, Vaudreuil, 29 October 1757.
57 Ibid.
58 AN Colonies, C 11A, vol. 102, Vaudreuil to the minister of war, 18 August 1757.
59 AN Colonies, fonds ministerials f/3/14, Vaudreuil, Montreal, 13 August 1756.

could not "praise enough," but he contested the motives and the prerogatives of Montcalm and his officers.[60]

Such sentiments echoed in French letters about Vaudreuil to the minister of war. André Doreil, a French general and firm supporter of Montcalm, argued that Vaudreuil was "jealous without a doubt of the glory that M. Montcalm had acquired." The ministers of war should therefore ignore any ill reports of Montcalm that he received from Vaudreuil since "all [the] disagreements … M. the Ms. de Montcalm was exposed to since the first moment of his arrival" stemmed from this jealousy.[61]

While the rivalry between the two and their evident dislike of each other is important to consider in these damning accounts of Montcalm that Vaudreuil supplied, Montcalm's letters and those of his officers do reveal a preoccupation with promotions, commissions, and military decorations. As Montreuil confirmed the officers' "zeal and exactitude," he added that "M. the marquis de Montcalm has the honor of asking you for a pension for me. I dare to flatter myself, sir, that you would … honor me with a rank of Brigadier," adding, "I will make the greatest efforts to merit it."[62] Montreuil's request seems to put the proverbial cart before the horse, or in this case the rank before the evidence that he merits it. Montcalm then ordered "some favors that I might … have the honor of telling [my officers] in a distinguished manner that they serve the king."[63] He further worked to assure that his officers received medals for their service. When medals and favors did not arrive, Montcalm was quick to alert the minister of war. "I would make you observe that … we have not yet received the Croix de St. Louis or the orders for pensions and gratifications that have been accorded in the month of March, 1757, [and] that I have not received the cordon rouge that the king was going to honor me with." He seemed perturbed in his observations that "M. the Ms. de Vaudreuil has made the same demand for the troops of the colony. He received the crosses and the cordon rouge; for us, we have received nothing."[64]

Montcalm and his fellow officers' preoccupation with medals, rank, pensions, and other favors of the king characterized a larger culture of reward that existed within the French army among the officer corps. Louis

60 SHAT, 1 A 3499, Vaudreuil to the Comte de Noailles, 6 August 1758.
61 SHAT, 1 A 3498, André Doreil to the minister of war, Quebec, 28 July 1758.
62 SHAT, 1 A 3457, Montreuil to the minister of war, Quebec, 28 October 1757.
63 SHAT, 1 A 3499, Montcalm, Carillon, 21 October 1758.
64 SHAT, 1 A 3498, Montcalm, Carillon, 19 July 1758.

XIV and XV had long bestowed ranks and commissions as a sign of royal favor, and by the Seven Years' War, the bureaucratization of the French army had made these rewards seem almost expected compensation for brave actions, wounds, or honorable retreats. In the correspondence between troops of the *armée de terre* both in Canada and in Europe and the minister of war, many officers seem much more concerned with their personal gain from the war than the actual outcome of it.[65]

Concerning rank and pensions, officers often competed with one another, which disrupted their professional relationship. Montreuil, for example, expressed extreme displeasure at not being promoted when another officer less senior than him advanced in rank. "I am pained," he said, "to have not yet received that last promotion for the rank of brigadier that I had hoped to have merited by the services that I rendered during the affair of July 8, at Carillon." That rank had instead been given to "Bourlamaque with a pension of 100 *pistoles* after the siege of Chouagan. This officer, less senior than I, [and] having been wounded at the beginning of the action of July 8," had not been able to "contribute as much as I was able to do at that victory." Montreuil had, in fact, contributed so much that "M. le Ms. de Montcalm … had the goodness to give you advantageous evidence of my courage and my activity and to incessantly applaud this affair, the cool sense that I observed during all the times in action, before all the officers of the army who were witness." To these reasons for the promotion, Montreuil added that, "I was not less distinguished at the affair of the 2 of April in front of Quebec…. I dare to flatter myself, sir, that knowing my zeal for the service of the King, you would well have the goodness to … ask for me from his majesty the rank of brigadier that I will merit even more by my devotion to his service."[66] While Montreuil had certainly provided ample examples of his bravery in battle, the fact that Bourlamaque had been wounded sufficed for him to receive promotion. Similarly, when M. Basserade did not receive a medal that Montcalm had recommended him for, Montcalm reasoned that "his actions and his [recent] wound would procure it for him the next year."[67]

Montcalm recommended another wounded officer, the Sieur de Claireville, for a coveted retirement position. "The Sieur de Claireville," he

---

[65] For a discussion of this phenomenon in Europe, see Jay M. Smith, *Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 209–13.

[66] SHAT, 1 A 3574, Montreuil, Montreal, 19 July 1760.

[67] SHAT, 1 A 3457, Montcalm to the minister of war, Montreal, 24 April 1757.

proclaimed, "lost an arm in glorious fashion in a combat on the sea." Since this man "would not know how to serve in this colony with an arm and a half," Montcalm requested that they provide him a pleasant retirement at the Invalides.[68] The importance of wounds or near-death experiences is further evident at the end of the war, when members of the *troupes de la marine* prepared to reenter service in France and needed pensions, commissions, and promotions. They continually cited injuries, having horses shot from under them, and dangerous interactions as proof of their "zeal for the king." They rarely mentioned completed missions, victories, or actual contributions to the war effort. These were perhaps in short supply during the French war in Canada, but they also appeared to be less important than bodily sacrifice.[69]

This emphasis on wounds and the inter-officer competition for rank and awards calls the priorities of the French army and the French state into question. Did the French army ever expect to win, or was the war in Canada a vehicle for something else? W.J. Eccles describes Montcalm and the entire French state as "defeatist," when it came to defending their North American territories.[70] While some historians may find Eccles' perspective on the indifferent French attitude towards Quebec a little extreme, many of Montcalm's letters do contain rather pessimistic sentiments about his situation in Canada.[71] "It is difficult for a well-intentioned general," he bemoaned, "to find himself 1500 leagues away [from France], to serving outside and under a department and to have always to fear the necessity to justify it." Montcalm's fear of having to "justify" his service in Canada points to its relative insignificance in the war. While such an undesirable commission would "never diminish" his "zeal nor [his] constant attention to maintaining the union between the diverse troops," his "health, the work, the worry, and chagrin," of working in Canada placed him in a "sad situation."[72] Montcalm assured the minister of war that all of his difficulties in Canada and his lack of enthusiasm for fighting there

---

[68] SHAT, 1 A 3498, Montcalm to the minister of war, Montreal, 18 April 1758.

[69] See AN Colonies, Fonds Ministériels E 344/bis, Rainebault de Saint Blin Cadet au Canada 1745–48; E362 bis, Sait Laurent (Jean Baptiste de) ancien lieutenant au Canada (1713–1779); E363, Capitaine de St. Ours, Fonds Ministériels e//10 ; Fonds Ministériels 3/73, Charest (Etienne), Anneis capitaine d'une compagnie de milice bourgeois à Quebec 1747–1776 ; Fonds ministériels Colonies E242, La Chevrotière (François de) Enseigne des troupes du Canada 1762–1763.

[70] Eccles, *The French in North America*, 218–20.

[71] Desbarats and Greer, "The Seven Years' War in Canadian History and Memory," 158.

[72] SHAT, 1 A 3499, Montcalm to the minister of war, Carillon, 1 August 1758.

would never diminish his zeal for the service of the king. In a moving statement, Montcalm vowed that "I will willingly spill the last drop of my blood and would give the last breath of my life for his service."[73] These sentiments are noble, indeed, but they express Montcalm's dedication to the service of the king, not saving Canada. Other officers asserted strongly to the Minister of War in 1758 that "Canada is lost if peace is not made this winter … one must count that [Canada] will succumb infallibly the next year."[74] It appeared that for Montcalm, and for many of his officers, that service to the king did not equate to saving Canada. The French army, as *the* singular defender of France, needed to fight the war on its own terms, even if it meant sacrificing the colony. That might have been a sacrifice, however, that the French army and the French state were willing to make.

When the Seven Years' War began in earnest, France had to juggle three theaters of war: in North America, India, and most importantly, on the continent. The colony in Canada, which Voltaire famously described as merely "some acres of snow," might not have received the full strength of the French army because it was less important to maintain than the borders of France threatened by the Prussians. From the beginning, France had sent only 3,000 troops to Canada, and Montcalm had never won a single battle during his previous service in Europe.[75] When the French army sent reinforcements in 1757, they were low-level, untrained, conscripted recruits who could offer little support, especially when paired against the large number of well-trained troops that the British army had provided to General Wolfe for the assault on Quebec.[76] If the colony in Canada was truly important to the French state, it did little to show it. Even the Chevalier de Lévis hoped that "the king will be satisfied with all the efforts that were made for the conservation of New France," especially since, when in desperate need for more supplies, weapons, ammunition, and troops, only "one single frigate arrived."[77]

France already operated in a European culture of war that required armies inevitably facing defeat to fight for a time, rather than instantly

---

[73] AN Colonies, C11A, vol. 103, Montcalm, Carillon, 3 August 1758.

[74] SHAT, 1 A 3499, Doreil, 31 August 1758; SHAT, 1 A 3499, Lafuineron, 26 October 1758.

[75] Jean Berenger, Ph. Roy, 'Relations des Troupes Réglées (Troupes de Terre et Troupes de Marine) avec les Canadiens' in *Conflits de sociétés au Canada français pendant la guerre de Sept ans et leur influence sur les opérations*, ed. Jean Delmas (Vincennes: S.H.A.T., 1978), 25; Havard and Vidal, *Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, 430.

[76] SHAT, 1 A 3498, unknown author, *Copie d'une lettre écrite à Monsieur de Mores de Quebec*, 19 February 1758.

[77] SHAT, 1 A 3574, Levis, 30 June 1760.

surrender. Especially during the age of Vauban, the great fortress engineer for Louis XIV, it was understood that a besieged fortress would most likely fall to its attackers. If the fortress held out and honorably defended itself for a time, then the attackers would allow the fortress to surrender peacefully and its defenders would maintain their honor, military colors, and soldiers. These standards held in North America, as the siege of Fort William Henry proceeded in exactly this manner. Perhaps Canada was a relatively low priority for the French state, but in order to maintain its honor, the French army would have to honorably defend it. This attitude would explain why Montcalm refused to renege on any established European methods for conducting warfare, and why he clashed with Vaudreuil's more urgent approach. As Christian Crouch has argued, the primary priority of the French army in America in the Seven Years' war was to maintain its honor, even at the loss of the colony.[78]

The priorities of the French army in Canada can perhaps be best expressed by an article that appeared in the *Gazette de Leyde*, a French language journal. During the entirety of the Seven Years' War, the paper had often printed the latest news on the war in Europe, including thorough descriptions of battles, troop movements, surrenders, and treaties. Its coverage of Canada, however, was restricted to one lengthy article that appeared at the end of every year to provide a general update on the state of the colony. When the French army lost the battle of Quebec and the entire French empire in North America, the newspaper reported that, "We await more detailed news of the different actions in Canada during this last campaign. One knows that the officers and the troops of all the corps who were employed there gave the greatest proof of zeal and of courage."[79] So long as this last point was true, one wonders if the rest of those details really mattered.

The Seven Years' War marked a turning point in the history of the French military primarily because it proved to be a disastrous loss, sparking a reform effort in which officers struggled to redefine their position in society, and interested civilian writers joined them in rethinking the role of the army. Historians usually highlight this war because of the shockwaves that this humiliating defeat sent through French society, but the period of fighting that precipitated these changes is important to study as well, especially in North America, where the French army's

78 Crouch, "Imperfect Reflections," 5.
79 *Gazette de Leyde*, December 7, 1759.

culture and priorities sharply contrasted with those of the Canadians and their Amerindian allies.[80] Because the French army had to fight in conjunction with allies who excelled at warfare, officers writing to France had to delineate which group would get credit for what action. There were many reasons for the French defeat in North America, but the most significant, in light of the reforms that followed, was that this theater primarily served as a stage for French officers to showcase their individual merits necessary for maintaining their honor. Intermingling with the Canadian and Amerindian forces also challenged French notions of discipline and hierarchy.

While British forces in North America may have experienced similar challenges—tensions with Amerindian allies and Anglo-American colonists—the military and societal crisis in France following this defeat indicate that French officers experienced more than surface difficulties. The place of warfare in French culture as the primary vehicle for noble officers to revive their honor ensured that war existed for the sake of the officers, not the officers serving for the sake of the state. Furthermore, the extreme bureaucracy controlling pensions, promotions, and decorations caused officers to emphasize their efforts, spilled blood, and participation in dangerous exploits, rather than the actual completion of their mission. These aspects of French military culture proved to be stumbling blocks in all theaters of the Seven Years' War. As French officers and civilian writers picked up the pieces of their army following the defeat, they would attempt to rectify these weaknesses, through military and societal reform. These efforts reintroduced patriotism and new definitions of merit to the practical operation of the French army, setting it on a course that would lead to revolution and eventually the great victories under Napoleon. For the French army, great victories had, at their roots, great defeats.

[80] Jay M. Smith, *Nobility Reimagined: The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 143–82.

CHAPTER NINE

BATTRE L'ESTRADE: MILITARY RECONNAISSANCE IN THE GERMAN THEATRE OF WAR

Ewa Anklam
Translated by Charlotte Masemann

"In no spot can one believe oneself safe; the deepest bottoms, the densest forests, the steepest heights, in short, where nature had placed the greatest obstacles in the way, this is usually the place where they choose to attack; nothing is impossible in the face of enthusiasm."[1] In this document, which appeared anonymously in 1794, Karl Friedrich von dem Knesebeck, later a reformer of the Prussian military, enthuses over the notable effectiveness of the methodical use of the landscape by soldiers of the revolutionary army. It seemed as though von Knesebeck and his contemporaries had only just discovered the "natural environment" in the "war of the mountains" that Napoleon Bonaparte was leading in Italy.[2]

Warriors in ancient China[3] more than 2000 years earlier, however, believed that knowledge of terrain was a trump card; it was also nothing new during the Age of the Enlightenment. Although the plains of Europe scarcely compared to the "wastes of Arabia and the steppes of Tartary,"[4] in the military theatre of the Holy Roman Empire "the standing armies"[5] did not remain sitting still between the woods and the hills. In recognition of

---

[1] [Karl Friedrich von dem Knesebeck], *Betrachtungen über den jetzigen Krieg und die Ursachen seiner falschen Beurtheilung. Ein Beytrag zur richtigen Kenntnis desselben. Von einem Schweizer bei der alliierten Armee am Oberrhein*, o. O. ([Berlin], 1794), 77.

[2] Christoph V. Albrecht, *Geopolitik und Geschichtsphilosophie 1748–1798* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), 194.

[3] Cf. the rules on waging war written by the Chinese philosopher and general: Sunzi, *Die Kunst des Krieges*, ed. James Clavell (Munich: Knaur, 2001). Sunzi's set of rules remained unknown in Europe until the French Revolution.

[4] Albrecht, *Geopolitik*, 225.

[5] In the coalition wars of the eighteenth century, regular armies were ranged on the march, in camp and on the battlefield according to the inflexible regulations of linear tactics. The strategy of maneuver was considered to be the ideal way to wage war; this meant a defensive strategy of avoiding battles. These two principles seriously limited the maneuverability of the armies. See Siegfried Fiedler, *Taktik und Strategie der Kabinettskriege 1650–1792* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2002), 201.

the limitations of linear tactics, the military leadership during the course of the Seven Years' War increasingly considered the introduction of light troops that could be flexibly deployed in the incipient so-called *Kleiner Krieg*[6] to be indispensable.[7]

The modern distinction between long-distance and short-distance reconnaissance, and between combat reconnaissance and aerial reconnaissance as well as reconnaissance by military intelligence services, to be clearly distinguished from the former fields of activity, did not apply at the time of the Seven Years' War. Short-distance and field intelligence[8] as well as the acquisition of intelligence from the enemy were undertaken by the scouts of the general quartermaster staff, which included for example engineer-geographers, as well as light troops.

The contemporary phrase *battre l'estrade* stems from the primary task of a military scout, namely to reconnoiter roads (Latin *strata*).[9] Reconnaissance had to be made of the most important elements of the landscape, such as the roads and bridges, rivers and fortresses in the area, and these findings had to be shared with superiors immediately. In the eighteenth century, recognizance also meant, however, "to 'scout out' the enemy, i.e. 'prendre langue de l'ennemi', to go out to reconnoiter the condition of the enemy or of a place which one is considering attacking," to collect information.[10] This information was not merely important to military leaders for the planning of individual attacks and operations, but was also at least as indispensable for provisioning the army.

---

[6] On the concept of *Kleiner Krieg* (Fr. *la petite guerre*), see Max Jähns, *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften vornehmlich in Deutschland,* 3 vols. (1891; reprint; Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1965), vol. 3, *Das 18. Jahrhundert seit dem Auftreten Friedrichs des Großen 1740–1800*, 2710 f.

[7] This essay is mainly based on the discussion of short-distance reconnaissance found in my dissertation. See Ewa Anklam, *Wissen nach Augenmaß. Militärische Beobachtung und Berichterstattung im Siebenjährigen Krieg* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2007).

[8] The concept of *Feindaufklärung* in the sense of "reconnaissance of the tactical state of the enemy" appears first in sources from the second half of the nineteenth century. In this piece I use the expression "military reconnaissance."

[9] Xaver von Sachsen to Marshal de Broglie, Lohr, 29.05.1760, no. 191, in: *Correspondance inédite de Victor-François Duc de Broglie, Maréchal de France avec le Prince Xavier de Saxe, Comte de Lusace, Lieutenant Général pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans* (*Campagnes de 1759 à 1761*), eds. Victor-François de Broglie and Jules Vernier, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Michel, 1903), 1: 376 ff. Cf. Thomas Auguste le Roy de Grandmaison, *Der Kleine Krieg oder Abhandlung von dem Dienste der leichten Truppen im Feld* (…) (Kopenhagen: Rothe, 1762), 2.

[10] Johann Rudolf Fäsch, *Kriegs- Ingenieur- Artillerie und See-Lexicon: Worinnen alles, was einem Officier, Ingenieur, Artilleristen und Seefahrenden* (…) *zu wissen nöthig, sattsam erkläret, und mit dienlichen Kupffern erläutert ist* (Dresden, Leipzig: Hekel, 1735), 698 f.

Information about the enemy and its territory penetrated the military hierarchy from bottom to top, and was delivered by a very heterogeneous group of personnel. On the one hand, engineers and light troops drew on their own informants, which consisted of deserters, prisoners of war, and those who lived in the area, in the capacity of spies and messengers. On the other hand, they could themselves become informants of the enemy army, if they delivered information to the opposing side after having been captured. Engineer-geographers who ended up during their investigations in enemy hands and could potentially bring valuable information about the area with them.[11] The "foreigners" present in the midst of the light units often changed sides deliberately and became "guides", or rather spies, for the opposing side.[12] The mobility of the light units in the field strongly facilitated communication between both sides, as well as the exchange of information across enemy lines.

This brief overview provides the structural framework for the following essay. I will summarize the facts of the war and examine one example: the battle of Minden on 1 August 1759. Since I take military reconnaissance to be a cultural practice of acquiring, processing and implementing information referring to the enemy, the structures of reconnaissance services within the social system of the military are the focus of this examination. Particular attention is paid to the groups of persons, the routes (topography) and means (technology) by which information was transferred to the deployment and operational phases.[13]

The level of occurrence provides the point of departure for an analysis on the basis of cultural history, which underlies a structural comparison. Comparison will be made between the French *armée d'Allemagne* and the army mustered by England and Hanover under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick;[14] both were embroiled in a war that lasted six

---

[11] Louis Charles Dupain de Montesson, *Les amusemens militaires: ouvrage egalement agreable et instructifs, servant d'instruction aux sciences qui forment les Guerriers* (…) (Paris, 1757), 284 f. "On peut facilement prendre prisonniers les Ingenieurs qui vont reconnoître les environs & les ouvrages d'une Place investie."

[12] Grandmaison, *Der kleine Krieg*, 9, 34.

[13] Military reconnaissance also includes, among others, political espionage and influence of the media, which will not be examined here.

[14] Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1721–1792): Prussian general; dismissed from service after a disagreement with the King of Prussia in 1766; named Austrian Field Marshal by Empress Maria Theresa in November of the same year; took command of a Bohemian regiment. See Wilhelm Bornstedt, "Herzog Ferdinand von Brunswick (1721–1792)", *Heimatbote des Landkreises Braunschweig* (1970): 54–66.

years in the western Holy Roman Empire.[15] Practice in the opposing armies provides a good basis for comparison: the "German" side hardly differed from the French in terms of the number of observations and reports. There are also differences in emphasis on the language and the spying. This essay will focus on the social environment of military reconnaissance; investigation will be made of the background, which in each case influenced the modes of recognition and perception of those active in them.[16] This approach attempts a synthesis of traditional military history and more modern cultural history that will bring forth, to a certain extent, a new historical subject.

One of the most important characteristics of short-distance reconnaissance in the Seven Years' War was the frequency with which the scouts changed sides. Fluid transitions from one state to another (such as desertions, letting prisoners go "on their word of honor") that were in practice not punished or only lightly so; changes in superiors; spatial mobility; and above all the irregularity of light troops in the area of war were at the same time cause and effect of a permanent and actual observation of the enemy side. In any case it was an important function of scouts to find out who was on which side and who was acting as whose spy. However, fundamental for the military reconnaissance was rather to filter out, faster than the other side could, the most comprehensive possible and probably legitimate information from the multiplicity of inaccurate or contradictory reports in the "fog of war", and to share them with the military command. For this reason, military reconnaissance in the armies of the Seven Years' War did not have much in common with the production of a concept of the enemy. The reconnaissance of the roads served to discover the means of communication and the actually existing roads for transport of foodstuffs.

---

[15] In the Seven Years' War the French army fought against the "Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Armee" mustered by England, in personal union with Hanover. It supported the Prussian-English alliance with subsidies and was augmented by contingents of some of the principalities of the Empire, including Hesse-Kassel and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. The Prussian armed forces, which were involved against the Habsburgs and their allies in the "third Silesian war" in Saxony and Bohemia, seldom met the French army on the field of battle, and for this reason the Prussian perspective is omitted here.

[16] For the cultural history approach see Ute Daniel, *Kompendium Kulturgeschichte: Theorie, Praxis, Schlüsselwörter* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001), 19.

The Theatre of War in the Western Empire

The main French army, 75 000 men strong, crossed the Rhine in the spring of 1757 and occupied the Prussian provinces on the lower Rhine opening up the united Palatinate lands of Jülich and Berg, as well as the ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Cologne, Mainz and Trier to them. Against this army, drawn from many regions of Europe, a force made up of troops of equally disparate origins, namely the English-Hanoverian army, was gathered in Westphalia near Hastenbeck on 26 June 1757. Its actual strength was about 47 000 men, of whom 27 000 were Hanoverian and 19 600 German allies drawn from Hesse-Kassel, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Sachsen-Gotha and Schaumburg-Lippe.[17] In the autumn of 1757 an auxiliary force of 36 000 men under the command of the Prince de Soubise entered the war, who was defeated on the part of the Imperial Army on 5 November 1757 at Rossbach by the King of Prussia. In return for English financial help on the basis of subsidy agreements between England and Prussia, Frederick II named his general and brother-in-law, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneburg, as the new commander-in-chief of the "English" army. This army, to begin with, bore the name "observational army" in order to stress its defensive involvement and observer status. After Ferdinand of Brunswick took over supreme command the term "Allied Army" became customary.[18]

The action shifted several times in the following years of war: in 1759 to Westphalia, in 1760 to Hesse. Since the southern part of the principality of Hanover along with the city of Göttingen was almost continuously held by French troops, there was always a permanent danger of enemy attacks on Hanover. From 1761 on the war bogged down, and plundering and foraging expeditions, as well as forcible reconnaissance sorties on the part of light troops predominated. After engagements ceased following the preliminary peace in November 1762, peace treaties were finally signed in Hubertusburg and Paris in January and February 1763.

---

[17] The numbers on both sides rose until the end of the war. See Uriel Dann, *Hannover und England 1740–1760. Diplomatie und Selbsterhaltung* (Hildesheim: A. Lax, 1986), 131 ff; Fiedler, *Taktik und Strategie*, 49 ff, 166 f.

[18] Cf. Carl Renouard, *Geschichte des Krieges in Hannover, Hessen und Westphalen von 1757 bis 1763: nach bisher unbenutzten handschriftlichen Originalien und andern Quellen politisch-militairisch bearbeitet*, 3 vols. (Kassel: Fischer, 1995), 1: 146; Dann, *Hannover und England*, 140.

Minden

One of the strategically most important events in the theatre of war in northwestern Germany was the victory of the Allied Army at Minden on 1 August 1759. Its reception in Germany cannot be compared with the long-lasting publicity triumph afforded to the Battle of Rossbach (5 November 1757), although this, as a huge disgrace for the French military leadership, had important political consequences as a significant confrontation between the colonial powers France and England.[19]

Immediately before the battle the French army, led by the Marquis de Contades, and the army of Prince Ferdinand, together numbering 90 000 men, stood opposing each other on the flat heath in front of the Prussian stronghold of Minden. Contades, with reason, thought his army secure in his impregnable position in the triangle formed by the river Weser, the Wiehengebirge and the Grosses Torfmoor. In front of him lay the open plain, which was a standard assignment for the strong French cavalry. During the night of 1 August the weather played into the hands of the scouts: a storm absorbed all audible sounds, fog lasted until the grey light of dawn and made seeing difficult for friend and foe alike. At three o'clock, the French deserters from the Picardy regiment took care to let Ferdinand know in good time that the enemy army was on the march and that the attack was approaching.[20]

Johann Wilhelm von Reden[21] chronicles the movements of the armies in his diary in the days before the battle. He turned his attention to the reconnaissance of the enemy and terrain: on 17 July enemy troops were seen approaching the wood between *Todtenhausen* and *Kütenhausen* at around four o'clock in the morning. As far as one could tell, this force was made up of about 300 men. During the advance, it is reported that the "enemy detachment which we had discovered earlier was nothing more

---

[19] Hans Nordsiek, "Immer auf der Siegerseite. Die Schlacht bei Minden 1759 – Realität und Interpretation". *Mitteilungen des Mindener Geschichtsvereins* 71 (1999): 139–186, 145. For an account of the battle and numerous references to primary sources, see Christian Heinrich Philipp Edler von Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Urkundliche Nachträge zu dem nachgelassenen Manuskript, zusammengestellt aus Materialien seinen Nachlasses und des Kriegsarchivs des Herzogs Ferdinand*, 6 vols. (1859; reprint, Starnberg: LTR Verlag, 1985), 3: 347 ff.

[20] For further details of the battle see Friedrich C. Bath, "Die Schlacht bei Minden 1759 in der Sicht englischer Kampfteilnehmer," *Mitteilungen des Mindener Geschichtsvereins* 48 (1976): 104–14.

[21] Johann Wilhelm von Reden (1717–1801): 1758 colonel, 1759 major-general, 1762 lieutenant-general, the first adjutant-general of Duke Ferdinand.

than the escort of an enemy general on reconnaissance." On the 22nd "we did not see the slightest movement from the enemy side and the number of deserters who ran to us from there was unusual." Finally, on 1 August, at four o'clock, "two deserters from the Picardy regiment were brought to us who said that their army set out in eight columns at around midnight, is negotiating the moor and is about to attack us."[22] By noon the battle was decided: Prince Ferdinand's men had triumphed against the numerically superior French army. The news of the victory was delivered to the King of Prussia; this meant the decisive relief of the Prussian stronghold from French occupation for the duration of the war.[23]

These notes from Lieutenant-general von Reden come from a high-ranking officer. In them he stressed the personal reconnaissance of the generals and the part of deserters in the gathering of information. These were not the only groups of observers, however, who reported on each other in the field. So who was responsible for which aspect of scouting and what consequences did the handling of reports have on the perception of the other side? Did the means of communication that were available at the time and the infrastructure of the war zone potentially present narrow parameters to the scouts and thus to warfare itself?[24]

Roads and Maps

The war zone was a marshalling area for militarily relevant information in three respects: as an operational zone, as a network of roads and rivers and as a place of action for the forces postal service. The prompt seizing of information as a matter of course from deserters and prisoners of war formed part of the unofficial agreement that armies entered into with each other in difficult terrain. Instead of technology, the interpretation and usage of topography were of primary importance: information was not primarily obtained in the army by technical means, but rather was arrived at through the permeability of military intelligence.

---

[22] Wilhelm August von der Osten, ed., *Feldzüge der allüerten Armee in den Jahren 1757 bis 1762 nach dem Tagebuche des Generaladjutanten, nachmaligen Feldmarschalls von Reden*, 3 vols. (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1806), 1: 47 ff.

[23] Frederick II to Ferdinand, Müllrose, 3.08.1759, no. 51, in: Ernst von dem Knesebeck, ed., *Ferdinand Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg während des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, 2 vols. (Hannover: Helwing, 1857–88), 2: 420 f. The letters took only 48 hours to travel 70 geographical miles; for contemporary conditions this was astonishingly fast.

[24] Stefan Kaufmann, *Kommunikationstechnik und Kriegführung. Stufen telemedialer Rüstung 1815–1945* (München: Fink, 1996), 18 ff.

The printing press, gunpowder and the compass are among the most important technical discoveries of the early modern period. No technological improvements to the means of transmitting information appeared on the market until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Internal military traffic was based, in a period that lacked news agencies, railways or telegraphs, exclusively on the handwritten or oral report. The mounted messenger was the manifest expression of the conventional means of distributing information in the Age of the Enlightenment. In terms of weaponry, the conduct of war was more similar to "close combat with spears, just as the ancient phalanxes did it, then to a modern battle fought at a distance with firearms."[25] Cannons and flintlock muskets were certainly used, but in direct combat flints and bayonets dominated.[26]

Even before the war, in the mobilization phase, from the cabinet on out the increased demand for information was supplied by the development of informational networks. The combatants here contributed to an increase in the density of modes of transportation in the area, since they overhauled old roads and were active in the construction of new highways. Well-constructed highways had strategic and tactical value; these were also called post roads or military roads in the eighteenth century. Most of them were ancient Roman roads that had been used for military purposes from time immemorial. Especially in the northern German imperial territories the lack of these highways was very detrimental because of difficult terrain, such as swamps, mountains and thick forests.

"The protected and rough terrain does not give one a precise view of the enemy."[27] Complaints such as this, uttered by Prince Ferdinand immediately before the battle of Krefeld (23 August 1758), were not uncommon. One of the reasons for this is the actual lack of passable and known roads and areas of terrain that would enable observation. If, in addition, visibility was limited by either weather or the time of day, a situation could arise

---

[25] Jürgen Luh, "Flinte, Büchse, Bajonett. Überlegungen zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Krieges im Zeitalter der Stehenden Heere," in: Thomas Fuchs and Sven Trakulhun, eds., *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen. Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1850* (Berlin: BWV, 2003), 329–38, 333.

[26] In the area of weapons developments various attempts and discoveries were still awaiting their practical application. In Paris in 1769 a steam-powered vehicle was presented that could transport heavy artillery by a hitherto unknown engineer, Nicolas Joseph Cugnot. The first models were produced on commission from the minister of war. It remained in the prototype phase. See Albrecht, *Geopolitik*, 209 ff.

[27] Ferdinand to Frederick II, Altkirchen, 18.06.1758, no. 41, in: Knesebeck, *Ferdinand*, 1: 115 ff.

for the scouts that was similar to that described by Colonel Freytag in the area around Minden shortly after the battle there: "We had already seized a cannon from the enemy, but since in the great darkness one could not tell friend from foe, and everyone was shooting each other, we had to leave it there and I had to call back the *Jäger* through half the moon."[28]

Another deficiency was in reliable maps of the theatre of war. The war zones on the Lower Rhine and in Westphalia, Hesse and Hanover had not been mapped before the war. Land surveying by triangulation was either not very widespread, or as in Prussia, expressly forbidden.[29] In a century in which the possession of a map was equivalent to the possession of the territory,[30] the handing over of military maps was restricted to a few highly responsible people for reasons of secrecy in all of Europe's armies. In France from 1688 on they were kept under lock and key in the *Dépôt de la Guerre*[31] and without express permission of the director could neither be lent out to generals nor could be copied into circulation. The troop leaders of the French army first collected their own maps in the course of campaigns.[32] The observation of enemy and terrain in the context of local reconnaissance made up for the lack of maps during campaigns and eventually led to new cartographic production.

Engineers and Engineer-Geographers

Information was reported concerning actual roads and streets as well as the more virtual chain of command of the military hierarchy, with headquarters as the center. Headquarters such as the council of war acted and reacted to possible delays in information or its failure to materialize only

---

[28] Diary of Lieutenant-colonel von Freytag, Unter der Rose, 1.09.1759, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 677 ff. Freytag's remarks here pertain to 10 August 1759.

[29] See Jürgen Kloosterhuis et al., eds., *Rheinisch-westfälische Quellen in französischen Archiven, Teil 2: Kartographische Quellen bis zur Napoleonischen Zeit* (Detmold: Nordrhein-Westfäl. Staatsarchiv, 1988), 10 f; Kaufmann, *Kommunikationstechnik*, 55; H. Burchardi, "Der kartographische Standpunkt beim Beginn des Siebenjährigen Krieges 1756 in den betheiligten Ländern," *Militär-Wochenblatt*, Beiheft (1987): 101–119, 105 ff. Triangulation was a technique that enabled an exact cartographic recording of the landscape. Thanks to modern line-work techniques the network of roads and rivers could be reproduced in detail.

[30] Ute Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2004), 8.

[31] Today it is known as *Service historique de l'Armée de Terre* and the war archives in Vincennes/Paris (SHAT). Most of the archival material relevant to this essay concerning the French side comes from Vincennes.

[32] Henri Berthaut, *Les ingénieurs géographes militaires 1624–1834, Étude historique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie du Service géographique, 1902), 1: 27 ff.

as fast as the means of transmission of information in those days would allow.

During campaigns, the military leadership was dependent on the coordination of information gathering and transmission that required capable and educated officers. Initially they came from the technical troops, which belonged to the quartermaster-general's staff (an early form of the general staff). In France, the minister of war under Louis XIV, Louvois, created the *état-major général des armées*. Apart from a quartermaster-general (*maréchal des logis des armées*), the staff consisted of engineer-geographers (*ingénieurs géographes*), sappers, a *major général de l'infanterie*, a *maréchal général des logis de la cavallerie*, translators, the staff for the courier service and military post. In 1759 this organ of transmission of orders comprised thirty-three staff officers. Engineers had been taken into its ranks: its area of responsibility included *Castrametrie*, that is, reconnaissance of terrain as well as choice and erection of military camps, their military cartography and scouting.

The particular role of the engineer-geographer was known only to a very narrow group of people until after the war. A Saxon field-engineer rendered the following judgment derived from his own experience serving Austria during the Seven Years' War: "In France their officers are called engineer-geographers. There are quite different from fortification engineers, and are under the jurisdiction of the minister of war. In Germany officers are generally taken from the corps of engineers into these posts."[33]

Nominally in the Allied Army no general staff existed. The headquarters of the commander was construed as such. The commander-in-chief had two "organs" for the placing of orders at his command: the Prince's secretary, Christian Heinrich of Westphalia, formed the first department of this executive, along with Adjutant-general von Reden, mentioned above, and the officer engineers Bauer and Bülow.[34] The activities of the engineer Bauer, above all, in this area of responsibility allow insight into the activities of this executive organ. The responsibilities belonging to the Quartermaster-general were transferred to it, and these comprised

---

[33] Johann Gottlieb Tielke, *Unterricht für die Officiers, die sich zu Feld-Ingenieurs bilden, oder doch den Feldzügen mit Nutzen beywohnen wollen durch Beyspiele aus dem letzten Kriege erläutert und mit nöthigen Plans versehen von J.G. Tielcke, Churf. Sächsischen Artillerie-Hauptmann* (Dresden, Leipzig: Gerlach, 1769), 4.

[34] Christian Heinrich Philipp von Westphalen (1724–1792): From 1752 the private secretary and trusted advisor of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, 1761 nominally Adjutant-general; Friedrich Ernst Bülow (1736–1802): Major in the Hanoverian *Jägerkorps* Freytag.

scouting of terrain, dispositions while on the march, setting up camp, plans of camp layout, as well as technical leadership in the construction of redoubts and sieges.[35] A second group consisted of eight field adjutants (*aides de camp*) as personal aides to Ferdinand, to whom, in addition to scouting the enemy position, fell the task of transmitting orders to the troop leaders, as for example during a battle.[36]

In terrain that was often unknown, and which lacked reliable maps, the military leadership of Ferdinand's army was dependent on engineers, *Kondukteure* and twelve uniformed "guides" who determined the lay of the land. The Quartermaster-general or an engineer was meant to send out runners "so that the columns could scout the roads", "in order to repair the old roads, to construct new ones, to provide material and messengers, to forge links …, to make communications."[37] The performance of these duties, equivalent to a quartermaster's activities, can be seen as counterparts of the tasks that forty engineer-geographers and 400 *ingénieurs du roi* undertook on the opposing side.

The collection of information about the resources and economic condition of the territory being occupied, the authority of the state and the dominant trade, were strategically significant. For this purpose the engineer-geographers completed detailed lists that at the same time formed the foundation for army provisioning. This depended on securing communication routes within the war zone:

> Les dits ingénieurs géographes figureront avec la même intelligence et feront les mêmes observations sur les routes, particulièrement sur celles de grande communication dans l'intérieur du pays, où il faut aussi faire les reconnaissances les plus précises sur la nature des chemins, pour savoir ceux qui sont plus ou moins praticables dans les différentes saisons et qui se rompent en plus ou moins de jours de pluie.[38]

The typically flat regions in the northern Empire were not rich in roads: the available waterways were used, however, and the flat, often sandy landscape could be easily traversed during drought or frost. Roads through

---

[35] Hans Wilhelm Donalies, *Der Anteil des Sekretärs Westphalen an den Feldzügen des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1758–1762)* (Altenburg: Pierer, 1894), 11.

[36] Ibid., 13.

[37] Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover (NHSA Hann.) 47 I, Nr. 293: Überführung des Heeres auf den Kriegsfuß. Besoldung und Verpflegung im Felde 1956–1760.

[38] Berthaut, *Les ingénieurs géographes*, 28 f.

fields or woods still lacked paved surfaces and in rainy weather were impassable by most divisions of the army, particularly artillery.[39]

Unlike in France there was a lack of engineer-geographers in the imperial territories, and for this reason military leaders had to fall back on their allies' contingents. In order to improve the actual strength of the corps of engineers at the beginning of the war, Prince Ferdinand used the services of Dutch, French and Saxon fortification engineers and members of the artillery. The *Corps du Genie Hanoverien* consisted mainly of sappers, miners and *Kondukteuren*.[40]

English officers also belonged to the corps of engineers in the army of Prince Ferdinand: William Roy and Henry Lloyd in particular used their practical knowledge gained in various European armies up to that point during the course of the Seven Years' War. In the period after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 historians judged Lloyd to be a "cosmopolitan military dilettante."[41] His rather checkered service as a volunteer now has this military engineer labeled as an "amateur". This amateur practiced military observation in the course of his career in various armies, and from 1748 to 1754 he belonged to the Prussian corps of sappers. Lloyd was, in sequence, a British, French, Austrian, Prussian and Russian officer in the sapper corps. After he had served in the army of Maria Theresa from the beginning of the war until 1760, he changed in 1761 to the service of Duke Karl I of Brunswick and participated as lieutenant colonel, adjutant and scout of the Hereditary Prince Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand within the Allied Army during the last two campaigns on the lower Rhine.[42] The engineer distinguished himself through his learning, in particular as a result of his knowledge of languages such as Welsh, English, Latin, French, German, Italian and Spanish.[43]

Before Friedrich Wilhelm Bauer entered the Russian service in 1764, he had made a name for himself during the war as an engineer and scout for Prince Ferdinand. The following scene, which took place shortly after the

---

[39] See Andreas Helmedach, "Infrastrukturpolitische Grundsatzentscheidungen des 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel des Landverkehrswesens: Großbritannien, Frankreich, Habsburgermonarchie," in: *Infrastrukturpolitik in der Industrialisierung zwischen Liberalismus, Regulierung und staatlicher Eigentätigkeit*, ed. Uwe Müller (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1996), 11–50, 38.

[40] NHSA Hann. 47 I, Nr. 259: Einstellung von Ingenieuren und Artillerieoffizieren aus fremden Heeren 1758–1763.

[41] Jähns, *Kriegswissenschaften*, 3: 1872.

[42] Patrick J. Speelman, *Henry Lloyd and the Military Enlightenment of Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Westport, CT & London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 55.

[43] Ibid., 17.

Battle of Minden, indicates the importance of his person and the value of his information:

> Un des aides de camp du Duc [Ferdinand] fut pris, il y a quelques jours, par une troupe d'huzards qui le menerent au prince de Beauffrement et delà à Mssrs. les Maréchaux. Ils l'ont comblé de politesse à table. Ayant apris depuis qu'il etoit ingenieur, ils l'ont fait fouiller, et l'ont renvoyé au Duc avec de grands compliments. Cet aide de camp, qui est le capitaine Bauer, nous donna les premiers nouvelles de la victoire de l'admiral Boscawen; nous sommes charmé audelà de l'expression de la voir confirmé, et d'apprendre en meme temps d'aussi bonnes nouvelles que le sont celles de l'Amerique. Nous esperons que si Quebeck est pris nous aurons la paix, l'hyver prochain.[44]

The recognition of his knowledge and experience as an engineer and scout brought Bauer not only hospitality at the table of the enemy generals but also his immediate release: as a result of his capture he gained the news of the victory of the English over the French at the small Portuguese city of Lagos.[45]

The travel journals of the engineers that were derived from this specialized knowledge had already reached the standard achieved by similar reports by the revolutionary army. In particular the descriptions of the engineer-geographers and the field engineers contained useful information concerning place names and the characteristics of the terrain in the area through which the armies had been marched.[46] The "knowledge in rubrics", that they established and ordered regionally, served as a systematization of the available information and adorned many so-called *Krokis* arising from the first surveys conducted in the field – the pattern of almost all military maps produced subsequently.[47]

---

[44] Westphalen to Haenichen, Niederweymar, 16.09.1759, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 773.

[45] The British admiral Edward Boscawen defeated the French fleet in the naval battle of Lagos (Portugal) on 18 August 1759. As a result of this victory a concentration of the French fleet at Brest was prevented, and along with it an invasion of England.

[46] SHAT, Sous-Série 1 M, Nr. 247: Guerre de Sept Ans 1755–1762: Allemagne, 2 vols. (within are numerous plans of stores, marching routes and travel journals written by French engineer-geographers). Cf. SHAT Sous-Série 1 K, Nr. 58: Officiers et camps (XVIII-XIX siècle). For the French side see Berthaut, *Les ingénieurs géographes*, 32 ff. For a list of German maps and plans see Kloosterhuis, *Rheinisch-Westfälische Quellen*, 11 f.

[47] See the letter from Bauer to Westphalen, in which the engineer reports on the production of maps of the battle of Minden. Schönhoffen, 8.09.1765, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 46 f.

Light Troops

Engineers and engineer-geographers from both armies acted under the protection of "special detachments" in cooperation with light troops. In the *Kleiner Krieg*, this "specialized discipline of war", [48] the so-called "partisans" in the *Freikorps* and *Jägerkorps* roamed the countryside and fulfilled independent tactical duties, and indeed not within the regular army.[49] Their mobility as a result of their quick availability, their knowledge of languages and last but not least the fact that their ranks were supplied with deserters and prisoners from the other side meant that these organizations were predestined for the role of military scouts.

It becomes apparent through a comparison of the scouting service of the French army with that of the Allied Army that the roles of the *Jägerkorps* and the *troupes légères* differed from each other neither in scope nor in function. Their methods increasingly reached the standard achieved by the hussars and pandours of the Habsburgs who had had experience in the *Kleiner Krieg*. The strategic usefulness of the reconnaissance services for the waging of the war should not be underestimated: indeed the link between the light units and the engineers, which took place at the point of intersection of local reconnaissance and army provisioning, suggest the value of the information services for strategy.[50]

Recognizance in the French army was done by reconnaissance parties, patrols or through scouting ventures by force, during which information about enemy positions, troop strength and possible intentions of the opponent could be gained. The number of troops who bore these responsibilities was more than 6,000 men in 1757 and a year later had risen to above 10,000 men.[51] In the course of the war a reorganization of the units took place, which involved name changes and an increase in troops. Reconnaissance fell on the shoulders of volunteer units as well as auxiliaries from Württemberg, Saxony and the Palatinate who were

---

[48] Theodor Horstmann, *Generallieutenant Johann Nicolas von Luckner und seine Husaren im Siebenjährigen Kriege*, ed. with an introduction by Michael Hochedlinger (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1997), 2.

[49] For the contemporary meaning of the concepts "Parthey", "Parthey-Gänger" and "Partisan" see Fäsch, *Kriegs-Lexicon*, 613. In general this had to do with the irregular organizations, *Freikorps* and hussars, which were used as "light weapons" in the *Kleiner Krieg*.

[50] The dominant opinion in the research is that the responsibilities of light troops were exclusively tactical. On this see Kunisch, *Der kleine Krieg*, 14 ff.

[51] Victor Sapin-Lignières, *Les troupes légères de l'ancien régime: Les corsaires du Roy de l'Armée de terre. Études d'uniformes et illustrations Michel Pétard* (Saint-Julien de Sault: Presses saltusiennes, 1979), 58.

deployed as a result of subsidy treaties.[52] In addition there were the so called German foreign regiments from Alsace, Flanders, the Palatinate, Bavaria, Württemberg and Switzerland.[53] In the middle of the eighteenth century the infantry units of the foreign regiments of France alone amounted to 19 battalions with 525 officers and 7,604 soldiers.[54]

In the literature, when reference is made to the dominance of the Habsburg monarchy in the *Pandurenkrieg* over all other states, the importance of the Austrian hussars is ascribed to their knowledge of languages.[55] In the Seven Years' War, the German foreign regiments of France, constituted in the first half of the eighteenth century and tested in the War of the Austrian Succession, did not lag far behind the pandours of Vienna.[56]

The light units of the Allied Army consisted of military police, hussars and *Freikorps*, recruited mainly in Hanover.[57] Many of them came from

---

[52] Ibid., 164 ff. The following *Jägerkorps* and volunteer corps participated in the hostilities in Germany: Chasseurs de Fischer (1743–1776), Volontaires de Saxe (after 1755: Volontaires de Schomberg), Volontaires étrangers de Geschray (change of name to Volontaires d'Alsace), Volontaires de Nassau-Saarbrück (later: Volontaires Royaux de Nassau 1756–1758), Fusiliers-Guides de Plinchamp (1756–1762) and Volontaires Étrangers de Wurmser (1762–1763).

[53] These were the infantry regiments: Royal Pologne, Royal Deux Ponts (deployed in 1757 by Christian, Duke of Zweibrücken), Royal Suédois (1690), Royal Bavière (later Hessen-Darmstadt, 1703), Berg, la Mark (1680) and Löwendal, as well as cavalry divisions Royal-Allemand (later Königsmarck, deployed 1671), Nassau-Saarbrücken (1744–1762), Fürstenberg, Rosen and Württemberg. See Bayerisches Hauptsstaatsarchiv München, Abt. IV: Kriegsarchiv. Handschriften, Nr. 1708–1710: Deutsche Fremdenregimenter in Frankreich, Infanterie (3 Vols.) and Nr. 1711: Deutsche Fremdenregimenter in Frankreich, Kavallerie. See the data in: Bernhard R. Kroener, "Deutsche Offiziere im Dienst des 'Allerchristlichsten Königs' (1715–1792), Aspekte einer Sozialgeschichte der Elite deutscher Fremdenregimenter in Frankreich im 18. Jahrhundert," in: Jean Mondot et al., eds., *Deutsche in Frankreich – Franzosen in Deutschland: 1715–1789. Institutionelle Verbindungen, soziale Gruppen, Stätten des Austauschs,* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), 53–70, 53 ff.

[54] Eugène Fieffé, *Geschichte der Fremd-Truppen im Dienste Frankreichs von ihrer Entstehung bis auf unsere Tage*, 2 vols. (München: Deschler, 1860), 1: 372.

[55] The *Pandurenkrieg* refers to the *Kleiner Krieg* in the Habsburg monarchy between Hungary and Panduren (*Freikorps* made up of Croatian and Slavonic nobles, who lived on the border of the Ottoman Empire). See Kunisch, *Der kleine Krieg*, 9; Frank Wernitz, "They have been blooded and behaved very well": britische leichte Truppen in der Armee des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig 1760–1763: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des kleinen Krieges im 18. Jahrhundert (München: University of Munich, 1993), 17.

[56] Grandmaison, *Der Kleine Krieg*, 34.

[57] The *Jägerkorps*, set up 1757 by the *Oberjägermeister*, the Count von der Schulenburg, consisted of foresters, as well as divisions of foot and horse, and was led from 1759 on by Colonel von Freytag; *Schützenkorps* of Major von Stockhausen was set up in 1759 and in 1762 was merged with von Freytag's *Jägerkorps*; the corps of Captain Scheither; the hussar corps of Major Luckner (with a strength of 54 men). See Horstmann, *Luckner und seine Husaren*, 81 f; Joachim Niemeyer and Georg Ortenburg, eds., *Die Chur-braunschweig-lüneburgische Armee im Siebenjährigen Kriege. Das "Gmundener Prachtwerk"* (Beckum: Vogel, 1976), 70 ff.

Brunswick, Hesse and Bückeburg and first joined up during the course of the war.[58] In addition Malachowsky's Prussian corps of hussars and, from 1760, the so-called *Legion britannique* under Major von Bülow, belonged to the Allied Army.[59] The latter was in the pay of the English, primarily recruited from Hanoverians and usually staffed with deserters and prisoners of war. The strength of the light troops in the Allied Army rose under Ferdinand until at war's end it numbered about 11,000 men.

The permeability of the service of light troops was an important structural characteristic of short-distance reconnaissance. This situation arose in two ways: on the one hand those who belonged to the *troupes légères*, as well as other combatants from the campaign that had just ended, usually in winter quarters, which served among other things as a form of recruitment, had the opportunity of officially seeking service in other units. On the other hand such a change of sides often occurred as a consequence of desertion or capture in the field: "La petite guerre va son train. Nous avons fait quelques prisonniers sur les François et ceux-ci en ont fait sur nous il y a quatre jours."[60] Light troops were constantly exposed to the danger of capture, were interrogated, delivered true or false information and were let go again, so that a continuous exchange of information between the parties to war was achieved and in this way room was created for the possibility of observing the enemy.[61]

In December 1760, patrols of hussars and Croats under General Haddick went back and forth between Arnstadt and Gotha; these troops, as well as those of Xaver von Sachsen,[62] who knew the language and the territory, were "le moyen le plus sûr de bien éclairer cette partie".[63] In 1756, the infantry regiment of Prince Xaver, founded in 1733, was forcibly amalgamated into the Prussian army during the Prussian invasion of Saxony. Xaver then deployed a Saxon corps, made up of deserters, of 10,000 men in

---

58 In addition there was the *Jägerkorps* of Lieutenant-colonel von Hoym (1760) and the Volontairs Auxiliairs de Bronswick (1762). See Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge,* 1: 104 f; Otto Elster, *Geschichte der stehenden Truppen im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,* vol 2: *1714–1806* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1901), 203 ff.

59 Niemeyer, *Das Gmundener Prachtwerk*, 76 ff.

60 Westphalen to Haenichen, Kroffdorff, 30.10.1759, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 844 f.

61 For more on continuous communication by means of deserters and spies between opposing armies see Kunisch, *Der kleine Krieg*, 19.

62 Xaver von Sachsen (1730–1806): second son of Friedrich August II, Prince of Saxony and Poland.

63 Marshal de Broglie to Prince Xaver, Cassel, 8.12.1760, no. 95, in: Broglie and Vernier, *Correspondance*, 3: 301 f.

March 1758, which was assigned to the French army during the entire war and given responsibility for scouting.[64]

It was usual practice in the ranks of the French army for light troops together with the engineer-geographers to form a reconnaissance division and to occupy advanced posts. The protagonists themselves rarely report on the type and extent of their cooperation. In his geographic record the French engineer-geographer Du Bois underlines the fact that the engineers usually took over leadership of the light troops in command posts, as for example occurred in the campaign of 1757 in Westphalia.[65] Volunteer units from Flanders and grenadiers from Solms were for example under the command of the chief engineer the Comte de Maillebois.[66]

Lajos Mihaly Jeney was simultaneously an engineer-geographer and a "partisan". Jeney gained his experience in the *Kleiner Krieg* in several Austrian regiments of hussars, before he switched into the French service in 1747. His skill in drawing won him both renown and a position in the staff of the Comte de Saint-Germain. Jeney participated in the campaign of 1757–1758 in the French Bercheny regiment of hussars. After he received an appointment as *capitaine-ingénieur* in the Prussian army on 1 September 1758, he put his knowledge and experience on the French side on paper in 1759.[67] In his work he underlines the close cooperation between the light troops and engineer-geographers and credits them with the success of the *Kleiner Krieg*.

The *Jägerkorps* of the Allied Army, just like the *troupes légères*, came into the immediate neighborhood of the enemy through changing sides. This took place likewise as a result of official activities in the enemy army or of desertion. The career of Johann Nicolaus Luckner, a hussar officer

---

64 The correspondence of the Duc de Broglie and Prince Xaver von Sachsen is a mine of information, including reports of commanders of light troops, reports of spies, scouts and deserters. See Broglie and Vernier, *Correspondance*.

65 [Du Bois], *Camps topographiques de la campagne de 1757, en Westphalie, commencé par M. le Maréchal d'Estrées, continuée par Mr. Le Duc de Richelieu, & fini par Mgr. le Comte de Clermont avec le journal de ces opérations et quelques autres Morceaux fort curieux, par le Sr Du Bois, ci-devant Ingénieur Géographe de Mr. le comte de Maillebois, Maréchal des Logis de l'Armée* (La Haye, 1760).

66 For example, the Volontaires from Flanders and Hainault, who were under the command of the Marquis de Vogüé, *premier aide-maréchal général des logis de l'armée d'Allemagne*.

67 Lajos Mihaly de Jeney, *Le Partisan ou l'Art de faire la petite guerre avec succès selon le génie de nous jours* (La Haye, 1759). Cf. Raymond Boissau, "La petite guerre et les hussards du rois," in: *Combattre, gouverner, écrire, études réunies en l'honneur de Jean Chagniot,* ed. Commission Française d'Histoire Militaire (Paris: Institut de stratégie comparée, 2003), 161–81, 171 ff.

active in a unit of the Allied Army, provides the best-known example of the apparently unproblematic porosity of the service.[68] Luckner rose to the forefront of his hussar regiment during the war and gained the position of Lieutenant-general, and then at the end of the war, as a result of his service during the *Kleiner Krieg*, crossed over to join the French command. Luckner's change of sides is also exemplary of the porosity of "national" borders in the Holy Roman Empire. The Prussophile military history of the nineteenth century for a long time dissembled about Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the sometime supreme commander of the Allied Army and hero of Minden, who himself left the Prussian service in 1766 and in the same year went over to the Austrians.[69]

Intercepted military mail provided one of the information sources for scouts. As a result of scouting, enemy couriers, and with them, reports and dispatches of the opposing side fell regularly into the hands of light troops. The appreciable amount of enemy correspondence intercepted by the Allied Army points to the significance of this form of information gathering.[70] These measures were particularly productive in the campaigns of 1758–1759. During this period, Ferdinand informed London and Berlin of information and enemy plans gained in this way at relatively short intervals. After the Battle of Minden on 1 August 1759 the *Jäger* made "one fortunate coup after another… Colonel Luckner came to blows daily with the enemy and took 50, 70 and once even 154 horses from them. On the sixth, Marshal Contades' portfolio fell into his hands, where he found papers of great importance."[71] This intercepted correspondence was made up of "instructions and commands from his court, letters from the Marshal de Belisle, agreements with the court at Vienna, and with Russia, and other important letters."[72]

---

[68] Johann Nicolaus Luckner, Baron von (1722–1794): from 1744 member of the Bavarian *Freikorps* Geschray, 1748 Major, 1761 Lieutenant-general, 1763 joined the French service for the next thirty years, 1791 Marshal, 1792 supreme commander of the *armée d'Allemagne*, 1794 guillotined.

[69] Nordsiek, *Immer auf der Siegerseite*, 144 f.

[70] NHSA Hann. 92 (Deutsche Kanzlei in London), vol. 2: Publica, Siebenjähriger Krieg. The holdings with the signatures 2363 to 2367 comprise twelve volumes of letters that were intercepted in 1758–1759 alone and sent to the government in London.

[71] Osten, *Feldzüge*, 68 f.

[72] George II to Ferdinand, Kensington, 14.08.1759, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 719 f. Cf. Westphalen to Haenichen, Dalem, 11.08.1759, ibid., 654 ff.

Prisoners of War and Deserters

Prisoners of war and deserters formed the largest group of informants for military reconnaissance.[73] In the records they are mainly mentioned together, which can be explained by the fact that one did not succeed too differentiate deserters and prisoners from each other during the Seven Years' War.[74] If combatants that had been taken prisoner but not yet exchanged, escaped, then they rendered themselves in principle guilty of desertion.[75] Soldiers who were prisoners of war who had gone over to the other side were not considered deserters, if they were not paid further by their own commander or were not soon – meaning in under a month's time – exchanged.[76] The number of desertions was favored by the constant presence of light troops right next to the enemy army, so that deserters could leave their own troops at any time. This situation engendered a particularly uninterrupted exchange of information between both parties to war.

As a rule, prisoners remained in custody for only a short time. Often they were immediately exchanged in the field. Luckner wrote on 14 July 1761: "I have immediately sent the prisoners made by my men back to the enemy. My troops did not have more, the scoundrels let many of them walk. They brought 37 horses, but no more than 20 prisoners!"[77] The reasons for this practice lie on the one hand in the lack of barracking and places to hold prisoners of war and on the other hand on the lack of personnel and the permanent necessity of filling positions that had become vacant.[78] According to the statements of Lieutenant-general von Reden a number of officers "of rank and family" remained in the hands of

---

[73] From the beginning of the campaign of 1761 Luckner took over 2 000 prisoners, with 600 alone in the fall of that year. Cf. the figures in Horstmann, *Luckner und seine Husaren*, 144 ff.

[74] Michael Sikora, *Disziplin und Desertion. Strukturprobleme militärischer Organisation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1996), 178 ff.

[75] NHSA Hann. 47 I, Nr. 278: Instruktionen und Verordnungen über die Behandlung und den Unterhalt feindlicher Deserteure und Kriegsgefangener, 1757–1760. Cirkular-Reskript an alle Obrigkeiten im Lande, Hannover, 14.07.1757.

[76] Daniel Hohrath, "'In Cartellen wird der Werth eines Gefangenen bestimmet'. Kriegsgefangenschaft als Teil der Kriegspraxis des Ancien Regime," in: *In der Hand des Feindes. Kriegsgefangenschaft von der Antike bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Rüdiger Overmans (Köln: Böhlau, 1999), 141–70, 158 f.

[77] Luckner to Riedesel, Stuckenbrock, 14.07.1761, no. 14, in: Horstmann, *Luckner und seine Husaren*, 224. Cf. Ferdinand to Marshal de Broglie, 18.03.1761, no. 172, in: Broglie and Vernier, *Correspondance*, 3: 521.

[78] For these reasons the taking of prisoners was occasionally dispensed with.

the Hanoverians after the successful Battle of Minden. The 330-strong garrison of the city also "gave themselves up as prisoners of war; the very considerable magazine fell to us and we immediately occupied the gates; in return we allowed the officers and their baggage to go free to France on their word of honour."[79] The release of prisoners "on their word of honour" (*sur parole d'honneur*) mentioned here applied only to officers. They were allowed to move freely within the war zone but remained nevertheless "virtual prisoners" and for this reason were not allowed to fight against the opposing army until their exchange.

Detailed agreements between the opposing parties, the so-called *Kartelle*, that were usually negotiated between those waging war during the course of the conflict, regulated the exchange of prisoners. Exchanges were usually undertaken for a ransom or man for man, in which rank and function had to correspond. Various "exchange tables" accompanied the *Kartelle*, which established the "value of soldiers."[80]

Occasionally prisoners of war filled up the free troops of the enemy after the fall of a fortification or a lost battle, as was the case in the sixth Prussian Freikorp von Repin after the defeat of the French army at Rossbach (5 November 1757). These were mostly members of light units, who were more exposed to the danger of capture than other members of the military as a result of their mobility in the field. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick,[81] charged with the responsibility for scouting, transmitted news of the capture of the hussars of Luckner to the supreme commander. The latter asked the Hereditary Prince for "the ransoming of my men, so that it would be permitted to send a trumpeter so that many cavalrymen could be given back to the enemy."[82] Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand took care of his request with a speedy exchange. He had sent the French prisoners to Paderborn already, where the necessary transport as well as the exchange of prisoners could be arranged.[83]

Deserters, used since antiquity for this purpose, provided a welcome source of information. Attempts at regulation often undertaken by the generals during the course of the war document the importance of this

---

79 Osten, *Feldzüge*, 62 ff.

80 Hohrath, *In Cartellen*, 164 ff.

81 Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand of Brunswick (1735–1806): Son and successor of the reigning Duke Karl I of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, served under the supreme command of his uncle Prince Ferdinand.

82 Luckner's report, Volckmessen, 15.08.1759, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 675 f.

83 Report of Crown Prince Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Warburg, 15.08.1759, Ibid.

group for the waging of war.[84] As laid out in the convention between France and Vienna of 25 February 1757, if deserters should seek service in the regiments of France or the Habsburgs, the following will befall them: "Pour cet effet, les dits Déserteurs, après avoir été suffisamment questionnés, seront conduits chez les Officiers de l'Etat major de leur Nation par le détachement de la garde qui les aura amenés au quartier général."[85] On 20 April 1757 a general amnesty was issued for all soldiers, cavalry and dragoons who had deserted since 1742 and who were living in the Empire and serving in the army.[86] Such regulations signify the attempts of the army leadership to limit a large exodus during the course of campaigns. This example also shows that formerly French soldiers who had been living for a decade in the Empire could provide useful knowledge of the French service and language and therefore were predestined for information gathering. Finally this practice shows in itself the fluid crossover from one status to another that was not in effect legally very strongly prosecuted.[87]

"Since desertion was sufficient to cause the enemy to break off", this was meant to be fostered.[88] Therefore French deserters received two *Reichstaler* from the Hanoverian nobility for their further advancement and compensation for their horse. On 3 September 1759 the Hanoverian chancery made it known

> that deserters who were with the Kursaxon regiment serving the French army, or indeed those of the German and Swiss nations in French regiments, if they were Protestants and seemed to be good people, should not only settle down in the countryside, but could gain service in his royal majesty's troops; accordingly all authorities throughout the land are to advise all

---

[84] The army leaders attempted to regulate the process ahead of time, as is evident from these arrangements made at the beginning of the war between France and the Habsburgs, as well as from the instructions of the allies.

[85] Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) Paris, F. 4729 (72): France. Acte royale. Versailles. Ordonnances (1756–1758). Convention entre le Roi Très-Chrétien et l'Impératrice Reine de Hongrie et Bohême, sur le service de leur Armées combinées, Wien, 25.02.1757 (Artikel 30: Feindliche Deserteure Artikel 31: Kriegsgefangene).

[86] BN Paris, F. 4729 (72): France. Acte royale. Versailles. Ordonnances (1756–1758). Ordonnance du Roi portant Amnistie en faveur des Déserteurs des Troupes de Sa Majesté, qui ayant passé en pays étranger, serviront dans l'Armée du Bas-Rhin, Versailles, 20.04.1757.

[87] According to the law of war the death penalty was to be meted out to those caught deserting. Cf. Lee Kennett, *The French Armies in the Seven Years War: A study in military organization and administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), 85 f.

[88] NHSA Hann. 47 I, Nr. 278: Instruktionen und Verordnungen über die Behandlung und den Unterhalt feindlicher Deserteure und Kriegsgefangener, 1757–1760. Cirkular-Rescript an alle Obrigkeiten im Lande, Hannover, 14.07.1757.

> deserters of this upon their arrival, and if they offer their services, be it here or in the next location where there is a garrison, to let them go and to note their intent to serve in their trip money and to issue them adequate provisions to enable them to reach the prescribed location, which is also to be noted in the pass.[89]

Already at the beginning of the war in 1757 desertions had reached their erstwhile high point. When France, Prussia's old ally, overran the principality of Hanover with its troops that summer, certain Prussian or Hanoverian combatants quickly changed sides: "Since I learned that one hour from Rösing, towards the Hildesheim side, 200 Prussian deserters were staying in the woods, who were lurking until the arrival of the French or waiting for some other opportunity to get to the French army, I did not neglect to tell Your Excellency such a thing most humbly."[90] Prince Ferdinand made a report concerning the number of desertions to the war chancery in December 1761: "Up to this point major general von Luckner, has, as far as I know, always filled up his ranks with deserters; this is the easiest way to get people and horses without much expenditure. This means, however, on the one hand… that the regiment has a high rate of desertion."[91]

The value of the statements obtained by scouts of the deserters and prisoners was varied: part of it was unusable, since the enemy deserters "ne sçavent rien" anyway, and part was indeed informative. In connection with a battle, they usually bore the first enemy casualties. One of the supreme commanders, the Marquis de Conflans, told the war ministry in Versailles on 12 October 1762 that "L'ennemi doit avoir perdu, selon le rapport des prisonniers que j'ai fait depuis vingt ou vingtaine hommes tués, une quarantaine de blessés, plusieurs officiers et beaucoup de chevaux."[92]

Changing sides occurred continuously in the *Kleine Krieg* and was partially the means to an end. One could consciously fool the enemy by means

---

[89] NHSA Hann. 47 I, Nr. 278: Instruktionen und Verordnungen über die Behandlung und den Unterhalt feindlicher Deserteure und Kriegsgefangener, 1757–1760. Bekanntmachung der Hannoverschen Kanzlei, Hannover, 3.09.1759.

[90] NHSA Hann. 38 A, Nr. 19: Berichte und Rapporte (Juli 1757). Rapport von Scheither à Son Excellence Monsieur le Baron de Sommerfeld, Général en chef d'Infanterie de Sa Majesté Britannique et Gouverneur à Hanovre, 8 Uhr des Abends zu Poppenburg, 25.07.1757.

[91] NHSA Hann. 47 I, Nr. 240: Herzog Ferdinand an die Geheimräte in Hannover, Uslar, 31.12.1760.

[92] SHAT, A 1 Nr. 3614: Allemagne: mouvements et opérations (octobre-novembre 1762). L'extrait d'une lettre écrite à M. le Prince de Condé, par M. le Marquis de Conflans, de Bilstein, 12.10.1762 (no. 49).

of a simple deception, in which a deserter was used as a "guide," "if he was from the countryside, but beforehand he had to have his hair cut and put on peasant dress."[93] Such deceptive maneuvers, practiced on all sides, had the ultimate consequence that deserters and prisoner could be told from spies only with difficulty.

Desertion was considered dishonorable, and therefore deserters were considered as potential spies as a preventative measure. Prince Ferdinand reported to London in January 1759 that he encouraged desertion in the French army by means of the introduction of "douceur en argent avec un passeport pour aller plus loin." Nevertheless: "Les gens en abusent fort souvent; quelques uns ne desertent que pour faire les espions, d'autres s'en vont servir des puissances étrangères, et d'autres…, ne sachant que devenir profites des pardons, qu'ils obtenirent aisement pour retourner à leur Regiments."[94] The tendency towards espionage and the permeability of their services allowed Ferdinand the habit of taking deserters into his own army without difficulty, however "apprehensive" he seemed.

The French side knew all about deserters changing sides as a method of deception for the purpose of spying. On 20 February and 10 March 1760 two Prussian deserters were interrogated one after the other, who were considered to be spies. The Count von Solms detained Alexandre-Joseph Richebé, who passed himself off as a sometime officer of the regiment of Mailly who had been taken prisoner after the battle of Rossbach. He professed to have served in a Prussian *bataillon franc*, until, "ennuyé de ce service, il l'a quitté encore après l'affaire de Maxen et fait plusieurs courses qui paraissent suspectes dans un homme qui a marqué si peu de fidélité à son maître."[95] On the other hand, Jean-Gorges Steiner, from greater Poland, came to Prussian service in the regiment of Prince Franz of Brunswick five years previously. He deserted after three years and wandered about for a while until recruiters entered him into the Regiment d'Alsace. However he left this service because, as he owned, it did not make him happy. He went over to the Prussian *Jägerkorps* von Wunsch,[96] whence he finally was

[93] Grandmaison, *Der Kleine Krieg*, 69.

[94] NHSA Hann. 9e, Nr. 1062: Briefwechsel der Könige Georg II. und Georg III. von England mit Herzog Ferdinand von Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Ferdinand au Roy d'Angleterre, 7.01.1759.

[95] The Count de Solms to the Marshal de Broglie, Würzburg, 20.02.1769, no. 100, in: Broglie and Vernier, *Correspondance*, 1: 214 f.

[96] Johann Jacob Wunsch, a Württemberger in Dutch service, from 1758 as a lieutenant-colonel in the Prussian army, he was the possessor of a *Freikorps* of cavalry made up of Austrian prisoners.

dismissed. He ultimately earned himself the accusation of spying because of these numerous actual or pretended changeovers.[97]

"Partisans" who came into the enemy's range of visibility were well suited to performing various deceptions, by making use of the enemy's deserters. Jean-Chrétien Fischer, who was a member of the French information service, chose a group of 50 hussars from his own ranks on 16 June 1759 who had not been exchanged prisoners of the Allied Army and had been in the French service for quite a while.[98] Now put in their old uniforms they were supposed to feign belonging to the enemy, to communicate with them and to provide information. This deceptive maneuver is also mentioned in the rules governing combatants. In 1756 Grandmaison described the merits of the Austrian light troops: they played their enemies off against one another, by sidling up to "all our posts in little groups, […] in the right clothing, speaking the right language and with the same distinguishing marks or characteristics as the French hussars, from which they were often deserters."[99] Since they were familiar with service in the French army and knew the language, they were able to pass for French much more easily.

Prisoner exchanges and filling the ranks of one's own light troops with enemy deserters led to a swifter flow of information between parties to war. On both sides the oral information delivered by deserters and prisoners was nevertheless regarded as scarcely reliable. Care was taken to view these "combatants on the wrong path" preventatively as spies.

Spies

"Scouting" occurred in the field "either publicly by means of parties sent out, or secretly through insight, or through daring fellows, who covertly entered into enemy camps or other places in order to gain information."[100]

---

97 Count de Solms to Marshal de Broglie, Würzburg, 10.03.1760, no. 111, ibid., 230 f.

98 Fischer's *Jägerkorps* recruited German-speaking combatants almost exclusively. For this episode see E. De Ribaucourt, *La vie militaire et les exploits de J.-C. Fischer, brigadier des armées du Roy Louis XV, fondateur et commandant le corps des chasseurs (1743–1761), chef du service des renseignements* (Paris: Librairie Universelle, 1928), 246.

99 Grandmaison, *Der Kleine Krieg*, 34. Since the beginning of the war Grandmaison had first served as Major, and then as Brigadier in the volunteer corps d'Hainaut in the French service. Cf. Sapin-Lignières, *Les troupes légères*, 58 ff.

100 Jacob von Eggers, *Neues Kriegs-, Ingenieur- Artillerie-, See- und Ritter-Lexicon, worinnen alles, was einem Officier, Ingenieur, Artilleristen und Seefahrenden aus der Tactique, der Civil-, Militär- und Schiffsbaukunst (…) zu wissen nöthig (…) erkläret und mit Kupfern erläutert ist*, 2 vols. (Dresden, Leipzig: Walther, 1757), 1: 1416 f.

Spies thus were "people who paid attention to the activities of others, secretly gained information and then harmed them with it. Those who let themselves be used for this very activity in war, and who stealthily provided information from the enemy, were particularly labeled with the name of *espion*."[101] Behind these "scouts" behaving "stealthily" many civilians were concealed, who either spied for the secret service or let themselves be used as "guides" in the service of the army because of their knowledge of the countryside and the language.

The flow of information was sometimes blocked, in situations where the intelligence service of the light troops functioned 'too well'. In the days before the Battle of Minden the headquarters of Ferdinand in Bielefeld knew about the French army under Contades. The opposing armies were separated only by the chain of mountains that runs through the countryside from Minden to Osnabrück. It was impossible to acquire information because: "Nous occupions tous les portes qui pouvoient fournir l'occasion à l'ennemi de reconnoitre notre camp; mais l'ennemi ayant fait la meme chose de son coté, nous ne pouvions rien decouvrir du sien. Ainsi on vivoit de part et d'autre dans l'ignorance sur ce qui regardoit la position des deux armées; hormis ce qu'on en aprit par des Espions."[102]

These spies who collected "information" for the armies often came from the postal services. The relationships between the ambassadorial secretaries and envoys played out in the urban milieu here. Postal employees were predestined to act as observers, not only because they were in a good position to keep an eye on the delivery of letters, but also because of the fact that post offices lay at important crossroads through which travelers, couriers, messengers – and the military – usually traveled. Postmasters were supposed to report "when certain unknown foreigners are observed passing to and fro, which of them is in agreement with the enemy and which they strongly suspect of allowing themselves to be used as spies."[103] Postal employees traveling through the countryside with *ordinari* post often fell into the hands of the opposing military and became their informants. A stage-coachman from Northeim who was on his way to Göttingen in the middle of November 1760, not only lost his packet that contained

---

[101] Ibid., vol. 2, 954 f. "When a spy is uncovered, his reward is the gallows." Cf. Fäsch, *Kriegs-Lexicon*, 931.

[102] Westphalen to Haenichen, Osnabrück, 8.07.1759, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 331 ff.

[103] NHSA Hann. 47 I, Nr. 299: Postsachen, 4 vols., vol. 2: Bezahlung von Kurieren, Stafetten, Boten, Kundschaftern (1757–1759). Schreiben an den Oberkommissar und Bürgermeister Unger zu Göttingen, 27.01.1759.

military post among other things, but also was questioned about the movements of the enemy corps in the area around Göttingen.[104]

In the days before the Battle of Minden, "Z", the anonymous informant of the Allied Army was once again on a secret mission. While making his observations, he fell into the hands of the French hussars, who relieved him of his money. When he returned to headquarters he brought both news of the strength of Contades' army, which added up to 80,000 men, and an order of battle. This plan allowed Prince Ferdinand and his advisors to make suppositions about the strength of the enemy battalions.[105]

In the summer of 1759 Ferdinand's scouts were provided with information about the approaching French army by the citizens of Minden. The president of the chamber of commerce, Massow, gave reports to Ferdinand's headquarters about the exact movements and strength of the enemy corps, especially the light troops, as well as information concerning military provisioning of the enemy. On 7 July he passed on the scouting of a "certain anonymous" who was supposed to have learned that the garrison of Herford was 4,000 men strong, that about 800 men from the Fischer corps would gather from Herford to *Gohfeldt*, and "would extract a lot of forage, victuals and livestock and … patrol around there."[106]

The generals of the French and allied armies differed less in extent than in attitude towards espionage. Prince Ferdinand's contingents pursued military operations partly in the places of origin of their soldiers (Hanover, Hesse, etc.), so that the local population's willingness to cooperate was correspondingly high. Spying for the enemy was therefore often carefully pursued.[107]

Spying as a means of gathering intelligence was a normal procedure that was hardly punished in the French army. The army leadership usually used those who lived in the countryside for this purpose. German-speaking soldiers from foreign regiments and subsidy troops acted as contacts between military headquarters and locals. The city-dwellers of Brunswick

---

104 Prince Xaver von Sachsen to Marshal de Broglie, Du camp de Deiderode, 15.11.1760 (Rapport de M. de Belsunce à M. de Vaux, Wenden, 14.10.1760), no. 47, in: Broglie and Vernier, *Correspondance*, 2: 148 f.

105 Westphalen to Haenichen, 17.06.1759, 9 Uhr des Abends, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 285.

106 Kammerpräsident Massow to Herzog Ferdinand, Actum Minden, 7.07.1759, ibid., 355.

107 NSHA Hann. 38 A, Nr. 210: Korrespondenz betreffend diesseitige Kundschafter und Aufhebung feindlicher Kuriere und Spione 1759. Cf. NSHA Hann. 92, Nr. 2380: Fahndung, Untersuchung und andere Zwangmaßnahmen gegen die Spionage, Kollusion pp. mit den Franzosen verdächtige Personen 1758–1761.

made the following judgment about the spying practices of the French: the French knew "their way around all the places so well", that one had to assume "that they had spies almost everywhere."[108] It emerges from the correspondence between the generals and Versailles from the first year of the war that information gathering was largely transacted by spies. The day before Minden Lieutenant-colonel Freytag, commander of one brigade of the Hanoverian *Jägerkorps*, complained:

> The worst thing in this venture of mine is that I will always be betrayed, because Pirmont is right at my back, where all the foreign scouts are; it is said that various officers from Waldeck or Holland are used who are furnished with passes by the princes. This much is certain, that yesterday and also today many were found and all kinds of subterfuge is going on. A *commissaire* from Contades' army lingers at Pirmont, sends expresses from there and has been here for six weeks already.[109]

Many strands of information led to the luxury spa town of Bad Pyrmont in the principality of Waldeck, one of the most important communications centers in the Holy Roman Empire. The elite of the countryside met here in convivial surroundings to resolve issues of a military and political nature behind the scenes of cabinet activities along with the distribution of offices and honors.

Concluding Remarks

"The littlest things make [attacks] go wrong. One fact too many or too few included in information, too great haste, too great slowness, a firearm that goes off by chance, a soldier running away, meeting a patrol, being noticed by a sentry, the treacherousness of a farmer or finally the carefulness or caution of someone who wants to play a trick on you."[110] Had the author of this passage, a member of the light troops in the service of the French, been an officer of Napoleon Bonaparte's, he could have used this knowledge at "the fine line beyond which force and war are in vain."[111]

---

[108] Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel (NSTA Wf) 2 Alt Kanzlei, Geheime Ratsstube, Nr. 19507: Truppenbewegungen und Abzug der Franzosen aus den hiesigen Landen (1757). Registratum Braunschweig, 22.07.1759.

[109] Lieutenant-colonel Freytag to Ferdinand, Hämelsche Burg, 31.07.1759, in: Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge*, 3: 559 f.

[110] Grandmaison, *Der Kleine Krieg*, 98.

[111] Guglielmo Ferrero, *Abenteuer. Bonaparte in Italien* (*1796–1797*) (München: A. Francke, 1950), 178 f.

The generals of the French Revolution and Napoleon along with them threw out the rules of war used by the *Ancien Régime*, thus forgetting that a battle by means of a surprise attack is so decisive that no war can be won that fast. Thus the introduction of conscription (*levée en masse*) in revolutionary France changed little at first, since the constituent parts of intelligence service necessary for the success of a military operation in the early nineteenth century were based on a similar information network to that in use fifty years before.

False reports from scouts could scarcely be avoided and arose as a result of the immediacy of an army operating in an area as well as the lack of swifter means of communication. The topography of the terrain, and not technology, was strategically significant. One saw only what was immediately visible, and the belching smoke of the weapons and of artillery fire obscured one's vision. The reality of the terrain, mountains, hills and rivers were ever and anon barriers to sight that could be conquered with difficulty. This paradigm could also be turned to one's advantage: where large and immobile armies and linear tactics failed, the smaller units of the light troops provided a remedy, since their movements remained invisible to the eyes of the enemy in the rough terrain. In a "war of the woods" in which active use of the topographic features was the rule, this gave a foretaste of the "war of movement" suited to the terrain that stepped at the end of the eighteenth century, along with Napoleon, onto the European theatre of war and would go down in history.[112]

From the first engineer-geographers and light troops were always on the move in their capacity of scouts in the Seven Years' War. They undertook their own scouting and also picked up on the reports of middlemen, information from prisoners and deserters a well as captured letters and dispatches and passed these on to the military leadership. The least of them had a role as script writers: oral reports from farmers, anonymous spies and deserting hussars formed a large part of local reconnaissance. Since obtaining information from the enemy always inescapably brought a measure of secrecy and also deception along with it, the separation between it and espionage, which was theoretically seen as reprehensible, was quite thin.

"To get involved with espionage activities"[113] was part of the duties assigned to the scouts in the field by the military leadership. Being constantly surrounded by the enemy increased the density of information

112 Albrecht, *Geopolitik*, 187 ff.
113 Horstmann, *Luckner und seine Husaren*, 114.

provided by the light troops. The swift availability of the results of scouting arose from the mobility of the light troops, which did not act within the units of the regular army. Since scouts most often delivered deserters and prisoners, at the same time they were their preferred consumers of information.[114] Since they kept watch over traffic and controlled postal routes, they were in the position to intercept enemy messengers. In this way enemy letters and dispatches fell into their hands. The fact that they shouldered the whole burden of forage and exacting contributions for the army enabled them to remain in direct contact with the rural population, who execrated their oppression, but nonetheless provided them with information about the enemy. The porous condition of early modern armies in general and the colloquial and fluid structure of the scouting services in specific forms one of the most important conclusions of the present analysis.

The wide-ranging and open principle of information of early modern armies, in which deserters from the enemy and peasants, as well as noble officers and engineer-geographers had a part, led to the fundamentally quick leaking of information and therefore military reconnaissance was characterized by a certain permeability. "Scouting" directed at the enemy was often quickly surrendered as a matter of course and spies and deserters were punished only mildly in practice; thus ultimately it was the *acquisition* of knowledge and not the comprehensive *state* of knowledge that was relevant. This arose from the recognition that during military campaigns information sharing was merely of temporary use when available.

In this English-French conflict, waged in German theatre of war by regional regiments colorfully arrayed together – and indeed no national armies – there was at the very least one thing lacking: there was no "enthusiasm"[115] among the soldiers similar to that which von Knesebeck observed in the revolutionary armies. This arose at least partially from the fact that they were no longer mercenaries that potentially tend to desert. The "men of Lycurgus and Leonidas"[116] were absent not because there was no general who could stir them up. The combatants knew their job and were completely capable of glorious deeds. Nevertheless hatred of the enemy entirely failed to materialize: there existed in the western war zone of the empire no fixed image of the enemy that could justify such fervor.

---

114 Dupain de Montesson, *Les amusemens*, 184 f.

115 [Knesebeck], *Betrachtungen über den jetzigen Krieg*, 77.

116 Quoted from Albrecht, *Geopolitik*, 136 f. The spirit of the ancient Greek heroes was the spirit of freedom, which Napoleon was to use to lead the oppressed peoples home to their fatherlands to be saved.

CHAPTER TEN

"FÉROCES ET BARBARES?"[1] COSSACKS, KALMYKS AND RUSSIAN IRREGULAR WARFARE DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Marian Füssel
Translation by L.D. and J.S. Corum

The Seven Years' War was not just a performance stage for great battles; it was also a stage for massive atrocities perpetrated against military and civilian personnel alike, both on and off the battlefield.[2] Within the European theater of war, however, there was a distinct difference in the military environment between the western and eastern regions of Prussia. To be sure, especially in the western regions one notes a tendency towards upheaval to have preceded the devastating effects of irregular warfare upon the civilian population.[3] For the Prussians, the actions of the Russian troops, above all the behavior of the Cossacks, seemed especially gruesome. There is scarcely a single contemporary account of the Seven Years' War in which the aftermath of "Cossack Cruelty" is not described. Therefore, this study will examine the war atrocities associated with the Russian Army's practice of irregular warfare.

---

[1] Frederick II to Prince Henry, Blumberg, 1 Sept. 1758 (no. 10264) in *Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Großen* (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1889), 17: 203. An earlier and shorter version of this article is published in German as, "Die Aasgeier des Schlachtfeldes. Kosaken und Kalmücken als russische Irreguläre während des Siebenjährigen Krieges," in *Die Rückkehr der Condottieri? Krieg und Militär zwischen staatlichem Monopol und Privatisierung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Krieg in der Geschichte, vol. 57), eds. Stig Förster, Christian Jansen, Günther Kronenbitter (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010), 141–52.

[2] On the brutality of the battles see Sascha Möbius, "Kriegsgreuel in den Schlachten des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Europa," in *Kriegsgreuel: Die Entgrenzung der Gewalt in kriegerischen Konflikten vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, (Krieg in der Geschicte, vol. 40), eds. Sönke Neitzel, Daniel Hohrath (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008), 185–203.

[3] See Horst Carl, "Unter fremder Herrschaft: Invasion und Okkupation im Siebenjährigen Krieg," in *Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Bernhard R. Kroener and Ralf Pröve (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1996), 331–48.

Having undergone intense discussion in recent years, the subject of "small war" in the eighteenth century has been invigorated.[4] In recent publications terms such as "denationalization," "asymmetry," and "autonomitation of forces," have been coined. During this same period, historic parallels have been drawn and stages of development have been considered.[5] The Thirty Years' War, as well as modern wars of conquest, is also used heavily as a frame of reference.[6] The Seven Years' War also offers useful examples of irregular warfare. One aspect serves as an especially interesting hallmark of so-called modern warfare: the autonomitation of forces. In this regard, the Russian irregulars serve as a useful example of violence escalation, and not just as a well-defined ethnic soldier type. Indeed, the use of such irregular, ethnic troops was not unusual during the Seven Years' War.[7] For example, one calls to mind the North American Indians, or the Croats, or the Pandours.[8] Still, the mobilization

---

[4] See Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Martin Rink, *"Is There Anything New in Small-Scale Warfare?:" Developments in Asymmetric Violence, 1740–1815,* University of Salford, European Studies Research Institute, Working Papers in Military and International History no. 6 (Salford/Manchester: Economic & Social Research Institute, 2009).

[5] See Herfried Münkler, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 5.

[6] For a brief overview, see Marian Füssel, *Der Siebenjährige Kriege: Ein Weltkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2010).

[7] A common observation from the time that the national states were being created: "It is one of the remarkable characteristics of the Seven Years' War that the practice of the armed forces of civilized nations to fight alongside barbarian and half wild nations on military campaigns became commonplace and was practiced to a much greater degree than in any previous world war: Indian tribes fought in Canada for and against England, Austria put the Croatian pandour bands into the field, Russia included in its campaign forces from tribal peoples that never would have found their way into the center of Europe for any other reason. Their appearance reminded the contemporary observers of the tribal wanderings of ancient times. The Russian government, as well as the Prussians, felt no shame to call to arms common people as irregular forces, and one could see the distinct advantages in employing such irregular levies of the people as a kind of national militia. However, in the case of Prussia, it was done more as an emergency measure than regular practice," Xaver von Hasenkamp, *Ostpreußen unter dem Doppelaar: Historische Skizze der russischen Invasion in den Tagen des siebenjährigen Krieges* (Aus den Neuen Preußischen Provinzialblättern 3. Folge Bd. VI-XI) (Königsberg, 1866), 82.

[8] See Martin Bertling, *Die Kroaten und Panduren in der Mitte des XVII Jahrhunderts und ihre Verwendung in den Friderizianischen Kriegen* (Berlin: Blanke, 1912); Arnaud Balvay, *L'épée et la plume. Amérindiens et soldats des troupes de la marine en Louisiane et au pays d'en haut* (*1683–1763*) (Quebec: Laval, 2006); Martin Lathe Nicolai, "A Different Kind of Courage: the French Military and the Canadian Irregular Soldier during the Seven Years' War," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (March 1989), 53–75. On the British and Prussian light forces in the Reich see Frank Wernitz, "'They have been blooded and behaved very well': Britische leichte Truppen in der Armee des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig 1760–63. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des kleinen Krieges im 18. Jahrhundert" (PhD diss., University of Munich, 1992); also from same author, *Die preussischen Freitruppen*

of Russian forces during this conflict was achieved by using a high percentage of irregular troops. The Russian leadership ultimately lost control of these forces, and this fed the Prussian penchant for labelling the Russians as barbarians.[9] The widespread view concerning the Russian irregulars resulted in the Seven Years' War becoming a losing enterprise for the Russians.

Let us peer beneath the thick layers of propaganda to ascertain what manner of military formations existed among the Cossacks that might have led to their waging war in such an uncommon manner.[10] The Cossack bands cannot be properly characterized as regular troops. In fact, they were radically different from every type of regular troop. More accurately, they were relatively insular and ethnically-defined bands whose motives were basically self-serving. Within the context of "irregular warfare/limited engagements," their military efficacy was questionable.[11] In order to discuss the Cossacks as an example of the difference between autonomic acts of violence and state-controlled engagements, I will organize this study into three stages: The first will cover the establishment and organization of the Russian irregulars based upon contemporary observations. The second will use concrete examples to reveal the destructiveness of the Cossack troops and how the Prussians came to characterize them and to transform them into the most extreme stereotypes of Russian barbarians. Finally, the intrinsic rationality of treating Cossacks and Kalmyks within the context of "small war" will be discussed.

---

im Siebenjährigen Krieg 1756–1763: Entstehung, Einsatz, Wirkung (Wölfersheim-Berstadt: Podzun-Pallas, 1994).

[9] A good overview of the evolution of the image of the Cossacks is found in Udo Gehrmann, "Russlandkunde und Osteuropaverständnis im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Eine Studie zum deutschen Kosakenbild," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas N.F.* 40 (1992), 481–500, on the Seven Years' War see p. 492; See also Philipp Longworth, *Die Kosaken: Legende und Geschichte* (Frankfurt an. Main: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1977), 192f. As part of the current discussion of the so-called 'trans-cultural war' see also Bernhard R. Kroener, "Antichrist, Archenemy, Disturber of the Peace: Forms and Means of Violent Conflict in the Early Modern Ages," in *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century*, ed. Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006,), 57–84, and Daniel Hohrath, "Soldiers and Mercenaries, Protagonists in Trans-Cultural Wars in the Modern Ages," 249–60.

[10] See Christopher Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West: Origins and Nature of Russian Military Power 1700–1800* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 157–64.

[11] On small wars see Johannes Kunisch, *Der kleine Krieg. Studien zum Heerwesen des Absolutismus,* Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973); Martin Rink, *Vom Partheygänger' zum Partisanen. Die Konzeption des kleinen Krieges in Preußen 1740–1813* (Frankfurt a. Main: P. Lang, 1999).

Establishment and Organization of the "Infernal Life-Guards"

The high proportion of irregular troops was a central characteristic of the Russian Army in the Seven Years' War.[12] This applied to the light cavalry of the Cossacks, as well as to the Asiatic auxiliaries from Bashkiria, and the Kalmyks, who were deployed as scouts and flank cover for troops on the march.[13] Precise figures are extremely difficult to obtain since the tallying of the forces the Russian Army had assembled at the onset of the Seven Years' War fluctuates considerably.[14] For example, Saxon Artillery Captain Johann Gottlieb Tielke assessed the regular troops that marched against Prussia in 1757 at 89,132 men, plus another 16,000 irregulars. Christopher Duffy places the figures for May, 1757 around 79,000 regulars, plus about 16,000 Cossacks.[15] Only a short time after this, between

---

[12] See John Leslie Howard Keep, *Soldiers of the Tsar: Army and Society in Russia, 1462–1874* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), and Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*.

[13] See John Leslie Howard Keep, "Die russische Armee im Siebenjährigen Krieg," in *Europa im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Großen: Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Krieg*, ed. Bernhard Kroener (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989), 133–69, esp. p. 139. An especially good older view is found in Dmitri Fedorovich Masslowski, *Der siebenjährige Krieg nach russischer Darstellung*, mit Autorisation des Verfassers übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von A. von Drygalski, 3 vols. (Berlin: R. Eisenschmidt, 1888–93), 1: 29–39. For sources see, Nikolai Mikhailovich Korobkov, ed., *Semiletniaia voina deistviia rossii v. 1756–1762* (Moscow, 1940). On reconnaissance operations of the light troops in small wars see Rink, *Vom Partheygänger' zum Partisanen*, 102f.

[14] Even the contemporary writers, who spent a great deal of effort to try to get exact figures of troop strength, commented on this problem: "The strength of this army was unclear and even General Fermor did not have an exact count of the collection of irregular units that accepted neither normal military discipline nor regular command. They were often not found in camp and often found themselves in conflict with our own regular troops, so it was impossible to get an exact account of their strength", Nachrichten von der Aufführung der Russisch-Kaiserlichen Armee in der Gegend bey Cüstrin, nebst einem Anhange von der Beschaffenheit und Einrichtung dieser Völker, Neumark 1759, in *Teutsche Kriegs-Canzley 1759*, pp. 745–98, 799–825, see esp. p. 814. On Russia's entry into the war see Herbert Harold Kaplan, *Russia and the Outbreak of the Seven Years' War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

[15] These estimates give the following figures of 9,000 Don Cossacks, 5,000 Nobodisch Cossacks, and 2,000 Kalmücks. Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 73. Johann Gottlieb Tielke, *Beiträge zur Kriegskunst und Geschichte des Krieges von 1756 bis 1763*, 6 vols. (Freyberg, 1775–86), 2: 21. Similar figures are provided in another estimate in Hasenkamp, Ostpreußen, 255. Stein provides the figure of 80,000 men in the total force, but speaks of an 17,000 strong irregular cavalry. See Felix von Stein, *Geschichte des russischen Heeres. Vom Ursprunge desselben bis zur Thronbesteigung des Kaisers Nikolai I Pawlowitsch* (Leipzig: Zuckschwerdt, 1895), 130. John Keep provides a total number of 129,000 troops in the field army and 63,000 garrison soldiers for the same period, see John Leslie Howard Keep, "Feeding the Troops: Russian Army Supply Policies during the Seven Years' War," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 29, no. 1 (March 1987), 24–44, esp. p. 28. Last, Jürgen Luh provides a total figure of 290,993 soldiers for the year 1758, See Jürgen Luh, *Kriegskunst in Europa 1650–1800* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2004), 19.

1761 and 1762 during the reign of Peter III, there were about 100,000 irregulars among the 445,000 Russian soldiers—more than 20% of the total.[16] The Russian irregulars can be divided into four categories: the Hussars, the Don and Tzugujevskien Cossacks, the Zlobodian Cossack regiments, and last, the so-called "foreign peoples:" Kalmyks, Kasan Tartars, Metscherjaks and Bashkirs.[17] Above all the Tzugujevskien Cossacks enjoyed especial renown.[18]

These forces were outfitted and given normal pay and a regular organization. A regiment was composed of five "Sotnyas."[19] A Sotnya contained 100 men, half of them mounted.[20] They were commanded by an elected "Jessaul," a kind of cavalry captain, or else by a "Sotnik," a rank equivalent to a lieutenant. A Colonel commanded the entire regiment. In 1755, this colonel would have chosen some fifty-three staff officers from among the ranks. The regimental commander's staff would have also included a recording clerk and a quartermaster. Under Prince Potemkin in 1775 there existed a formal establishment of Cossack officers placed on an equal ranking with the officers of the regular troops.[21]

If one seeks information about the weapons and tactics of the irregulars from contemporary sources, one finds the accounts are permeated with

---

[16] See von Stein, *Geschichte des russischen Heeres*, p. 136 and p. 120. To be exact, these were the Don, Jaikisch, Grèbnisch, Terèk'sch, Ssemeinyjesch, Wolga, Orenburg, Slobodisch, Kleinrussisch und Saporogisch Cossacks. In addition to these there were the Stàwropol'sch, called Kalmücks, as well as the Tschugùjew'sch, Astrachàn'sch, Asòw'sch und Bachmùt'sch Cossack Regiments.

[17] On the history of the Kalmücks, see Dittmar Schorkowitz, *Die soziale und politische Organisation bei den Kalmücken* (*Oiraten*) *und Prozesse der Akkulturation vom 17. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. Main, P. Lang, 1992).

[18] For an example of this favorable view, see Tielke: "This Pulk is composed of Cossacks and they provide their own weapons, but they receive the pay and allowances of the regular Hussar units. They wear red coats and their officers receive the same ranks patent and positions as any other officer in the army. The soldiers in this Pulk were not only courageous, they looked to be fine examples of manhood. They had little in common with the other Cossacks and to treat them as the others would have been a grave injustice." Tielke, *Beiträge zur Kriegskunst*, 2: 9f. see notes. Also in Trütschler's report it is noted, "They are the best, whether clothes in red or blue", Trütschler, [?] Rapport eines churfürstl. sächsischen Officiers, Herrn von Trütschlers, an den Premierminister und General, Reichsgrafen von Brühl, die Russisch-Kaiserliche Armee betreffend, in *Militär Wochenblatt* (No. 31–38) (1838), pp. 124–126, 128–130,132–134, 136–138, 141–142, 144–146, 149–150, 151–152, on this see esp. p. 133.

[19] Masslowski, *Der siebenjährige Krieg*, 1: 30f.

[20] Duffy states that generally there were 200–390 men in a *Sotnya*; see Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 158. The whole regiment was comprised of two thirds Cossacks and one third baptized Kalmyks. It should be noted that the Don Cossacks also arranged themselves in Sotnyas.

[21] Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 159.

pseudo-ethnographic stereotyping.[22] In an anonymous contemporary memoir from Königsberg the following account is provided: "Kalmyks. These are your best irregular troops, both in appearance and in bravery. Treating one another like brothers, they operate without any order whatsoever. Their entire weaponry consists of a lance, a bow and arrows, as well as a saber.[23] They also have the best horses; nearly all have two." Regarding the Cossacks, it says further: "Cossacks. According to eyewitnesses, we have a great number of these arrayed against us. They themselves assert they will constantly alarm and fatigue the enemy, in order that they might have their enemy ever before their eyes, and so that their camp will not be unexpectedly overrun. Their own generals care little or nothing whether many or few of them are massacred."[24] Already, a notable difference in the assessment of their tactical use becomes apparent. Largely disorderly, the Cossacks seem like a disruptive force that their own leadership regarded as expendable. Their morally questionable character is ever again underscored by their disorderly manner:

> There are very bad people and horses among them, and the Don-Cossacks are supposedly the best in both ability and bravery. Their arms consist of a lance. On their saddle they have no pistols, though some among them have one, and others two. Many have firearms, but most of them have a saber. Their march is very confused, so that 800 men ride as much as a quarter mile behind one another. They attack in the Turkish fashion, all in a massed group, without columns, nor are they at all interested in learning anything about battlefield order.[25]

Their singular weaponry does not just bespeak the foreignness of these irregulars. Their lances, arrows, and bows strengthen the impression of these warriors as an archaic force.[26] A special symbol of their cruelty was

---

[22] It is not only in this eastern territory where contemporary observers noted a similarity between Scots and Kalmyks: See Anonymous, *Besonderes Gespräch eines Rußischen und Englischen Officiers von der bisher unbekannten Lebensart und Sitten der Kalmucken und Bergschotten, von welchen sich ein Theil bey denen Rußischen und Hannöverischen Armeen im Felde befinden, aus dem Rußischen und Englischen übersetzt*, (Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1760).

[23] "Notata", reprinted in Hasenkamp, *Unter dem Doppelaar*, 417–27, esp. p. 21.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 424. See also the remarks of Hasenkamp, 73. Similar accounts are also found in the anonymous pamphlet, *Schreiben eines Reisenden aus Riga welches enthält den Zustand der Russischen Armee, und die Beschaffenheit von deren Befehlshabern* [...], [Riga 1756].

[26] See for example Tielke: "All Cossacks carry spears, some sabers, and some carry one or two pistols hanging from their saddles or from their belts. They are expert in riding with and using their spears. To those to whom they have pledged allegiance they provide true and loyal service, but to those who are not their friends, or who are their enemies, they can

the Kant-shoe, a type of whip that was also used extensively against the civilian populace. A report by Trütschler, a Saxon officer, to General and Prime Minister von Brühl included this illuminating description:

> The irregular cavalry, consisting of Cossacks, Tartars, both civilized and wild Kalmyks, is thoroughly good. Indeed, every man is equipped with two horses, so that one is led alongside with the baggage while the other is ridden. The men are brave, healthy, and as fearsome to behold as hell's own bodyguard. The first two detachments are outfitted with very long pikes, with Damascene steel firearms, and sabers. Next come the Kalmyks, armed with bows, arrows, and sabers. This cavalry concerns itself only with penetrating enemy territory like a swarm of locusts, and to keep hold of their bridles. Though they numbered but 12,000 men, I was convinced there were more than 20,000 of them.

Of course, whether the Cossacks were fighting as enemies or allies obviously made a big difference in how their tactical abilities were described. Trütschler especially praised the military versatility of these units. He continues:

> These troops have surrounded the enemy with outposts and patrols so persistently that they are secure from any possibility of surprise attacks, and can sleep peacefully night after night. The army is thereby freed from any great fatigue. Moreover, thanks to these men the army on the march is fully covered. These same men are attentive and capable of providing the army with many useful services. They wreak great havoc upon the enemy, however, fatiguing him, weakening him, and making his foraging and other convoys horribly difficult.

Moreover, these light cavalry were not just useful in limited engagements, but also on the field of battle:

> During a battle, if these men are used to fall upon the enemy's flanks and rear at the proper time, they can be very useful, and effect an astonishing change in the battle's outcome. They attack with such an outcry, vivacity, and alacrity, that the enemy takes one glance at this hellish force and is persuaded to retreat from the main army. You can use them so effectively and for so many purposes, that if they are supported by Hussars and heavy

---

be vicious and cruel." Tielke, *Beiträge zur Kriegskunst*, 11, see notes; A detailed description of the weaponry is also found in Anonymous, "Nachrichten von der Aufführung der Russisch-Kaiserlichen Armee in der Gegend bey Cüstrin, nebst einem Anhange von der Beschaffenheit und Einrichtung dieser Völker, Neumark 1759," in *Teutsche Kriegs-Canzley 1759*, 745–98, 799–825, esp. 822f. On equipment see, Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 162.

> cavalry they will rout the enemy. In this case the said enemy can scarcely be placed in an unluckier situation.[27]

Trütschler qualifies the subtle differences among the Russian irregulars on the basis of their religion and their diet. The Cossacks are described as Christian, the Tartars as Mohammedans, and the Kalmyks as heathens.[28] While Cossacks and Tartars ate horse, dog and cat, to the Kalmyks, "Riding into action with their upper bodies naked, and devouring food on the fly, is their habit. Without a doubt, they will make their meal out of armed Prussian peasants."[29] This relatively neutral line hinting of cannibalism would later come to be used in Prussian propaganda. An especially famous example of this is contained in Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz's *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, in which the description of the Russian irregulars is given a similar ethnographic treatment. This is not a particularly insightful picture of the irregulars, since a closer connection between the organization of their society, and that of their military is implied here. In Archenholz, racist remarks are included in the description of the Kalmyks:

> These Kalmyks live along the Caspian Sea and the Volga River. They are a free people that live under Russian protection. In return, they must take the field of battle when the Russian rulers so require. They receive in recompense only a ruble and a sheepskin each. They are actually nomads, with neither cities nor villages. Their dwellings are felt tents. These, they carry with them, for they constantly seek pasture lands for their large herds, which represent their entire wealth. They are extremely ugly, and so similar in appearance to one another that it is very hard to tell them apart. Their faces are flat and nearly square. Their eyes are very small, much like those of the Chinese, and set deeply in their heads. Their noses are wide and flattened, and their mouths as well as their ears are unusually large, so that their ears stand out from their heads. They carry bows and arrows, with which they shoot unbelievably far and fast. Their religion is "Dalai Lamish.[30]

Following Archenholtz, the Cossacks can be distinguished from the Kalmyks and numbered, in all, around 700,000 "military men."[31] These served as a border defense force, protecting the south of Russia against

---

[27] Trütschler, *Rapport*, 142, 144.

[28] On the religion of the Kalmyks and the negative ethnographical image see, *Lebensart und Sitten der Kalmucken und Bergschotten*, 21ff.

[29] Trütschler, *Rapport*, 133.

[30] Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland von 1756 bis 1763* (1793), in *Aufklärung und Kriegserfahrung. Klassische Zeitzeugen zum siebenjährigen Krieg* (Bibliothek der Geschichte und Politik, vol. 9), ed. Johannes Kunisch (Frankfurt a. Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1996), 9–513, esp. 99.

[31] Ibid., 100.

attack from Tartars and other "wild Folk." Their clothing seems "Polish, but usually disheveled." Religion and language seem Russian. About their social organization it is said "they have only a single social class, and it follows that they are all equal. They also form their own state, and enjoy certain rights that contrast greatly with Russian slavery, and even Europeans would describe their freedom as considerable. They live in large villages and engage in farming, mainly animal husbandry, including horse herding."[32] A military code of honor also exists among the Cossacks, for they do not tolerate beatings with cudgels, though whippings are tolerated as an "honorable punishment."

One way that they paralleled other indigenous populations is their notable susceptibility to pestilence. Archenholz describes an apparent outbreak of smallpox among the Kalmyks during their retreat from Prussia. At this event, however, the Russian command felt relief, rather than mourning the loss of worthy troops.[33] One of the standing orders of General Apraxin was to have regular cavalry escort the irregulars on the way through Poland in order to reduce rioting. This action shows that even the Russians, for their part, perceived the irregulars as a danger.[34] What this danger amounted to is revealed in the devastation and atrocities committed against the civilian population.

Shock and Awe Politics, or Loss of Control? The Devastation of Ragnit (1757) and Its Consequences

There were repeated incursions by the Russians in various degrees against the East Prussians during the Seven Years' War. The first invasion, led by General Apraxin in 1757, shaped up to be especially violent. It is possible to read descriptions of several examples of atrocities perpetrated by Cossacks and Kalmyks, and their effect upon the public during the destruction of Ragnit on the Memel in the days following September 24, 1757.[35]

---

[32] Ibid.

[33] "The Russian field commanders did not interfere. They were happy to unleash these monsters who were even more badly behaved than the Cossacks and were impossible to control. Only a few Kalmyks, who managed to control their desire for plunder, left their own tribal group to stay with the Russian army and advance with them into Germany." Ibid., 98f. A similar report is made by Hasenkamp, *Unter dem Doppelaar*, 226f.

[34] See Georg von Frantzius, "Die Okkupation Ostpreußens durch die Russen im siebenjährigen Krieg mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der russischen Quellen", (PhD diss, University of Berlin, 1916), 99; Masslowski, *Der siebenjährige Krieg*, 1: 330.

[35] See Hasenkamp, *Unter dem Doppelaar*, 211ff.

These took place a few weeks after Tilsit had fallen to Russian troops. Civil and religious leaders surrendered instantly, swearing an oath of fealty to the occupiers. As happened later in combat when the Prussian Hussars were outnumbered by Cossacks, this led to an escalation in violence.[36] When several hundred Cossacks took occupation of the city, they unleashed massive violence against the civilian population. Various reports of vice-mayor Theodor Werner, the Royal Bailiff Donalitius, the Cantors of the City, and several other eyewitnesses provide a detailed picture of the occasion.[37] It seems that, around eight o'clock in the evening, an "innumerably large swarm of Cossacks and Kalmyks …like a water torrent" fell upon the city and plundered all with the greatest of force.[38] The plundering continued for three days, during which the inhabitants had to undress and "totally bloodied from Kant-shoe lashes, saber-strikes and pike-stabbings, were hunted all up and down the streets."

It took fourteen lines of notes for Werner to list the dead and wounded individuals. Numerous women were raped, and the cattle were slaughtered. The houses were first plundered, and then set on fire.[39] According to the sources, between twenty and twenty-six died in all, including mayor Boltz, Pastor Martin Lindenau, and other religious, royal, and local government leaders.[40] The picture of the Cossacks given in the report is taken from the aforementioned stereotypes. Their special arms in the form of "five deadly weapons," their heavy consumption of alcohol, their robust physiques, and their depraved attitudes combine into a picture of the worst possible misanthropes.[41] Also, a moral comparison is made between the Cossacks and the Kalmyks that presents the Cossacks as significantly more atrocious.[42] The tenor of the report is that the Russian irregulars

---

[36] See the report of Cantor Rosenbaum in "Nachrichten von der den 24. September 1757 von den Russen und Cosacken verübten Plünderung und Einäscherung der Stadt Ragnit in Preußen," in *Beiträge zur Kunde Preußens NF.1* (1837), 128–70 (here pp. 153–162).

[37] Theodor Werner, "Beschreibung von Vice-Bürgermeister Werner über Verwüstung Ragnits," *Preußische Provinzialblätter* 14 (1835), 417–20; "Plünderung und Einäscherung der Stadt Ragnit."

[38] Werner, "Beschreibung", 417.

[39] The reports of the rapes that occurred may have been quietly suppressed. An eyewitness reports that "People say that some of the Cossacks and Kalmyks may have violently outraged some women, but I do not know this with certainty. But I do know that there were no illegitimate children registered from such acts on either the German or Lithuanian baptism registers the next year." "Plünderung und Einäscherung der Stadt Ragnit," 140.

[40] "Plünderung und Einäscherung der Stadt Ragnit", 129.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Hasenkamp notes the difference between Cossacks and Kalmyks, especially in the greater degree of humanity in the latter. Hasenkamp, *Unter dem Doppelaar*, 215. He notes

were above all interested in gold, clothing, or livestock, and were prepared to use whatever means necessary. Despite the brutal actions of the irregulars to many contemporaries who chanced to encounter them their behavior was generally seen as an exception to the usual model behavior of the Russian troops—to be sure, quite a notable exception.[43]

The aforementioned witnesses turned such events into a regular media event, likening the violence to rhetoric that had served since the Middle Ages as the central, historical reference point for extreme war atrocities—the Biblical "Slaughter of the Innocents" in Bethlehem.[44] The destruction of Ragnit, among other incidents, was described in such terms in Adolph Friedrich Ortmann's *Patriotischen Briefen*.[45] The following 1757 account of "Russian Cossack and Kalmyk wantonness and tyranny in Prussian suffering" provides a graphic illustration of the contemporary view of Cossack atrocities (see Figure 1).[46]

Along the borders of the illustration, we see acts of violence against women and children. The focal point of the illustration is a man tied to a horse's tail. At the lower left a pile of booty is shown, and to the upper right of the illustration houses are already in flames. Such illustrations are rather rare, so written descriptions of similar scenes enjoyed a greater degree of dissemination. Archenholz described the violence of Cossacks and Kalmyks very effectively, writing, "Since the time of the Huns, Europe

---

as an example the report of the eyewitness Donalitius: "In general one notes that the Kalmyks, who are mostly Moslems and also heathens, in every action show greater humanity and pity than the Cossacks, who are supposed to be Christians." "Plünderung und Einäscherung der Stadt Ragnit," 162–70 (here p. 169).

43 Donalitius reported: "Without this incident I could truly tell: I never saw the imperial Russian troops not being gracious philanthropists," "Plünderung und Einäscherung der Stadt Ragnit," 162–70 (here p.169).

44 On the medieval picture tradition of this sort see, Gabriela Signori, "Frauen, Kinder, Greise und Tyrannen: Geschlecht und Krieg in der Bilderwelt des späten Mittelalters," in *Bilder, Texte, Rituale. Wirklichkeitsbezug und Wirklichkeitskonstruktionen politisch-rechtlicher Kommunikationsmedien in Stadt und Adelsgesellschaften des späten Mittelalters* (*ZHF Beiheft 24*), eds., Klaus Schreiner, Gabriela Signori (Berlin: Heilbronn, 2000), 139–64. On early modern massacres and the press reports see, Christine Vogel, ed., *Bilder des Schreckens: Die mediale Inszenierung von Massakern seit dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a. Main: Campus Verlag, 2006).

45 A detailed account is provided and cited in Letter 18 from the *Nachrichten von dem jetzigen Krieg in Preußen*, see Adolph Dietrich Ortmann, *Patriotische Briefe zur Vermahnung und zum Troste bey dem jetzigen Kriege* (Berlin, 1759), 285–91 (Letter No. 18).

46 Staatsbibliothek preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin YB 7204 kl. "Der Russischen Cosacken u. Calmücken Muthwill und Tyranney in dem Preuss. Lithauen 1757," Kupferstich 28x16 cm printed in: Wolf-Dieter Könenkamp, *Iserlohner Tabaksdosen. Bilder einer Kriegszeit* (Münster: Das Museumsamt, 1982), 111.

had not experienced greater barbarity."[47] Included in his reproaches is this very important account of the violence, as follows: "These troglodytes murdered or mutilated unarmed people from sheer, Satanic lust. Some, they hung on trees. Others had their noses and ears hacked off. Others had their legs chopped off. Some had their bodies sliced open and their hearts ripped out. They set both villages and market towns afire out of sheer, raging malice, often barricading the inhabitants within the areas where they were laying waste so they could burn them alive. Graves were destroyed, and severed limbs were scattered about. Public officials and clergymen were flayed with Kant-shoes, laid naked upon burning coals, and martyred in many other ways. Some children were seized out of the arms of their parents, or murdered right before their eyes. Maids and matrons alike were ravished. Many females committed suicide to escape the brutality of their attackers."[48]

As to the question of a specific, military rationale for Cossack atrocities, these are revealed in the *Danziger Beyträgen*, a published report of the events in Ragnit. The report purports to describe "the atrocities committed by Russian light troops."[49] This publication provides various assessments regarding the use of Cossacks in small wars. In a letter by General Apraxin to General-Field Marshal Hans von Lehwald, he asserts that he has "never taken any pleasure in the scorching and burning carried out by the irregular troops." It would seem, however, that he is not of the opinion that such proceedings should be ordered to cease, so long as "the unheard-of and aggressively hostile methods are suspended to some extent." He leaves it to Lehwald himself to decide whether it could have been the landowners themselves who goaded the Cossacks and Kalmyks to extreme rancor.[50] He reports this as the likely real cause of the harm that happened to him: "Not even the violent acts of the light troops are committed entirely with intent. Rather, they are largely committed as opportunity presents itself."

---

[47] The same allusion is found at this time from the opposite perspective when the Prussian invasion of Saxony is depicted by contemporaries. See Manfred Schort, *Politik und Propaganda: der Siebenjährige Krieg in den zeitgenössischen Flugschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2006), 95.

[48] Archenholz; *Geschichte*, 96.

[49] See *Beyträge zur neuern Staats- und Krieges-Geschichte. Ein-, zwey-, drey u. vier und dreyßigstes Stück* (Danzig, 1758), 69–80.

[50] According to Masslowski, Ragnit was burned to the ground, "because there the inhabitants shot at the Cossacks as they rode by." Masslowski, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg*, 1: 260.

It is only when necessary order was observed throughout the local population that the cruelty of the Cossacks could be stopped. On the part of the Russian leadership the responsibility for the exceptional level of violence was attributed to the stubborn resistance of the Prussian populace.[51] A leaflet lists, yet again, the various forms of local opposition in order to argue that one should not "insist that the occupied nations observe strict discipline." "Seeing that it is an established truth, that they were provoked by our own commission of various disorderly acts." It is further argued that several of the inhabitants offered themselves to Cossack spears, "thereby promising their own neighbors misfortune and calamity."

Considering the makeup of the Cossack bands, this argument seems unlikely. Still, the text goes on to describe the central problem—the manner of provisioning the troops. Since the populace had driven their livestock into the woods and had sought in every way to deprive the Russian troops from access to them, the Russian troops were convinced to use more violent means "so that the livestock might be rounded up." Once this was accomplished, they could use much less force than if the obstinate farmer set himself in opposition in order to protect his livestock. In Lehwald's reply to General Apraxin he expressed his displeasure concerning the cruelty that transpired. He protested that no excuse was presented by any action made by the Prussians. Rather, he recognized in the behavior of the irregulars a "type of vengeance, which is indecent to the profession of a lawful soldier, on account of the losses endured by our regular troops here and there, which is not being experienced to the same degree by the heathens."[52]

In response to a further argument of General Apraxin, that the Prussian Hussars had provoked a corresponding reaction in the Cossacks, Lehwald argues that the Hussars should have acted with restraint and through the havoc they wreaked they had endangered the welfare of their own troops. For "through that, the enemy army itself was deprived of subsistence, so that they would have to have found it themselves. These proceedings, contrary to all materiel and human needs, still continue as of this date."[53] The actions of the Cossacks, even criticized by the Russian side as clearly out of control, were praised here. Moreover, Lehwald warns of the degrading

---

[51] For a general view of the role played by the peasant population see Stefan Kroll and Kersten Krüger, eds., *Militär und ländliche Gesellschaft in der frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000).

[52] Tielke, *Beyträge*, 75f.

[53] Ibid, 76.

effect of this form of war-making, which "has so little honor that it turns out to be a drawback, but which must bring the landowners to extreme desperation. They suffer, yet such men are being told to change in the strongest terms and in the same circumstance to maintain propriety, since that cannot fail to provide a means to 'hold in check' even frantic men."[54] As to the possibility that these accounts that discredit the Russian troops are pure propaganda, it calls into question their basic ability to control the Russians' own army.

Already in the mid-1900s, Xaver von Hasenkamp questioned the causes of this 'house of horrors,' and was content to say that "Russian military discipline was incapable of restraining the notorious licentiousness of that wild horde," although one allowed the exception of the 'occasional outbreak.'[55] Rather, such behavior should be understood as "proceeding from a well-considered, planned undertaking, so that the violence perpetrated against hapless Ragnit" is essentially "a strategic tactic to persuade the inhabitants of neighboring Tilsits to surrender to the Russians."[56] Was it a question of a Russian variation of 'Shock-and-Awe' politics, or of an abandonment of military discipline? In fact, statements like those of General Apraxin reveal the threat potential of irregulars. He argues that the motivation for the sortie of the Kalmyks against the enemy was to instill fear, "from just the mention of their name, one would receive a fright."[57] On the whole, the sources speak of a lack of control in the presence of a dynamic force and a counter-force.[58] The farmers of the afflicted villages suffered so grievously that it led to pockets of resistance, which in turn led to retaliation by the Russians. The end result was violence spiraling out of control, which further strengthened the image of the Cossacks

---

54 Ibid.

55 Hasenkamp, *Unter dem Doppelaar*, 219.

56 Ibid., 219f.

57 See. Masslowski, *Der siebenjährige Krieg*, 1: 35. On the view of the Kalmyks held by Western forces see also, Ernst von Frisch, *Zur Geschichte der russischen Feldzüge im Siebenjährigen Kriege nach den Aufzeichnungen und Beobachtungen der dem russischen Hauptquartier zugeteilten österreichischen Offiziere vornehmlich in den Kriegsjahren 1757/58*, Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte, vol. 52 (Heidelberg: Agema, 1919), 28.

58 For example, see the description of Hans Heinrich von Weymarn, *Über den ersten Feldzug des Russischen Kriegsheeres gegen die Preußen im Jahr 1757. Aus Archivalnachrichten, welche der unlängst verstorbene Russ. Kaiserl. General en Chef und Ritter Herr Hans Heinrich von Weymarn, auf erhaltenen Befehl der Kaiserlichen Conferenz zu St. Petersburg 1758 überreicht hat. Ein merkwürdiger Beytrag zur Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges. Nebst einem Plan der Bataille bey Groß-Jägerndorf*, herausgegegen von August Wilhelm Hupel (Riga, 1794), 53–62.

as barbarians.[59] At its peak, Russophobia inspired a body of war poetry. An example is Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim's *Preussische Kriegslieder* that stylized the Cossacks and Kalmyks as tigers, snakes, and locusts.[60]

Border Raiders: Possibilities and Constraints upon Semi-Independent Perpetrators of Violence

The portrayal of Cossacks and Kalmyks as 'stateless' forces would remain incomplete if we were to confine ourselves to the negative image that is the legacy of their appearance in the Seven Years' War. The influence of the historical context upon the aforementioned writings is clear if one compares them to the image of the Cossack that dates from the period during and directly after the Napoleonic Wars.[61] As allies against France, the Cossacks were, in fact, once stylized as heroes, "noble savages," who never exhibited a hint of their fearsome barbarity.[62] The argument, based on works by von Archenholz, that this image of barbarity continued straight into Nazi propaganda seems to come from an offhand assumption rather than from serious research.[63] The very change in the image of the

---

[59] See Ernst A. Legahn, "Preußische Partisanen," *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau* 18 (1968), 159–75.

[60] He says, for example, "Kalmucks and cossacks eat quickly! Long may their chieftains reign over them and be ready to loose them, the way that a hunter looses his dogs on animals, and spread fear among the cities and land and wherever any forces are arrayed against them! […] Filled with fury, ready to destroy the land and behaving as non-humans, the Kalmucks and Cossacks were let loose on the land of people to serve as the warlord's devils." Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, "Der Grenadier an die Kriegsmuse nach dem Siege bei Zorndorf den 25. August 1758," in Ders., *Preussische Kriegslieder von einem Grenadier* (Heilbronn, 1882) (ND Nendel/Liechtenstein, 1968), 35–44 (here p. 42f). On this subject see also, Mechthild Keller, "Geschichte in Reimen. Russland in Zeitgedichten und Kriegsliedern," in *Russen und Russland aus deutscher Sicht. 18. Jahrhundert: Aufklärung* (München: Fink, 1987), 298–335, (here 314–30); Hans-Martin Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland. Die deutsche Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000), 206f.

[61] A good overview of the evolution of the image of the Cossacks is found in Gehrmann, *Russlandkunde*; Carsten Goehrke, "Die russischen Kosaken im Wandel des Geschichtsbildes," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 30 (1980): 181–203; Walter Pape, "'Juchheirassa, Kosacken sind da!' Russen und Russland in der politischen Lyrik der Befreiungskriege," in *Russen und Russland aus deutscher Sicht. 19. Jahrhundert: Von der Jahrhundertwende bis zur Reichsgründung*, ed. Mechthild Keller (München: Fink, 1991), 289–314.

[62] A clear source for the positive view of the Cossacks of the Napoleonic period are the essays by Major Münnich from the year 1816; see Major. D. Graf von Münnich, "Ueber Kossacken," in *Soldatenfreund 118 u. 119* (1835), 941–943, 948–50.

[63] A rather strongly argued recent piece on this subject are the comments by Wolfgang Burgdorf, "'Unmenschen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung:' Die Bedeutung von Archenholz *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges* für das Bild vom russischen Menschen in

Cossacks demonstrates how a suitable stereotype could be molded by the politicized military history of the events. Romanticizing, or demonizing, could likewise recur and be guided in directions based on contemporary attitudes. Martin Rink has demonstrated this ambivalence regarding the more or less successful cooperation with the civilian populace: "What is more, as members of the line, the light troops could become symbols for excessive atrocity on the one hand, and prototypes of freedom fighters on the other. The Cossacks, the 'Terror of the Seven Years' War', marched back into Berlin in 1813 and were celebrated as liberators."[64] It was precisely the freedom of the irregular troops that further enabled them to be simultaneously war heroes, and war criminals, variously described as the literary and media imagination required.[65]

Was the form of civilian opposition and the need for provisioning themselves, as Ragnit and others have posited, sufficient reason for the extreme application of force? If so, a question remains regarding the opportunities and constraints upon a semi-autonomous force like the Cossacks. In order to discuss the structural deficits of a type of combatant placed under the government's military command, I would like to concentrate upon two aspects: discipline and logistics. The pivotal point in small wars is the degree of independence afforded light troops in combat operations.[66] The central problem, troop discipline, crops up especially in the arena of small wars.[67] All the pejorative descriptions that were applied to the Russian irregulars—their lack of "drill", their disorderliness, and ultimately, their barbarity, led to the conclusion that they had a complete lack of discipline.[68] It can be said to be characteristic of most detailed contemporary descriptions of the Russian irregulars that their portrait begins with a

---

Deutschland," in *Blondies and Brownies: Blondinchen und Bräunchen, weiß weiß bin auch ich. Multikulturalismus und Rassismus in der Alten und der neuen Welt*, eds. Rafael von Uslar and Irmtrud Wojak (Essen: Klartext, 2001), 93–101.

64 Rink, *Vom Partheygänger' zum Partisanen*, 128.

65 Stephanie Schwarzer, *Zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Die Ästhetisierung kriegerischer Ereignisse in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München: Martin Meidenbauer Verlag, 2006), 237–57.

66 Rink, *Vom Partheygänger' zum Partisanen*, 103f.

67 See Michael Sikora, *Disziplin und Desertion: Strukturprobleme militärischer Organisation im 18. Jahrhundert* (*Historische Forschungen*) (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1996); Ulrich Bröckling, *Disziplin: Soziologie und Geschichte militärischer Gehorsamsproduktion* (München: W. Fink, 1997).

68 This ideal of human breeding stands in the context of the need to breed a special kind of warrior tribe according to the literature; see Georg Dietrich von der Gröben, "Versuch von der Kriegs-Zucht," in Ders., *Krieges-Bibliothek oder gesammlete Beyträge zur Krieges-Wissenschaft* (Breslau, 1755), 34–104.

pseudo-ethnographic sketch. Their military character is thereby derived mainly from their social character, which inevitably results in the conclusion that they were a disorganized military force.[69] As has been noted then and today, plundering remained a customary practice of most armies in the eighteenth century despite increasing efforts to control it.[70] The assurance that the soldiers could continue to be supplied and provisioned was a central condition of effective war-waging, especially for an army that, like the Russian army, was far removed from its homeland.[71] It was precisely this assurance of plunder, as well as their need for subsistence, that affected the behavior of the advancing irregulars.[72] It was their particular means of ensuring their self-sufficiency that, together with their role as a vanguard, led to their tendency to become a dysfunctional and uncontrollable group within the Russian Army.

For example, in his memoirs Russian officer Andrej Bolotow reported on the uncontrolled advance of the Cossacks upon the village of Mikulen, which inspired the inhabitants to help the Prussian hussars by taking potshots out their windows at the Russian soldiers as they rode past. The Russian Field Marshal thereupon gave the fateful command to 'give no quarter' in such cases, and to set the building on fire. "Hardly had this order been spoken, when the Cossacks, Kalmyks and other light troops turned to devilment. These troops, who had been deployed on a wide front to eradicate the enemy, now spared no one. They plundered many buildings without any regard for the guilt or innocence of the residents. These, they drove from their settlements, tortured and killed them. They then destroyed their homes, committing such gross misdeeds, atrocities, and crimes as befit only utter barbarians. By so doing, they stirred up such a great hatred and wrath against us within the Prussian populace that we all were cloaked with dishonor before the world, for the report of these devastations and misdeeds spread like wildfire, and we were held overwhelmingly to be

---

[69] "Of all the nations that were deployed in the field for the first time against the Germans, this nation was the wildest of all of Frederick's enemies. It was even an unworthy act to lead such people against a civilized land as it was for a disciplined army to be supported by such types. Because they were not very effective in bringing victory on the battlefield, they were instead employed more to devastate the enemy land and people; the hordes bringing horrible cruelty that was closer to unreasoning wildness than barbarity," Archenholz, *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, 99.

[70] Rink, *Vom Partheygänger' zum Partisanen*, 112–21, and for a general overview see, Fritz Redlich, *De Praeda Militari: Looting and Booty 1500–1815*, Beihefte zur Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, vol. 39 (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1956).

[71] See Keep, "Feeding the Troops."

[72] See von Frisch, *Geschichte der russischen Feldzüge*, 28, 31f., 35 u. 42, Frantzius, *Die Okkupation Ostpreußens*, 29; Keep, "Feeding the Troops," 30f.; see also, Luh, *Kriegskunst*, 39f.

absolute barbarians. But that was not all. There was no way to restrain them, once the Cossacks had acquired a taste for this, which later caused us very great harm, for everything that we endeavored to accomplish that summer brought us nothing but shame, and no profit at all. In this, one sees what the failure of a single man can cause."[73] As Jürgen Luh recently remarked, in this campaign the devastation of East Prussia ultimately cost the Russians their victory.[74]

Tielke's contemporary description relates such a censorious account of the warrior habits of the Cossacks. He says that since they "never once deserved the glorious name of 'Soldier' and knew no discipline; they also deserved to serve without salary." Their officers, with few exceptions, were no better than their troops, so that they were virtually indistinguishable in discipline and coercive force from their men. Still, the retention of such units was specially arranged by the Russian Army. "Since they are useful in campaigns against the Poles, Turks, and Tartars, we regard them as a necessary evil. Against the remaining European nations, however, they are certainly more harmful than useful. They are only daring when they encounter no resistance. Through the devastation of the entire surrounding area, they seek to secure all the available supplies and provisions for themselves. Through their brutality and extremes of violence, they drive the land's inhabitants to such despair, that they avenge themselves by causing every possible harm to our Army both openly and secretly."[75]

Conclusion

The identity of Cossacks and Kalmyks as a specific type of soldier, an irregular, cannot be regarded separately from the observation of their ethnic identity. Their behavior with respect to their provision feeding and their attacks upon the enemy are not so unusual. However, the fundamental questions about their military efficiency, or of their identity as a specific mercenary type, are largely overshadowed by their reputation as an alien

---

[73] Andrej Bolotow, *Leben und Abenteuer des Andrej Bolotow von ihm selbst für seine Nachkommen aufgeschrieben*, 2 vols. (München: Beck, 1990), 1: 217f.

[74] See Luh, *Kriegskunst*, 40.

[75] Tielke, *Beiträge zur Kriegskunst*, 2: 10. In his work Tempelhoff also took a similar position. "Because of the nature of the light troops and the lack of a clear operational plan, in time the whole army would become a band of plunderers," Georg Friedrich von Tempelhof, *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland zwischen dem Könige von Preußen und der Kaiserin Königin mit ihren Alliierten*, 6 vols. (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1783–1801); reprint, Bibliotheca Rerum Militarium, no. XXIX (Osnabrück, 1986,), 337.

force. The questions include their total lack of discipline and a barbarity that extended to cannibalism.[76] Simply stated, their role as enforcers, completely unchecked by the government authority, cannot be discussed separately from the contemporary observations of their foreignness. The willfulness of these nomadic warriors brought the Russians immense woe, both material and symbolic. On one hand, the work of the regular quartermasters was jeopardized, again and again, by the plundering and havoc wrought by the onslaught of Cossacks. On the other hand, their largely uncontrolled and excessive violence against the civilian population supplied the Prussian war propagandists valuable ammunition in a confrontation over the 'orderly' conduct of war.[77] If the Russian leadership sought to cut expenses for pay and equipment by using irregulars, they paid a high price for it.

As to the question of their autonomy, the Cossacks clearly represented the anachronistic, older type of force that has little to do with the nationalized army of the early modern principality.[78] The hiatus between the idea and the reality of small war leads, in the truest sense, to disastrous results. So much discipline and self-sufficiency was required of these mercenaries that, in the end, they proved to be a destructive holdover from the past. They were granted more latitude than the prevailing norm permitted. In this way, the small war was a proving ground between residual, outmoded organizational forms and innovative, tactical models. The small war ought to have been handled with certain moderation, and should not have escalated to the excesses of total war.

---

[76] On the origin of these particular judgments see Ekkehard Klug, *Das "asiatische" Russland: über die Entstehung eines europäischen Vorurteils* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1987); Concerning the origins of European prejudice see, *Historische Zeitschrift* 245 (1987), 265–289; Eckhard Matthes, *Das veränderte Russland. Studien zum deutschen Russlandverständnis im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen 1725 und 1762* (Frankfurt a. Main: P. Lang, 1981).

[77] See Schort, *Propaganda*, 385–96.

[78] On the anachronistic elements of the small war see, Rink, *Vom Partheygänger' zum Partisanen*, 112.

Figure 1. Der Russischen Cosacken und Calmücken Muthwill und Tyranney in dem Preuss. Lithauen 1757. 28x16 cm, reproduced in: Wolf-Dieter Könenkamp, *Iserlohner Tabaksdosen. Bilder einer Kriegszeit* (Münster: Das Museumsamt, 1982), p. 111.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR IN WEST AFRICA: THE END OF COMPANY RULE AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE *HABITANTS*

James F. Searing

The Seven Years' War brought an end to a long period of peaceful co-existence between French and English merchants trading in Senegambia. France went on the offensive in 1756, conquering and occupying Minorca and striking at British trade in West Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. When Great Britain struck back at France's colonial empire after 1756, British attacks on colonial outposts threatened to become permanent seizures of territory, rather than to serve as negotiating chips at an eventual peace. In 1758 Great Britain undertook the conquest of the French possessions of Saint-Louis and Gorée, ports long controlled by the French East India Company. The first direct conflict between Great Britain and France over possessions in West Africa set the stage for future conflicts over the next fifty years. After 1758, when the tides of war moved decisively in favor of the British, French diplomacy shifted to acquiescence in the loss of Canada combined with a vigorous defense of French interests in North Atlantic fisheries, the Caribbean, and trading rights in West Africa and in India.[1]

When historians have considered this aspect of the Seven Years' War they have focused on colonial rivalries and on the economic value (or not) of Senegambia's export trade in slaves and gum. This chapter argues that the true prize of the conflict was the "colony" of Saint-Louis, which consisted of an African urban population of three thousand, the so-called *habitants* (free persons of property), and their slaves. Gorée was, by contrast, merely a naval station with a very small population. When Great Britain retained Saint-Louis at the peace and gave up Gorée, it got the better part of the bargain, but fostered desires for revenge on the part of the French, who recaptured Saint-Louis in 1779.

---

[1] For the best overall account see Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

The focus on Saint-Louis was not misplaced, but it was not based simply on the gum trade, as many historians have argued, most notably Prosper Cultru, André Delcourt and Philip Curtin. This argument is based on the idea that the gum trade (whatever its absolute value) was unique to the strip of coast between Cap Blanc (in Mauritania) and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, the premier settlement of the French Company of the Indies in West Africa. Without disputing the importance of the gum trade, I argue that it was the maritime labor system that developed on the Senegal River that made this "colony" valuable. Under the French Company the Senegal River became a nursery of "slave sailors" that lowered the Company's operating costs and spared the lives of European sailors in Senegambia. The Company exported this labor system to Louisiana and the Ile de France (Mauritius) by exporting skilled slave sailors and slaves to train, knowing that the Senegal settlement could renew its own maritime labor force locally. This was a real asset in an era when the scarcity of sailors and ships put constraints on French naval and colonial power.

Historians and the Colonial Dimensions of the Seven Years' War

The irruption of warfare in Senegambia raises a number of questions. One school of thought sees the Seven Years' War emerging from colonial conflicts in North America and then engulfing Europe and the entire French and British empires. In this scenario, war in Senegambia simply reflected the escalation of the conflict between Great Britain and France. Unlike other frontiers between the French and British empires, Senegambia was peaceful during most of the wars of the eighteenth century. French merchants on the Senegal River made deals with British merchants in the 1740s to settle tension and avoid war.

The main source of tension in Senegambia was the privileged access of the French to supplies of Gum Arabic, a vital raw material for the textile industry. The French claimed a monopoly on the entire region where gum exports were important. In fact the British frequently carried on a vigorous contra-band trade by sending out naval escorts for convoys of merchant vessels. The situation was more comparable to that in the Indian Ocean than to North America. In the Indian Ocean French and British merchants also tried to maintain their neutrality in periods of war. The French and British Companies had fought in India during the war of the Austrian succession and tensions remained after 1748. But both France and Great

Britain were prepared to negotiate a separate truce for the Indian Ocean as late as 1755, although these efforts failed.[2]

However, some historians have focused on the Senegambian factors in the British assault, asking why Pitt's government allocated naval and military resources to a conquest in West Africa. André Delcourt proposed in a pioneering work in the 1950s that competition for gum supplies was the root of the conflict. Gum Arabic, produced by trees at the desert edge, was valued for printing textiles, in dyeing, and was used in the preparation of inks, glues, paints and other products. The Senegal region was the prime supplier and gum from Senegal was preferred to all other sources. Delcourt argued that a "gum war" had been simmering in the region for most of the century, with first the Dutch and then the British using armed convoys to protect interlopers on the French monopoly. At one point, citing French naval squadrons confronting British ships and other incidents he writes: "The great conflict for the domination of colonial markets, which is improperly call the Seven Years' War, began in reality in Africa when the first British warship protecting interlopers appeared at Portendick in 1731. The capture of a ship from Senegal in 1735, the coup de force against French slaving ships at Annamabou in 1737, on the coast of Guinea, preceded the better know exploits of Admiral Boscawen."[3]

Few would follow Delcourt that far, but a recent article by James Webb argues for the importance of the gum trade. His interpretation focuses on the importance of gum, and he points to the intervention of a British merchant who campaigned to include Senegal in British war plans. This was Thomas Cummings, who had met traders from the coast who had been kidnapped and enslaved and then redeemed from captivity. They were Arab speakers from the Trarza region of the Southern Sahara. Cummings claimed friendship with these men and their ruler, the Emir, and believed that they favored a British conquest and would provide substantial help (cavalry, soldiers) if requested. In essence Cummings persuaded Pitt of the importance of the gum trade and Senegal, although he did not receive the monopoly he wanted and his "friends" provided no help when the

[2] Peter J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America c.1750–1783.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 84–85.

[3] André Delcourt, *La France et les établissements français au Sénégal entre 1713 et 1763* (Dakar: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1952), 300.

British called on them. Cummings is mentioned in numerous published sources about the conquest, so there is little doubt he played a role.[4]

Webb's larger argument that gum was the key economic factor in explaining the British action is not persuasive. Gum was important, but the British also wanted to strike at the French slave trade and this is explicitly mentioned in sources like John Entick's history of the war, which also discusses Cummings and the gum trade. Entick's account underlines multiple benefits of the conquest. The British would protect their trade on the West African coast, gain commerce estimated at 1,750 slaves, along with a monopoly on gum Arabic, as well as gold and ivory, and harm French commerce and manufactures: "The loss to France was very great. It deprived her of the means of supplying her colonies with slaves.... It deprived her of a lucrative traffic in her own manufactures and obliged her to seek with ready money the merchandize that had been the produce of her own settlements [gum Arabic and ivory]."[5]

There was a military and naval factor as well. Saint-Louis and Gorée were the only exclusive French possessions in West Africa, and they were located within the theatre of war for ships operating between Europe and the Caribbean, which made an attack militarily feasible. From Saint-Louis ships could return directly to Europe, if necessary. Gorée, only slightly further to the south, was beyond the point of easy sailing to Europe but was on a standard route between Europe, West Africa, and the Caribbean. War vessels operating further south off the coast of Africa would have been isolated from any of the major theatres of war for months and would have only been able to capture enemy prizes (slaving vessels) at sea. So it seems sounder to argue that the attack on French settlements occurred because of the general escalation of the war and British efforts to strip France of its colonial possessions after 1758. In this context Senegal's gum and slaves were of interest, but so was the destructive impact on France's slave trade. The Senegambian campaign was considered the opening volley in the British attack on the sugar islands.

---

[4] James L.A. Webb, Jr., "The Mid-Eighteenth Century Gum Arabic Trade and the British Conquest of Saint-Louis du Sénégal, 1758," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25: 1 (January 1997): 37–58.

[5] John Entick, *The General History of the Late War* (London: Printed for Edward Dilly; and John Millan, 1763), 3: 64–67, quote on 66–67.

The French East India Company in Senegal and the French Empire, 1720– 1756

In the period from 1713 to 1756 the French navy relied on a strategy based on constructing land-based fortifications in strategic locations. The Company of the Indies began construction of a naval base at Port Louis (Ile de France) to protect French interests in South Asia. A French engineer was employed by the Company of the Indies to draw up plans for fortifications in 1720. In the period before the Seven Years' War Port Louis was built up as a naval stronghold that would be the key to the Indian Ocean, as Louisbourg was the key to the North Atlantic. The Ile de France produced almost nothing for export (unlike the Ile de Bourbon, where coffee was produced) and often failed to provide adequate provisions for its population. But its role was as a strategic base for the naval forces of the Company. In this same period Company *laptots* (slave sailors) and slaves from Senegambia were imported in an effort to replicate Senegal's system of maritime labor in Mauritius.[6] According to Megan Vaughan, the Company slaves on the Ile de France in 1738 included 630 slaves from West Africa, out of a total of 1432 Company slaves. Most of the West Africans were shipped from Saint-Louis or Gorée and held a favored position on the island, due to their importance as naval auxiliaries.[7] French possessions in Senegal were integrated into a powerful Company that served the French government and little that occurred in Senegal under the Company of the Indies makes sense outside of this larger context.

The powerful new Company of the Indies (1719) and its close connections with the French government were a direct result of the financial bubble that resulted from John Law's "system." During the brief reign of the "system," Law went on a binge of acquisitions, purchasing the rights to Louisiana in 1717, then the French tobacco monopoly, the Senegal Company in 1718 and the French East India Company in 1719.[8] The new

---

[6] Megan Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 21, 40. On Louisbourg see, John R. McNeill, *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain: Louisbourg and Havana, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

[7] Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island*, 40, for these figures. See also Richard B. Allen, "The Constant Demand of the French: The Mascarene Slave Trade and the Worlds of the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of African History* 49: 1 (March 2008): 43–72, where all the tabulated data begins in 1767.

[8] Henry Weber, *La Compagnie française des Indes* (*1604–1875*) (Paris : Libraire Nouvelle de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1904), 302–05.

French East India Company survived the wreckage of Law's system, but emerged with expensive commitments in Louisiana. The Company was obliged to send a specified number of slaves and settlers to Louisiana, even though there were few indications that the colony would prosper. These conditions emerged from the liquidation of Law's Company, which inherited obligations from its predecessors that were passed on to the new East India Company.[9] The Company of the Indies relinquished its role in Louisiana as soon as it fulfilled its obligations in 1731. Even after delivering more than 6000 European settlers and 6000 African slaves to Louisiana, the Company had to pay over one million livres to the French government to liquidate its obligations.

Given this background, the Company tried to reduce its expenses in Louisiana and shipped its most endangered slave cargoes (from disease or malnutrition) to the colony. At the same time, burdened with obligations to the government it could not renounce, it made a serious effort to prop up the ailing colony by strategic transfers of slaves and the labor system that had emerged on the Senegal River. The first two shipments of slaves from Senegal in 1719 brought rice seed from West Africa to establish a crop, which became the only viable staple in this period. All of the slaves imported from West Africa were shipped by the French India Company, mainly from Senegal (and Ouidah) and all arrived before 1731, when the Company "sold" its rights to the Louisiana concession back to the French government. Gwendolyn Hall's study of this period is centered on the emergence of an African-American Creole culture. She gives a detailed account of the slave trade to Louisiana in the period from 1719 to 1731, focusing on the high mortality and the dumping of slaves in a colony with no market or credible planters. After 1731 the French held the colony (at a cost to the government) for strategic reasons.[10] Louisiana was a spectacular failure, with slaves and French colonists dying in huge numbers, with no profits to anyone.

The aspect of Hall's work that has attracted the most attention and controversy is her affirmation that "Bambara" slaves dominated an emerging slave community and transferred an established "Bambara" identity from West Africa to the New World. Here, this argument is important because of its connections with the maritime labor system in Senegal.

---

[9] The original company promised to deliver 6000 Europeans and 3000 slaves to Louisiana, and Law's Company took on new obligations, Ibid., 295, 335.

[10] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 5, 10, 133.

Peter Caron challenged parts of Hall's thesis, arguing that the term "Bambara" was imprecise in meaning, often meaning little more than a slave purchased by the Company in Senegambia.[11] Caron's argument can be expanded on by drawing on evidence from Senegal, where the phrase "our Bambara" or "Bambara" was often used to describe Company slaves employed as sailors and skilled maritime laborers. While Company owned slaves were never numerous, they were crucial to Company efforts to transfer certain skills and labor systems from Senegambia to Louisiana and to Ile de France (Mauritius) from 1720 to 1756. Hall's work on Louisiana and Meghan Vaughan's study of Mauritius document not simply a slave trade between Senegambia and other colonies administered by the Company of the Indies but an effort by the Company to send skilled slave sailors who could train other slaves. In both Louisiana and Ile de France there are references to "Bambara sailors" (a phrase with no meaning in West Africa, outside of Company employment) and "laptots," a Wolof term that first referred to migrant workers in the river trade and then became synonymous with "sailor."[12]

In Senegal the Company could draw upon a "nursery of slave sailors" that reduced the need for European seamen, a scarce asset in the first place, but even more valuable in the torrid zones of Africa and the Indian Ocean, where the Jack Tars of European fleets died in large numbers.[13] Hall notes that the Company ordered the director in Louisiana to replace French sailors with African ones in 1726 arguing that French sailors cause "great expenses in wages and in rations, which we can spare ourselves by substituting blacks in the place of most of these sailors."[14] Slaves of the Company played a key role in navigation on the Mississippi.

The evidence reviewed so far suggests that the Company of the Indies became a target for the British in 1758 because of its intimate links to the French government and commercial rivalries. Senegal was part of a larger

---

[11] Peter Caron, '"Of a nation which the others do not understand': Bambara slaves and African ethnicity in colonial Louisiana, 1718–60," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 18: 1 (April 1997), 98–121.

[12] Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island*, 40. Because Hall interprets Bambara as an ethnic term, her account must be read carefully to disentangle the various meanings of the term. The closest she comes to acknowledging the Company use of the term is Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 42 and 133. However, this analysis is undercut by the assertion that "there is little doubt that the Bambara brought to Louisiana were truly ethnic Bambara" (42) and a long and anachronistic digression on Bambara ethnicity in modern Mali.

[13] Here I am extending an argument I first made in James F. Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 95–98.

[14] Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 133.

privileged company closely connected with the French government that directly challenged British interests in South Asia as well as in West Africa.

Company records indicate that South Asia was the priority of the Company (first navigation), while West Africa was secondary (second navigation). Nevertheless the strategic importance of the sugar islands to France meant that the Company never doubted the value of its privileges in the slave trade and fought unsuccessfully to defend them at the end of the Seven Years' War. Most historians have assumed that it was the profitability of the gum monopoly that induced the Company to retain its privileges in Senegal, because the slave trade there was less significant than in other regions. This point is difficult to prove or disprove, but a number of points should be made to put this argument in perspective. As Prosper Cultru pointed out many years ago, the vast majority of the Company's revenues from Senegal came from the sale of slaves, not of gum, in this period.[15] There is no evidence that the Company neglected the slave trade. The period from 1720 to 1750 or more broadly from 1710 to 1750 was the peak period of the slave trade from Senegambia, for both the British and the French with 2500 to 5000 slaves exported a year on average. Company records suggest that about 1500–2000 slaves a year came from Senegal in this period.[16] Although the proportion of Senegambia's contribution to the French slave trade declined over time, from nearly a third to 10–15%, this was not a negligible trade in slaves. In addition slaves from Senegambia were in demand and the voyage of the Middle Passage was shorter and therefore healthier than for other regions. On the other hand contemporary observers and historians have emphasized that the Company of the Indies made little money, according to its books, from the Senegambian concession, appearing only to break even.[17]

The infrastructure of the slave trade reached the height of its development in this period, with the establishment of a fort at Podor and another at St. Joseph in Galam (Gajaaga) in the upper river. From the 1720s onward the French maintained permanent stations in upriver locations and sent regular convoys of vessels under the command of French directors, despite

---

[15] Prosper Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe siècle à 1870.* (Paris, 1910), 202–03, citing figures from the 1720s when slave revenues were six times larger than gum revenues.

[16] For a more detailed discussion see Searing, *West African Slavery*, 32–34. The figure I give comes from Company records and is substantially larger than modern calculations of the Atlantic trade. One reason for the discrepancy is that a significant number of slaves were exported to the Mascarene Islands in the Indian Ocean and are not counted in Atlantic databases.

[17] Cultru, *Histoire de Sénégal*, 204–07.

the high mortality rates suffered by the French during the Galam trade in the height of the rainy season. Fort St. Joseph in Galam was established for the interests of the slave trade, as it was there that Mande (Soninke, Mandinka) merchant caravans connected with the river convoys organized by the Company. Most slaves exported were purchased in Galam, where captive slaves were typically described as "Bambara" brought from the middle and upper Niger.

The value of the Senegal concession was not simply a matter of trade or fortifications but the fact that Saint-Louis had become a city of three thousand inhabitants by the 1750s. The core of this population was the group known as the *habitants*, a term applied only to free and property owning Africans and Eurafricans. The majority of the population was made up of slaves owned by the *habitants*.

Signares and Sailors: Urbanization on Saint-Louis and Gorée

The populations of Saint-Louis and Gorée have often been studied by focusing on the groups described as Afro-Europeans or Eurafricans, the offspring of marriages according to the customs of the country between European men and African or Eurafrican women.[18] At the same time a number of historians have described the populations of Saint-Louis and Gorée as "Creole" or have identified an elite that possessed a distinct "Creole" identity and culture.[19] Since the Creoles were largely defined by their mixed origins, European family names, their command of the French language, and their Catholic religion, the language about creolization overlaps with arguments about Eurafricans.

While there is no doubt that Eurafricans played an important role in the history of Senegal's Atlantic islands, histories that focus on them obscure larger processes of change that encompassed the entire urban populations of these port cities. Focusing on Eurafricans draws attention to elite women and men and their mixed racial identity, and labeling them Eurafricans tends to assume that they possessed a distinct cultural identity. Calling the same populations Creoles reifies the notion of a distinct

[18] For a recent example, George E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003).

[19] The most recent example is Amanda Sackur, "The Development of a Creole Society and Culture in Saint-Louis and Gorée, 1719–1817" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1999).

identity, without being based on a clear argument for a distinct language, religion, or any other marker of Creole identity for the populations of Saint Louis and Gorée. A focus on urbanization and cultural innovation offers a more useful approach to understanding the populations of Saint-Louis and Gorée, which emerged in the eighteenth century when the women who came to be known as *signares* threw in their lots with the French merchants and sailors who occupied the islands as commercial and naval outposts of Atlantic commerce.

Richard White's study of the Middle Ground suggests another approach to the Eurafrican populations in Senegal. For White, the Middle Ground is a space that emerges between two cultures, which have important dealings with one another through trade, where neither party is in a position to dominate the other by force. In White's case it was the Great Lakes Region, a far periphery of the French empire in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The Middle Ground emerged, centered spatially on French forts, through efforts to settle disputes and forge alliances, leading to various arrangements, including marriages between Indian women and French men.[20] The French forts on Saint Louis and Gorée were on the far periphery of the French empire in the Caribbean, connected to them by a vital trade in slaves. The Africans who permanently settled on the islands negotiated their own Middle Ground with the French, who needed them to supply an all male French naval camp with food and provisions, sexual companionship, and domestic labor for the needs of French subalterns and all the African slaves who transited through the islands on their way to the Americas.

A Middle Ground for an all male European population brought women to the fore.[21] The *signares* lived outside the European fort and under very little European control, but Europeans became more and more dependent on the labor of their slaves over time. While Saint-Louis and Gorée had been occupied by merchants and sailors of a French monopoly Company from the late seventeenth century onwards, no permanent

[20] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Introduction, 50–93.

[21] Apart from Canada a Middle Ground can be observed in Dutch Batavia. See the account of Eurasian women and their husbands in Jean Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 33–51, and in Léonard Blussé, *Bitter Bonds: A Colonial Divorce Drama of the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Diane Webb (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2002).

urban population stabilized on the islands until the mid-eighteenth century.[22] What changed around 1740 was the permanent commitment of Africans to the islands. Prior to the 1740s the women and workers on the islands frequently fled to the mainland during periods of conflict between the Company and neighboring kingdoms.

The all male naval settlements quickly attracted the female entrepreneurs who became *signares*. They supplied fresh food and country goods, and the domestic labor for the kitchen and the laundry. On the European side, the key population group was one or two hundred French sailors permanently stationed on the islands to defend the Company's presence and to man and maintain the ships that were used to sail up the Senegal river once a year during the rainy season for the Galam trade and to conduct voyages from Gorée island to mainland ports such as Rufisque, Sali-Portudal, and Joal. The number of European sailors increased dramatically, but temporarily, with the arrival of ships from the French ports of Lorient, Rochelle and Le Havre, as each ship of 200 to 500 tons was manned by a crew of 50 to 80 men. From this point of view Saint-Louis and Gorée were naval camps, with an all male population.

On the African side, the founders of the urban populations were the *signares*. Their most visible role in most histories is as the "wives" or "consorts" of the merchant directors of the company and other wealthy and powerful Europeans (book keepers, accountants). The complex role of the *signares* was well described by Pruneau de Pommegorge, based on his recollections of Saint-Louis in the 1740s when the essential features of these partnerships were established. After describing the inhabitants of Saint-Louis and noting that the Company rented slaves from these women for 6 livres a month for the Galam voyage, Pruneau turned his attention to the particular characteristics of the *signares*.

> The women of this island are in general very attached to the whites, and they give them the best treatment possible when they are ill. Most of them are quite well off and live with a great amount of ease, with a number of them owning 30 to 40 slaves, some of which they rent to the Company as I have explained. Their slaves undertake the voyage to Galam every year as sailors; they bring back 15, 20 or even thirty ounces of gold, which they earn by selling two barrels of salt that they are allowed to embark on the ship for their own account. With this gold these women take a part and have jewelry made

[22] For earlier discussions of this see Searing, *West African Slavery,* Chapter 4, and more recently two chapters in Abdoulaye Camara and Joseph Roger de Benoist, *Histoire de Gorée* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2003), pp. 31–57.

> and with the rest they buy clothes, because they love (as women do everywhere) finery above all other things.[23]

Fruneau's description begins with their role as caregivers for European men and then turns to their role in supplying slave sailors to the Company. He then describes their appearance, emphasizing the blending of an African headscarf and outer robe, with Moroccan slippers, a European style blouse, and locally made gold jewelry. Attired thus, they go out, accompanied by stylish, but half-naked female slaves who served them as chamber ladies, where, according to Pruneau, they are likely to encounter a griot (Wolof praise-singer), who sings their praises and is rewarded with a coin or a piece of cloth from their wardrobe. Finally, Pruneau concludes with praises of their fidelity to the Europeans they marry according to the customs of the country, even though the marriage ends when their husband leaves.[24]

The attention paid to the *signares* and their marriages with Europeans should not obscure the fact that they were businesswomen offering the French a domestic staff of female slave laborers to cook the food and do the wash for the French merchants and sailors and for all the slaves they purchased. The most important male slaves owned by the *signares* were sailors who worked for the French and traded on behalf of their masters. The *signares* began by supplying food stuffs and country goods shipped in by their sailors on small craft, but over time the *signares* invested in larger river and coasting vessels and began to participate in the gum and slave trades. They owned most of the skilled workers on the islands, who were trained as ship carpenter's, masons, bakers, and gunsmiths by the French, while the sailors remained an elite group among the slaves because of their privileges of carrying cargo and trading for themselves (in addition to their wages) on the upriver voyage. The final step for the *signares* was acquiring urban property in houses, which allowed them to become the landlords of the island (renting rooms to Europeans). This began to occur before the Seven Years' War, but the process continued for the rest of the eighteenth century.

The situation in the mid and late eighteenth century tells us little about the emergence of this system. Earlier documents give only a fragmentary view of the process. They suggest that renting slaves from the *signares* was not a practice at the beginning of the 1730s, but achieved its mature form

---

[23] Antoine Edme Pruneau de Pommegorge, *Description de la Nigritie* (Paris: Maradan, 1789), 3–4.

[24] Ibid., 4–7.

by the end of the 1740s. Company slaves, familiarly know as "Bambaras," date back to the beginning of the century, but never numbered more than a few hundred. For example, in 1734 there were 130 Europeans employed in Saint-Louis, including sailors and soldiers, while there were 170 Company slaves, most "known by the name of Bambara and are in majority slaves." The report went on: "Independently of the 170 blacks that the Company maintains for the entire year, we hire more than 230 *laptots* for four or five months. They are free blacks from the mainland who are hired for service in the gum trade…or who serve on the ships and riverboats that make the voyage to Galam."[25] In 1736 another Company document noted that there were 231 Europeans in the three departments of Saint-Louis, Gorée, and Galam. In this document the Company slaves and free servants were divided into two groups: 48 highly skilled works, plus "the *laptots*, 94 negro slaves who serve as sailors on the sea and in the river and who live on the island." The report also noted that "free and seasonal *laptots*" were hired by the Company during the peak trading season.[26] Only in 1754 did a Company document mention "550 slaves of the *habitants* or free persons employed by us for the voyages to Galam."[27] The fact that the Company sent a number of its skilled Bambara slaves to Louisiana and Ile de France contributed to a process that allowed the *signares* to secure Company employment for their own slaves.

These snapshots of the labor force employed by the Company are suggestive, but they do not explain the extent of the transformations between 1730 and 1750. Two narrative accounts of the Company settlements, one commissioned by Director Levans for 1729–1731, the "Journal Historique," and one written by Michel Adanson, the naturalist, who stayed in the concession from May 1749 to August 1753, underline the dramatic difference between these periods.[28]

In the first period the French were frequently in conflict with the neighboring kingdoms. In one violent encounter between people from Waalo

---

[25] Mémoire sur la Concession du Sénégal, October 8, 1734, C 6 11, Archives Nationales-France (hereafter ANF), Paris.

[26] Rolle Générale des Blancs et Nègres au Service al la Compagnie des Indes (Sénégal), May 1, 1736, C 6 11, ANF

[27] Réponse du Conseil Supérieur du Sénégal au Mémoire et Observations, February 1754, C 6 14, ANF.

[28] Charles Becker and Victor Martin, eds., "Journal Historique et Suitte du Journal Historique (1729–1731): Documents inédits, présentés et publiés par Charles Becker et Victor Martin," *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, 39, series B, no. 2 (April 1977): 223–289 and Michel Adanson, *A Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Gorée, and the River Gambia* (London: Printed for John Nourse and W. Johnston, 1759).

and Company officials, provoked by the seizure of Company goods and a French hostage, six Europeans were killed, several others seriously wounded, and eight more prisoners were taken.[29] Relations with Kajoor, the other neighboring kingdom, were no better and there were frequent trade boycotts declared by African rulers. In one incident a government official from Waalo ordered the *laptots* from his kingdom to abandon the French settlements and to help enforce a trade boycott.[30] It was not only the free *laptots* whose loyalties were doubtful in this period. The Journal noted with disgust that after further pressure from the King "the *laptots* abandoned the island [Saint-Louis] again with the women from Waalo just as we were about to send them to Galam. What a sad situation that puts us in dependence because of our need for these scoundrels!"[31]

While the relation between the free *laptots*, the women from Waalo, and the group called inhabitants is unclear, none of these groups behaved in patterns familiar from later in the century. The *habitants* are mentioned in the Journal on several occasions. On February 8, 1730 Mr. Le Begue, a Company official, "ordered an assembly of the inhabitants of the island, to whom he delivered the merchandise for the slaves that one expected them to deliver at the end of the month."[32] In this and other passages the *habitants* are sub-contracted as slave dealers and then reminded of their need to deliver their slaves, suggesting that they operated largely independently of the French. In one example "Mr. Levans asked the 'mulatresses et negresses' [women of color and black women] to deliver twenty-five slaves to complete the cargo of the *Nereïde*."[33] In the most extraordinary example Levans, the director, orders all the inhabitants of the island to assemble in the fort, "men, women, children, free and slave." Levans was incensed by the capture of ten Company "Bambaras" by the people of Waalo. He kept the inhabitants under guard and had his troops search the rest of the island. Then he arrested one *habitant* man and 28 *habitant* women from Waalo, along with three women slaves of ill repute. All were hostages. The three slave women were sent to Gorée; the twenty-eight hostages were held to exchange for the "Bambaras," failing which he threatened to send them as slaves to the Americas.[34]

---

29 Becker and Martin, "Journal Historique," 251.
30 Ibid., 245.
31 Ibid., 248.
32 Ibid., 241.
33 Ibid., 253.
34 Ibid., 257.

Relations between the Company and the *habitants*, the free *laptots* and neighboring kingdoms were tense and unstable in this period. This was true despite the fact that "marriages according to the customs of the country" were long established, as witnessed by the "mulatto" women. One Frenchman mentioned in the Journal (Pierre Le Luc) is mentioned again in a Company document from 1736 that asks advice on the question of what to do when one of the Company wives died and left property, as had occurred on Gorée.

> There is a negress here who is fairly advanced in age who has a number of slaves belonging to her and her daughters. This woman has two daughters, one of whom is the widow of Pierre Le Luc; the other has departed for France with her husband Robert. The latter left all her slaves with her mother when she left; some of the slaves were given to her as part of her marriage contract, and others were acquired later. In fact there are a number of other women her with bastard children and it has been the practice of the Company to let them inherit the property of their mothers.[35]

In the 1730s, despite these marriages, the women on the island were seen as having dual loyalties, to the Company and their husbands, and to their countries of origin. The same was even truer of the free *laptots*. The French only trusted the "Bambara," the Company slaves. Saint-Louis was not yet a city or a colony, but a simple naval camp with commercial functions. African migrants or "colonists" had not yet committed to the settlement.

By the 1740s this was clearly changing, in response to a shift from a military to a diplomatic approach to relations with neighboring kingdoms. This was accompanied by cost cutting measures that reduced the number of Europeans on the Company payroll and increased reliance on a growing number of skilled African workers, most of them slaves and a growing proportion slaves of the *habitants*. In 1738 the Company formalized its decision to train Africans to replace Europeans. This decision was taken at the beginning of Pierre David's tenure as director. David, who was the most successful of the Company directors, epitomized the new direction taken in the 1740s. Better bookkeeping and lower operating costs were combined with increased payments to the rulers of neighboring kingdoms in "customs" and greater trust in the *habitants*. David may have been emulating early directors like La Courbe and Brue in his reliance on personal diplomacy, exchanging visits with African rulers and gift giving, and

[35] Gorée, June 14, 1736, C 6 11, Archives Nationales-France or ANF, Paris.

leading expeditions to the far corners of the concession.[36] Apart from the heavy toll taken by disease on these explorations, where in one case twenty out of forty Frenchmen died, his activities were marked by success.[37] By the 1750s the customs payments to Africans had doubled from levels at the beginning of the century.[38] These actions together created a Middle Ground that transformed Saint-Louis into a "free colonial port" recognized by and useful to neighboring rulers and able to attract permanent migrants (the *habitants*). Without formal treaties, Saint-Louis was a colonial port, ruled by the French under the equivalent of "capitulations" such as those negotiated for Alexandria in Egypt or Asian enclaves such as Batavia, Calcutta, or Bombay. David was rewarded for his service by being appointed Governor of the Ile de France and French possessions in South Asia in 1746.

Michel Adanson's prolonged visit to the concession documents the transformation. By the time he arrived Saint-Louis was a city of over three thousand and a "Middle Ground" was in clear evidence. Adanson describes the crossing of the sandbar to Saint Louis as involving total trust in the African pilots who controlled the crossing: "The care of them [pilot boats] is committed entirely to the negroes, whom you must not pretend to contradict or advise. When we were on the bar we were obliged to maintain a profound silence, that the pilot might not be in the least interrupted."[39] After the bar was successfully crossed all the passengers gave a "handsome present to the negroes of the bar", which was customary. When he surveyed the island of Saint Louis he commented on its population. "This island, notwithstanding its sterility, was inhabited by upwards of three thousand negroes, invited thither by the generosity of the whites, into whose service most of them had entered."[40] After Adanson finished his introductions to the director, he was provided with "a boat, with negroes, and an interpreter" to facilitate his research as a naturalist. Throughout his stay he traveled accompanied by Company slaves or "Bambara," *laptots*, and *cubalo* (fisherman), visiting various parts of the concession with no

---

[36] The activities of these early governors were publicized by Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique Occidentale,* 4 vols. (Paris: Pierre François Giffart, 1728). Labat was a Dominican who published literary adaptations of memoirs he obtained from the Company, attributing La Courbe's memoir to Brue, among other things.

[37] On David see Cultru, *Histoire de Sénégal*, 194–97.

[38] Searing, *West African Slavery*, 72.

[39] Adanson, *A Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Gorée, and the River Gambia*, 30–31.

[40] Ibid., 35.

military escort. The French now had allies and friends, due to the emergence of a Middle Ground.[41] Like the British at the moment of conquest, Adanson was impressed by the "regularity" of the urban settlements on Saint-Louis and Gorée, perhaps a reflection of the military discipline imposed by the Company.

British Conquests of 1758 and the Emergence of the Habitants

Contemporary histories of the conquest of Senegal begin with the lobbying efforts of Thomas Cumming, an obscure Quaker merchant with an interest in the Gum Trade. He presented his plans to the Board of Trade and in the end his plans were incorporated into Pitt's plans for an attack on French outposts in West Africa and the Caribbean. The premise of Cumming's intervention was his belief that the Trarza Moors were more favorably disposed to the English than to any other nation, so much so that they would add their military support to any British conquest.[42] Cumming presented his plan (which included a monopoly for him) repeatedly, until he finally won support in 1758. When the British squadron of three ships arrived on the gum coast at Portendick, they could not secure immediate aid from their Trarza allies, who now promised to support them if they conquered Saint-Louis. The British decided to proceed without waiting longer for aid. The squadron consisted of three ships, the Nassau, with 64 guns, the Harwich, with 50, and the Rye, with 24. They carried 200 marines, plus an artillery detachment, and sailors. Accompanying the fleet there were smaller ships, busses and doggers.[43] The squadron arrived off the coast of the Senegal river on April 24 and by the 29th had succeeded in getting one small ship, a buss, across the dangerous sandbar. The British landed three hundred and ninety men, while losing a few small ships at the bar.

The French had put up some resistance to the crossing of the bar, using sloops to fire at the approaching ships and troops. British soldiers saw numerous Africans, who at times appeared willing to submit, but at others

[41] Ibid., 33.

[42] This was likely a misunderstanding. African rulers tended to advocate free trade with all European nations, partly so they could collect gifts called "customs" from more parties. Trarza opposition to the French monopoly was rooted in this attitude.

[43] George Duke, *Life of Major-General Worge, Colonel of the 86th Regiment of Foot, and Governor of Senegal, in Africa; with an Account of the Settlements of Senegal and Goree* (London: Parker, Furnivall, and Parker, 1844), 63–66.

appeared to be preparing for resistance. Then to the surprise of the British, two emissaries arrived from the French fort to negotiate the terms of surrender.

> After some hesitation, captain Marsh and major Mason agreed that all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandise and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, storehouses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be signed. They promised that the free natives, living at fort Lewis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country.[44]

This preliminary understanding threatened to come apart almost immediately when two British officers approached the French fort. They were told "that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Lewis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation."[45] This required a further exchange of letters and an agreement that the French governor would stay in the fort as the hostage of the *habitants* until they were satisfied.

> This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit.[46]

Finally, as all early accounts note, "The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty."[47]

With the surrender complete the British took control of their prisoners and the possessions of the Company. This was a rich haul, for in addition to 230 prisoners and ninety-two pieces of cannon, "there were 500 slaves, 400 tons of gum, a considerable quantity of gold dust, between 40,000 and

---

[44] Tobias Smollett, *History of England, from the Revolution to the Death of George II* (*Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History*) (Philadelphia: Levis & Weaver, 1810), 4: 8.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., 8–9.

50,000 dollars, and a year's supply of goods for barter, besides stores and provisions."[48] The British then began receiving delegations from the *habitants* and African rulers. The expedition continued to the French outposts on Gorée and at Albreda in the Gambia, but without success.

The striking aspect of the conquest is the emergence of the *habitants* as the key group. They determined the course of the quick French surrender and insisted on having their rights recognized by the British. Immediately after the surrender they put forward their "mayor," Charles Thevenot, a position that had never formally been recognized by the Company. The harder part of the conquest was winning the trust of the *habitants* and the African rulers who almost immediately began to "pay visit to the British." Since the British attack on Gorée failed, as a squadron of three warships was not able to defeat the island's batteries, later numbered at one hundred and ten guns, the occupiers had to deal with the fact that locals were hedging their bets on the final outcome of the conflict. Major Mason, who became the British governor of Saint-Louis, almost immediately ran into serious difficulties with the *habitants*, the Trarza Moors, and the neighboring kingdom of Waalo. Governor Mason was accused of attempting to confiscate the domestic slave cook of one of the "noble ladies" of the island; he was forced to refuse the Trarza demand for a monopoly on the gum trade and a joint attack on their Brakna rivals; and his troops over reacted when a delegation from Waalo saluted the English with gunfire on their departure, by firing a cannon with grapeshot that killed one man, wounded another, and left the Prince of Waalo with holes in his garments.[49] Soon the British had no trade with Waalo or the Trarza and were suffering a shortage of provisions.

Diplomacy with the *habitants* was crucial, occupying the attention of General Worge, who replaced Mason after the conquest of Gorée. The British were not dealing with dependent populations, such as the few hundred slaves owned directly by the Company of the Indies before the British conquest, but an urban population of over three thousand, dominated by slave owning merchants who were crucial allies in commerce. The diplomatic process began almost immediately, when the British guaranteed the

---

48 All accounts mention the "treasure" taken, but the most detailed list and quote are from Kate Hotblack, *Chatham's Colonial Policy: A Study in the Fiscal and Economic Implications of the Colonial Policy of the Elder Pitt* (London: George Routledge & Sons, LTD, 1917), 36–37.

49 John Lindsay, *A Voyage to the Coast of Africa, in 1758* (London: Printed for S. Paterson, W. Bristow, and C. Etherington, 1759), 87–88.

property of the inhabitants in houses and slaves, allowing them in the circumstances to take over much of the property of the French Company. Reverend Lindsay, who accompanied the naval squadron that conquered Gorée and brought a new governor to Saint-Louis, described how the *habitants* brought this issue to the immediate attention of the British governor. The "mayor" of Saint-Louis, Charles Thevenot, described by Lindsay as Mr. Charles, led a dignified procession of the principal inhabitants to the new governor, Worge, who was presented with a memorial expressing the concerns of the inhabitants and their desire to live in harmony with the British. Their principal concern was now housing and their claims to the permanent structures on the island. The procession came "to pay their compliments to the governor on his arrival upon the island, who having assured him of their obedience, begged they might be protected from any insult, and hoped that they might not be forced from those houses which had ever been their own properties, and not the French." They were reassured on this issue by Worge. He "assured Mr. Charles that instead of their houses being taken from them, if for want of room in the garrison he should be obliged to billet officers upon the inhabitants, they should be paid lodging money according to their rank."[50]

Lindsay also gave a retrospective analysis of the incidents that led to the greatest loss of British life during the conquest, at the hands, not of the French, but of Africans. A reinforcement of troops arrived on the July 24, 1758, and one of the ships got wrecked at the bar in the mouth of the River. British sources indicate that ships were crossing the bar with no guidance from African pilots, as had always occurred under the French Company. The Middle Ground had disappeared and the British were about to pay the price. Military arrogance contributed to the trouble, as Governor Mason had lectured both the *habitants* and Africans from neighboring kingdoms that the French "were only a Company of Merchants, trading men, and their governor a private person only; while the English were the immediate servants of the King of Great Britain; their governor the representative of his majesty."[51]

British marines were shipwrecked on the fourth channel of the bar. They escaped with their weapons and other gear from the ship and were making their way to their comrades when the "approach of several negroes daunting their resolution, they threw down their arms and took to their

[50] Ibid., 76.
[51] Ibid., 70.

heels." The next day Governor Mason issued a threatening ultimatum demanding the return of all arms lost. In the meantime he sent a company of fifty marines under Captain Rook to encamp on the bar and protect British ships from further pillaging. This detachment ignored its orders to camp on the beach and struck camp further inland near a village. In the middle of the night Africans from the village fearing their presence attacked the marines. In the ensuing melee at least twenty British troops were killed, including one officer. After getting the rest of the men safely on the boats, Captain Rook, with Lt. Cooper following, continued the attack, leading to the death of Rook and the severe wounding of Cooper, who died a few months later from his wound. Lindsay noted with reticence that this incident may have had something to do with the "shyness" between the inhabitants of Saint Louis and the British garrison.[52]

In December the British sent a larger naval squadron to complete the conquest by taking Gorée, which the British believed to be the principal French naval station and the main storehouse for slaves awaiting shipment to the Americas. This squadron included six ships of the line (*Torbay* 74 guns, *Nassau* 64 guns, *Fougueux* 64 guns, *Dunkirk*, 60 guns, *Lichtfield*, 50 guns, *Prince Edward*, 40 guns), four frigates, two bomb tenders, and six transports with troops. Augustus Keppel commanded the ships, with General Worge serving as the army's senior officer.[53] Lindsay gives a detailed first hand account of the bombardment of Gorée, which followed the refusal of the French commander, Saint-Jean, to surrender without a fight. After a day of bombardment, as British marines were preparing for an assault, the French were driven from their guns by the intense fire. Saint-Jean was unable to rally his forces for further resistance and offered to surrender. He demanded terms and was refused. The British commented on the number of Africans who watched from the mainland, reportedly astonished by the display of European firepower. The British were less pleased when they took the island. Lindsay reported twenty killed and seventy wounded on the British side, and was extremely suspicious of French reports that none were killed except one black, hit by shrapnel. The French reported only 28 lightly wounded, and three wounded seriously enough for medical attention. Lindsay accused them of throwing their dead into the sea. He then commented that he considered their soldiers "the scum of all France," as he believed that most of

[52] Ibid., 91.
[53] Ibid., 10.

them had been exiled to the torrid zone as incorrigibles not allowed to return to France.[54]

With the fighting over Lindsay examined the fortifications of the island and its guns, comparing his notes to the account given by Labat, who served as a guidebook for the British conquerors. He reported that Labat had exaggerated the number of guns and the strength of the French fortifications. Fort Saint-François, the fort on the lower level or plain of the island, was really only a commercial warehouse. He counted 110 working guns, well supplied with ammunition, and noted that these included new pieces made for the Company in 1759 as well as vintage guns including one dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and made by Thomas Pitt in 1589. Lindsay also provided a list of the war booty taken by the British from the French. The British captured two brigs and two sloops. One sloop was used to transport seventy slaves, also captured from the Company, to the West Indies to be sold. The other sloop with its guns was valued at nine hundred nineteen pounds and change. The British took silver coin worth one thousand eight hundred eighty five founds and money bills worth one thousand five hundred thirty pounds. Liquors to the value of one thousand three hundred sixty-two pounds were found. Bales of merchandise were valued at three thousand three hundred pounds and stores of food and assorted merchandise to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Lindsay also reported that he was certain that the inhabitants of the island had taken other goods, or at least the British suspected they had, but they deemed it prudent not to make detailed inquiries.[55]

Lindsay's account of the situation in December 1758 indicates that the British were suffering from misunderstandings with the *habitants* that threatened the provisioning of the garrison. The British had difficulties in obtaining provisions of fresh meat and water from the mainland opposite Gorée. Earlier Marsh, one of the British officers in Saint-Louis was told that as long as the French held Gorée the British could not make purchases. Now that the British had completed their conquest locals raised new objections and demanded the payment of duties for taking water or buying cattle. Specifically, Lindsay complained of a "dash" or gift that had to be paid to one "of the Jolof kings." Here there was a misunderstanding between the British and their French informant and the *habitants* who were explaining customary practices that the British perceived to be

[54] Ibid., 45–47.
[55] Ibid., 50–52.

unjust or arbitrary impositions aimed at them. On the 31st of December the British received news from Saint-Louis that the British garrison there was thin from natural death and slaughter, but also in melancholy circumstances from the lack of provisions.[56]

These problems explain why Lindsay took such care to describe the *signares* and became an advocate for re-establishing a Middle Ground. The attractions of the *signares* now took on a strategic significance, as the English occupation might succeed or fail depending on their relations with these women. First Lindsay paid tribute to the beauty of the *signares*.

> But the accounts I received of them, and in particular the appearance of the females on this occasion, was to me a novelty most pleasing. They were not only pretty, but in the dress in which they appeared, were even desirable. Nor can I give you any drapery more resembling theirs, than the loose, light, easy robe, and sandal, in which we see the female Grecian statues attired; most of which were of exceeding white cotton, spun, wove into narrow slips of six or seven inches, and sewed together by themselves. Their hair, for it differs little from wool, very neat and curiously plaited; and their persons otherways adorned, by earrings, necklace, and bracelets, of the purest gold.[57]

Lindsay then reviewed the arguments for continuing to respect the role of the *signares* as the best solution to the needs of a commercial and naval establishment made up of men far from their homeland.

> And indeed I cannot help thinking, that it was to the benefit of the African company in general and the happiness of those they sent abroad in particular; that with such promising inhabitants the French suffered no French women to be sent thither. Nor do I think it would be wrong to follow their example. If we consider the good of the public, our mixing with the natives settles their affections on the most lasting foundations; and if we consider the benefits to those in particular whom we have sent to the continent, it must have still a greater weight.

The only alternative that Lindsay could think of was European camp-women, as he called them, but he believed that their presence would endanger the health of the officers and the sailors stationed on the islands.

> A few women amongst so many men, find it almost impossible to continue chaste, especially in the army; but on the contrary contract distempers, which, with the other drudgeries camp-women are subject to, as washing, ironing, and cooking in so scorching a climate, hurries them to their graves,

---

[56] Ibid., 59–60, 62.
[57] Ibid., 78.

> dragging even many of their male companions with them—many melancholy examples of which have already been seen in this island! Whereas, on the other hand, the natives have a thousand times their chastity, and being in their natural climate, are capable of being of much greater use in a family. To which I may add, that should any of our young gentlemen of the army have the mortification to be hereafter sent into this part of the torrid zone, and who may not possibly be able to bring themselves to any thoughts of marrying a negro, they will find mulattoes of the last generation, and mustees of the present, very comely, particularly of the latter who are full as fair, and as delicate as the French women.[58]

Lindsay saw the islands as naval settlements, but he articulated the reasons why the British should respect the rights of the *habitants*. The *habitants* would help maintain good relations with the peoples of the interior and few Europeans would be needed for the deadly Galam voyage that took so many lives.

Conclusion

Dull's discussions of the peace negotiations emphasize that Choiseul, first as foreign minister and then as naval minister, had a clear vision of the three key points that would be required for a peace acceptable to France. His goal was to prepare the way for the restoration of France's position as a naval and colonial power, which was threatened by British victories. These three points were: restoration of the lost sugar islands (Martinique and Guadeloupe, with flexibility on neutral islands); retaining a French presence in the North Atlantic fishery (here he accepted in the end St. Pierre and Miquelon and landing rights on Newfoundland) as a nursery of sailors for the French navy; and the retention of a base for the French slave trade in West Africa (he wanted both Senegal and Gorée, but settled for Gorée in the end). While he was flexible about the details these three points came up in all negotiations with Great Britain.[59] France pursued these colonial objectives in the peace talks to soften the blow caused by the loss of Canada.

In the meantime, under French control from 1763 onward, Gorée rapidly urbanized and became a smaller version of Saint-Louis. The French also managed to retain Albreda after 1763 (a French enclave in the British

---

[58] Ibid., 78–79.
[59] Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years War*, 196–97, 226, 234–35.

dominated Gambia) against British wishes, basing themselves on the carefully crafted language of the peace settlement (which allowed them to argue that Albreda was a dependency of Gorée) and the support of the African ruler of the kingdom that dominated the entrance of the river, who wanted to continue receiving presents (his "customs") from the French. Despite the favorable terms they negotiated, the French nurtured plans for the recovery of Saint-Louis from 1758 onward, confirming that in their judgment Saint-Louis was the real prize.

The British quickly abandoned the upriver forts because of the horrific mortality of soldiers. This was possible because by the 1740s and 1750s much of the river trade was "outsourced" to the *habitants* and their slaves, a practice that had allowed the French to maintain these forts with a minimal staff of Europeans, a director and one or two assistants. Under the British occupation Europeans merchants stayed in Saint Louis and sent only a few clerks upriver to supervise trade convoys of British owned and *habitant* vessels, a practice that the French also adopted after 1779. The innovations were made possible by the maritime labor system that developed under Company rule and had crystallized by the 1740s.

After the Seven Years' War the French forts lost their importance as fortifications and more and more property was transferred to African women (and later men), who built a permanent town over time (with help from their English and French husbands) and rented their properties to the English and then back again to the French. The last step in the *habitant* process of urbanization on the islands was the gradual formalization of their right to lots of property that they could develop and pass on to their heirs. In the mid eighteenth century there was an African village on Gorée in the quarter named Bambara. In addition, there was a fort and other military buildings. On Saint-Louis there were two emerging quarters to the north and south of the French fort, one more elite and Christian as home of the *habitants* and one primarily Muslim with some *habitants*, free migrants from the mainland, and domestic slaves. The military character of the settlements and insecure position of the *habitants* changed with the Seven Years War. The British seizure of the islands in 1758 allowed the *habitants* to install their first mayor and to occupy and lay claim to sites built by the French. As periodic war continued for the rest of the century, both British and French occupiers were more and more inclined to let the towns grow and allow the *habitants* to play a growing role in commerce, allowing the Europeans to redefine their role as the managers of the towns and commerce. Poncet de la Rivière, the first French governor of Gorée, made exactly the same decision as Governor Worge on Saint-Louis: he let

the *signares* take over the permanent houses that he believed had been built by the Company.[60]

The decision to dismantle the fortifications on Gorée, begun by the British during the war of 1779–83 and completed by the French after 1783 drew on the military lessons of 1758 and 1779. While Saint-Louis could theoretically be held by fortifying the passage of the bar (as argued by military engineers),[61] the town could not be held against the will of the *habitants*, whose slaves were likely to outnumber any garrison. The frightful mortality of European troops (estimated at one third to one half of new arrivals) reinforced the dependency of the English and the French on the *habitants* over the next fifty years. The same logic applied to the Galam voyage. Geoffroy de Villeneuve, whose experience in Senegal was in the 1780s and 90s, took it for granted that this voyage was only for black and mulatto sailors.

> White sailors never make the voyage; they couldn't resist the climate or the hardships of the voyage. The only whites who take part in the expedition are a few Europeans who head commercial houses and an officer from the garrison who commands the convoy. All the rest are mulattoes or blacks.[62]

In many ways, the *habitants* were the main beneficiaries of war.

---

[60] Gouverneur Poncet de la Rivière to Ministère de la Marine, 25 Mai, 1764, C 6 15, Archives Nationales-France or ANF.

[61] One of the last to make this argument was Jean Baptiste-Leonard Durand, *Voyage au Sénégal ou Mémoires historiques* (Paris: H. Agasse, 1802), 2: 1–39. He was a military engineer by training, and also served as Governor of Saint-Louis.

[62] René Claude Geoffroy de Villeneuve, *L'Afrique, ou Histoire, mœurs, usages et coutumes des Africains* (Paris: Nepveu, 1814), 1: 76.

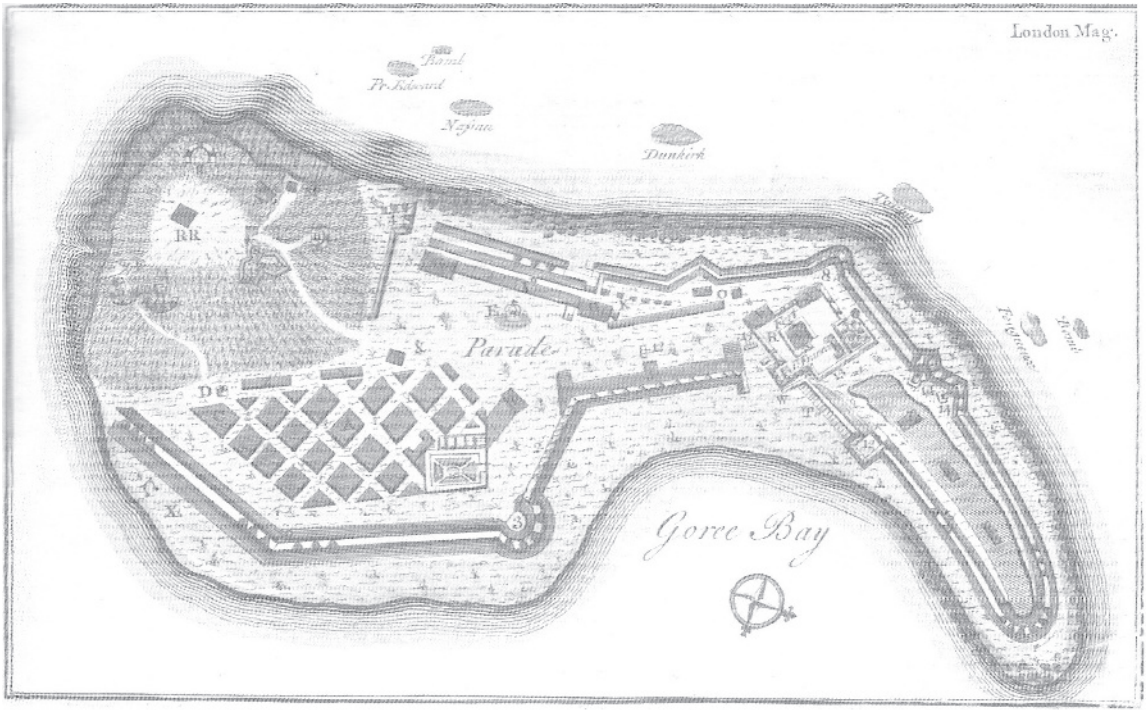


Figure 1. Map by John Lindsay, showing deployment of British vessels during bombardment of Gorée. Source: *London Magazine*, vol. 28 (October, 1759), p. 544; reproducing map from John Lindsay, *A Voyage to the Coast of Africa in 1758* (London: Printed for S. Paterson, W. Bristow and C. Etherington, 1759).

Figure 2. Signare of Saint Louis, 1780s. Source: Geoffroy de Villeneuve, *L'Afrique ou Histoire, Moeurs, Usages et Coutumes des Africains. Le Sénégal* (Paris: Nepveu, 1814), Volume 1, plate between page 68 and 69.

Figure 3. View of Saint Louis, 1780s, showing fort and African town. Source: Geoffroy de Villeneuve, *L'Afrique*, Volume 1, plate between page 62 and 63.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE WAR IN THE WEST INDIES

Richard Harding

On 27 September 1762 Captain Augustus Hervey of the *Dragon* (60 guns) arrived in London with dispatches from the West Indies. Letters from Lieutenant General the Earl of Albemarle and Vice Admiral Sir George Pocock announced that on 13 August the great fortress port of Havana had surrendered. Immediately, the news spread across the country, resulting in bonfires of celebration and addresses from counties, boroughs, universities and cities to the king, congratulating him on this latest conquest. British naval power now controlled the main exit from the Caribbean through which almost all commerce from Cartagena de las Indias in the south to Pensacola in the north would have to pass. While almost universally applauded, attitudes were mixed as to what the capture of Havana would now mean.[1] The war had been dragging on since the great conquests of 1759. Negotiations had been slowly proceeding since mid 1761 and in July 1762 agreement was close enough for negotiators to begin making preparations for meetings in Paris. Havana could either bring the parties together or throw everything into disarray.[2] Spain might realize she could not hope to gain from continuing the war. On the other hand, Britain might demand yet more from the Bourbon powers. Either way, the fate of the West Indies had assumed major significance for peace.

However, the war had not started this way. Until the last quarter of 1758 the West Indies had not featured much in either British or French plans. This is particularly intriguing. The importance of overseas trade to national treasuries was axiomatic to the calculations of statesmen during the first half the eighteenth century and for Britain, France and Spain the Americas were seen as a fundamental economic driver. The continuous expansion of demand for tropical products in Europe since the 1640s made the West Indies a vital element in the calculations of these states. So important had

[1] Nelson Vance Russell, "The Reaction in England and America to the Capture of Havana, 1762" *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 9, no. 3 (Aug. 1929): 303–16.

[2] Max Savelle, *The Origins of American Diplomacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 501–7.

this trade seemed to Britain in 1739 that she launched a war against Spain to protect it. To the British political public, which welcomed that war, it was not just Spain that was the threat, but the fear that without prompt action France would soon overtake Britain in the tropical trades. Yet just seventeen years later, in 1756, action in the Caribbean took a very secondary role in the war that erupted between France and Britain. The re-emergence of the Caribbean as a principal theatre of war is an important theme within the Seven Years' War.

The West Indies in Anglo-French Relations

The Caribbean Sea lies between latitudes 10°n and 25°n in the Tropic of Cancer. It is bounded on the north, west, and south by the American Continent. To the east, dividing it from the Atlantic Ocean, it is defined by an archipelago of islands, the Greater and Lesser Antilles, stretching in an arc of roughly 2,000 miles north-west to south-east. The winds and currents dictate how sailing vessels plied their course in this sea. The North Equatorial Current and the North East Trade Wind, together carry sailing ships in a constant westerly direction. Before the exact definition of longitude, ships bound from Europe used to sail in a general south-westerly direction, borne along by the trade wind, until they reached the latitude they required and then turned due west. For British ships landfall at Barbados, the most southerly and windward of the British islands, or between Antigua and St Kitts, further north, provided a good mark for a passage before the wind to Jamaica. Ships not sailing in convoy in wartime might aim for a landfall further north at the Virgin Islands, where there was less danger of French privateers.[3] French ships headed for the group of islands dominated by Guadeloupe and Martinique. Passage on to St. Domingue was broadly westerly from there. Spanish ships could enter the Caribbean by the Mona Passage, between Porto Rico and Santo Domingo for passage southwest to the great port of Cartagena in modern Columbia or to the coast of Mexico. From Cartagena they could coast to Porto Bello for the great fair of the *Galeones*. Ships bound further north could take the wind through the Yucatan Channel to La Vera Cruz for the Mexican fair at Jalapa or, following the currents, push on to Havana on the island of Cuba and thence out of the Caribbean through the Florida

[3] R. Patrick Crowhurst, "The Admiralty and the Convoy System in the Seven Years War," *Mariner's Mirror,* 57, no. 2 (May 1971): 169.

Channel, following the Gulf Stream to pick the westerlies around the latitude of the Chesapeake to take them back to Europe.[4] Other ships, bound for Caracas might enter the Caribbean further south, by Trinidad, to sail along the northern coast of South America. Exiting the Caribbean with the North Equatorial current through the Florida Channel was the most certain way of proceeding, but ships from Jamaica and St Domingue might try to beat their way through the Windward Passage to save the long journey around Cuba.

In the years immediately following the Spanish colonization of the American Continent, the islands themselves were not particularly important. Spanish settlers did establish themselves on the larger islands, but the great attraction to all Europeans was the continent and the silver mines discovered in Mexico and Potosi (in modern Bolivia). The great fairs and the treasure fleets provided the impetus to develop the port cities of Cartagena, La Vera Cruz and Havana. It was the rationale for the development of Porto Bello on the eastern side of the Isthmus of Panama and Panama itself on the Pacific coast.

It was the silver trade that initially brought Dutch, French and English interlopers into the Caribbean, but by the mid-seventeenth century, the development of sugar plantations on the islands provided a reason for settlers to colonize the islands. No European state had the resources for sustained heavy campaigning in the region, but throughout the century conflict over possession of the islands always accompanied European war and diplomacy. By the time of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 a fairly clear outline of the balance of power in the region had been established. Spain nominally claimed sovereignty over all territories in the region, but had to recognize the practical limitations of this, conceding territories in a series of bilateral treaties. The continental coastline, the Spanish Main, remained almost exclusively in Spanish hands. A Scottish settlement on the Darien peninsula, dangerously close to Porto Bello, was wiped out in 1703. However, Spain had been forced to concede French settlements along the lower Mississippi at New Orleans and repeated attempts to eliminate English encampments of logwood cutters in the Bay of Honduras and the Yucatan Peninsula failed. Periodically, they might be driven off and their buildings burned, but they would return as soon as the Spanish departed.[5]

---

[4] For an excellent account of the trade system see, Geoffrey Walker, *Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade, 1700–1789* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

[5] J. McLeish, "British Activities in Yucatan and the Moskito Shore in the Eighteenth Century," (master's thesis, University of London, 1926).

The Spaniards held on to the important islands of Cuba, Porto Rico and Trinidad, but elsewhere they had to give way to other powers. Many of the smaller islands remained in the hands of native Caribs, and many others were uninhabited. Despite periodic fighting among the Europeans and with the Caribs for possession of the islands, St Lucia, St Vincent, Dominica and Tobago were recognized as the main 'neutral' islands in 1756. It was the larger islands that drew the attention of settlers. The French had effectively settled Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1635. Perhaps more important, the French gradually established themselves on the western third of the large island of Hispaniola after 1670, calling it St. Domingue.[6] In 1697 Spain recognized the French colony, which dominated the eastern side of the Windward Passage. Spain managed to retain the rest of the island as Santo Domingo. English companies gradually established themselves on some islands of the lesser Antilles; The islands of Barbados (1627), St Kitts(1624), Nevis (1628), Montserrat (1632) and Antigua (1632) and their smaller dependencies were occupied during the first half of the seventeenth century. In one of the largest attempts to use state power in the Caribbean to influence events in Europe, Oliver Cromwell sent an expedition to take Santo Domingo from Spain in 1654. The operation failed, but it moved on to capture Jamaica in 1655. The island became the largest British possession on the Caribbean, strategically placed leeward of Hispaniola and windward of Cuba. The Dutch held on to a small group of islands, St Eustatius (1636), Saba and St Martin, between Porto Rico and Antigua. The first, St Eustatius, became an important entrepot for neutral shipping during wartime. Far to the south, off the coast of New Spain (modern Venezuela), the Dutch also held the islands of Curacao and Bonaire.

By the end of the century, sugar was by far the most important item produced on these islands, but cocoa, coffee, tobacco, cochineal, spices, cotton were also valuable exports. Logwood, a precious wood, was harvested at settlements along the coasts of Yucatan and Honduras. With the indigenous Carib societies virtually exterminated and the supply of European indentured or free labor erratic, the slave trade from West Africa provided the vital labor force for all European societies fringing the Caribbean Sea.

The War of the League of Augsburg (1698–1697) and War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) did not alter the balance of power in the Caribbean

[6] Nellis M. Crouse, *The French Struggle for the West Indies, 1665–1713* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 122–45.

to any degree. The European powers recognized the importance of the islands, but with war raging in Europe, none had the power to devote adequate resources to conflict in that region. War was carried on by local forces and by periodic expeditions from Europe, many of which caused a great deal of devastation to islands, but no permanent change of ownership.[7] As early as 1686, the diplomatic importance of the islands had been understood. With Spain appearing weak and declining under Charles II, the last Habsburg king, the collapse of the Spanish Empire in the Americas could decisively alter the balance of power. Both England and France considered it worthwhile exploring a treaty of neutrality in the region if war broke out in Europe. The plan foundered on the pressures that were building in the region, in which neither power could be sure of the advantages it would gain from neutrality.[8] When war did break out over the Spanish Succession in 1701, the allies opposing the French candidate to the Spanish throne, the Duke of Orleans, first considered detaching the American colonies from Spain and then, when this provided impractical, they were determined that if Orleans did succeed to the Spanish throne, France must have no access to the vast wealth of Spanish America. Although there was much territorial adjustment by the Treaty of Utrecht, only the situation of St Kitts was altered in the Caribbean, when France gave up its claim to half the island.

Despite the devastation caused by the wars, the economic value of the islands continued to grow in the first half of the eighteenth century. Sugar was the most valuable single import into Britain from 1713 to 1756.[9] However, British merchants were aware that French colonial commerce was expanding at an even faster rate. The advance of sugar production on the island of St Domingue was particularly alarming. By 1730 French sugar had driven British sugars out of the valuable European re-export market. Between 1735 and 1755 French colonial commerce doubled.[10] Since the 1680s a powerful element in English political rhetoric had presented world trade and naval power as the natural domain of English ambition and

---

[7] C. Buchet, *La Lutte pour l'espace Caribe et la Façade Atlantique de l'Amérique Centrale du Sud* (*1672–1763*), 2 vols. (Libraire de l'Inde Ēditeur, Paris, 1991), *passim*.

[8] W.G. Bassett, "The Caribbean in International Politics, 1670–1707," (Ph.D. diss., University of London, n.d.), 316–31.

[9] Brian Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 285.

[10] F. Crouzet, 'Angleterre et France au XVIII[e] Siècle. Essai d'Analyse Comparée de Deux Croissances Economique', *Annales Economies, Societies et Civilizations,*21 (1966): 264. R. Stein, 'Measuring the French Slave Trade, 1713–1792', *Journal of African History,* 19 (1978): 519.

policy. In 1754–5, as statesmen in London considered French encroachments down the Ohio Valley, France seemed poised to overthrow that dominance in America and the West Indies and destroy Britain's future prosperity.

Military operations in the West Indies were dictated by the winds and currents and by perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of the settlements. The silver routes had provided the earliest network of strong points. Major fortifications were built to defend the critical points of entry and exit from the Caribbean at Porto Rico and Havana. The vital ports that sheltered the treasure fleets, Cartagena de las Indias and La Vera Cruz, were also fortified. Smaller fortifications covered important trade termini, such as Panama and Porto Bello. Periodically, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries these fortifications were reinforced or rebuilt as a result of attacks by buccaneers or enemy expeditions. From the 1630s, as other Europeans settled the islands, fortifications were built to cover their main ports or anchorages.[11] On some islands fortified refuges were also built inland. For most of the period the greatest threat to island communities came from raiders, either officially sponsored or freebooters. It was impossible to defend every cove and bay against raiders, but small batteries, manned by militia, were erected at the most obvious landing points. By the 1750s most islands had strong points that were well developed, if poorly maintained and poorly supplied with cannons and ammunition.[12] Even the great Spanish ports suffered from decay in peacetime and garrisons too small to effectively man them. This did not mean that the fortifications were insignificant in Caribbean warfare. In 1740 the British sent a major expeditionary force of 12,000 men to the West Indies to capture Cartagena de las Indias. It broke through the outer defenses of the bay, but failed to break down the defenses of the city and soon started to suffer from the effects of Yellow Fever. Attempts to achieve anything more ended in failure. Attempts to take La Guiara, and Caracas also

[11] E.N. Dorta, *Cartagena de las Indias,: La Cuidad y sus Monumentas* (Seville, 1951); P.J. Dousdebes, *Cartagena de Indias : Plaza Fuerte* (Bogata, 1948); J.M. Zapatero, *La Fortification y la Defensa del istmo centroamericano Angloespanla del siglo* XVIII (Madrid, 1960); A. Bachiller y Morales, *Cuba Monographica Historica* (Havana, 1963).

[12] For the problems of French island defence in this period, see, L. Elizabeth, "Défense des côtes dans les Petites Antilles, plus particulièrement à la Martinique du xvii au xix siècle," in *Défense des Côtes et Cartographie Historique*, ed. Jean-Pierre Bois (Nantes: Éditions du CTHS, 2002), 139–48.

failed, as did the attempt on St Jago de Cuba in 1748. Some places did fall to attack. Porto Bello was captured by Admiral Vernon in November 1739, followed shortly afterwards by Chagres. His later attempt to cross the isthmus to take Panama in March 1742 was aborted. Port Louis on Hispaniola fell to a British attack in 1747. The importance of fortifications was that they provided vital support for defenders, who were largely a mixture of militia, some regulars and seamen, not likely to be able to stand in the field against a large force of regulars. Behind the fortifications, the longer the defenders could keep an attacking force in the field, the more likely it was that the invaders, usually newly arrived in the Caribbean, would succumb to diseases like malaria and Yellow Fever.[13] However, once the fortifications were lost the tables were turned. In the backcountry, white militia forces were not self-sufficient in food stuffs and their plantations were vulnerable to destruction by enemy raids. On every occasion before 1793 the fall of the fortified position saw the end of organized resistance.[14]

The other important element in the defensive system was naval force. It was from the sea that the enemy threat came and, with sufficient naval force, it was at sea the enemy could be defeated. As the early importance of the West Indies lay in its position on the routes over which the Spanish treasure fleets passed, defense of these fleets at sea was also vital. In the sixteenth century galleys acted as regional defense forces, but from the beginning of the seventeenth century the need for more powerfully armed warships to combat pirate and privateer activity led to the establishment of a force of sailing ships at La Vera Cruz. By the early eighteenth century the Barlovento Squadron was established at Havana, where the great harbor, ship repair and building facilities were at hand. However, there were important factors making all the European powers reluctant to station significant numbers of warships in the West Indies. The first was the *terrido navalis,* a wood-boring maritime worm that thrived in warm tropical

---

[13] On the impact of disease see, John R. McNeill, *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain: Louisbourg and Havana, 1700–1763* (Chapell Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 101–05. The problem disease posed to states in this period is discussed more generally in Erica Charters, "The Caring Fiscal-Military State during the Seven Years' War," *The Historical Journal,* 53, no. 4 (Dec. 2009): 921–41.

[14] The successful slave revolt on St Domingue in 1792 produced a very different society and changed the dynamic of warfare in the Caribbean. Slaves and Mulattos proved highly adept at organising in the back country and consistently defeated British (and later French) attempts to subdue the island. See David Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of St. Domingue, 1793–1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution,* 2d ed. (London: Quartet, 1980).

waters. The worm rapidly destroyed wooden structures underwater, making ships unsafe after a short while in the Caribbean. Before the widespread use of copper sheathing in the last decades of the century, ships had very limited protection against the worm. It was better to bring ships back to Europe for repair than leave them too long in the West Indies. Another factor was the lack supplies in the Caribbean. None of the islands, except Cuba, were self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs or materials for economic existence. The presence of large numbers of seamen permanently on station posed additional logistical difficulties. Providing adequate repair facilities in the West Indies was also a problem. Apart from Havana, there were no major shipbuilding facilities in the region. Wood was scarce and skilled labor even scarcer. The continuing disputes with Spain over Caribbean navigation, led the British to recognize the importance of ensuring their naval forces had some repair facilities. Port Royal, on Jamaica, had been devastated by an earthquake in 1692, and in 1735 efforts were made to rebuild and extend the facilities on that isthmus. It continued to develop over the century and remained the principal naval facility in the West Indies. The difficulty of protecting trade passing through the Windward Passage led to an attempt to develop a base, possibly to replace Port Royal, on the north side of the island, at Port Antonio in 1729. However, the area proved particularly sickly and it quickly decayed. Efforts were focused at Port Royal, which at least had a careening wharf, capstan house and storehouses in operation by 1739.[15]

While Jamaica was the centre of naval activity for the British in the Caribbean, it was not well placed to protect the Leeward Islands, which were much closer to the direct threat posed by French islands. English Harbour, on Antigua, had been established in 1728 to provide cruisers with a secure anchorage and point of support and this continued to be developed during the rest of the century. By the 1750s it had storehouses, a mast house and a careening wharf capable of taking two 60-gun ships.[16] Nonetheless, none of the British West Indian islands provided facilities for the sustained support of large squadrons. During the previous war, it was common for ships on the Leeward Islands station to sail north to Boston or New York during the summer hurricane season to take advantage of the facilities there, before returning to the Indies in the winter months.

---

[15] Daniel Baugh, *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 347–55.

[16] Duncan Crewe, *Yellow Jack and the Worm: British Naval Administration in the West Indies, 1739–1748* (Liverpool University Press, 1993), 236–37.

Although the logic of the silver routes demanded powerful naval forces in the West Indies, particularly for Spain, the collapse of Spanish economy in the last half the seventeenth century made this impossible. By the time Spanish naval power recovered from this catastrophic collapse in the 1720s, it was too little and Spanish interests were too deeply involved in Mediterranean politics to divert adequate resources to a powerful naval defense of the Indies.[17] The Barlovento Squadron, was small and at the exit from the Caribbean, where it was not well placed to respond to attacks anywhere to the south and west. In the 1730s a plan to establish another squadron at Cartagena had some early success; however, it was never properly funded, nor large enough, to defeat the growing interloping activities of other European powers.[18] Soldiers could be sent and local resources used to build fixed fortifications, but naval support would have to be sent from metropolitan Spain as an escort with a treasure fleet or when a crisis occurred. However, with the rise of the British Royal Navy between 1688 and 1713 as the paramount world naval power, and the simmering hostility between Britain and Spain over Caribbean trade from 1713 to 1739, these were very slender resources indeed. Spain never proved capable of meeting the Royal Navy at sea and was forced to evade the British where possible or use its naval resources to support static land fortifications. This is not to suggest that the British dismissed Spanish and French naval forces as negligible. When war broke out between Britain and Spain in 1739, it was initially the dispatch of powerful French naval squadrons from Brest and Toulon, in support of the Cadiz and Ferrol squadrons that played an important part in blunting British attempts to make permanent conquests in the Spanish colonies. It was partly Spanish recognition that the war of 1739–1748 could have led to disaster in the Americas that convinced the new monarch, Ferdinand VI, who succeeded Philip V in 1746, that Spain and Britain had to remain at peace. The succession of his half-brother, Charles III, to the throne of Spain in 1759, was to bring about a catastrophic reversal of that policy in December 1761.[19]

---

[17] José P. Merino Navarro, *La Armada Espanõla en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1981), 121–35.

[18] B. Torres Ramirez, *La Armada de Barlovento,* (Seville: Escula de Estudios Americanos, 1981); L. Grahn, "Guarding the New Grenadan Coast : Dilemmas of the Spanish Coast Guard in the Early Bourbon Period," *American Neptune,* 56 (1996): 19–28.

[19] Jean O. McLachlan, "The Seven Years' Peace and the West Indian Policy of Carvajal," *The English Historical Review,* 53, no. 211 (July 1938): 457–77; Allen Christelow, "The Economic Background of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1762," *Journal of Modern History,* 18, no. 1 (March 1946): 22–36.

The French colonies suffered from the same problems as the Spanish and British. They were heavily dependent on imported foodstuffs. Dried fish from the Newfoundland Cod Banks were vital for the slave populations of the West Indian islands. The white population relied on more varied, but equally vulnerable, maritime commerce. The British were at least able to obtain flour, lumber, meat and horses from their North American colonies. Attempts by the French to get these products from Louisiana and Canada generally failed. This made the French colonies reliant on produce from France, Irish beef imported by French merchants, or goods illegally imported from British North America. In times of war this reliance was a major problem. By 1747, Martinique was suffering acutely from the British blockade of the island. It was only the success of ten provision ships getting through the blockade in 1748 that prevented shortages leading to starvation.[20]

Despite the economic important of the West Indies, attention was not focused on this region as France and Britain drifted towards war in 1754–55. Since 1748 British ministers were receiving information from the colonies of a creeping extension of French settlement into the "neutral" islands. These actions seemed to be part of the same process of French colonial encroachment that was occurring on the mainland of North America, but it was this latter threat that seemed the most urgent. The war of 1739–48 had demonstrated the perils of campaigning in the West Indies and the economic panic that had driven that war had greatly subsided after 1748, as British sugars began to reverse the pre-war trend and displace French sugars from Europe's markets.[21] The initial British response was to try to contain the French in North America. Measured, but decisive, action there, taken without great fanfare or posturing might bring the French to the negotiating table rather than stimulating a violent reaction which could expand the war to other regions, particularly Europe, for which Britain was ill prepared.

Events in America, Europe and Britain during 1754 undermined this approach and the escalation of effort and expectations was focused for

---

[20] C.A. Banbuck, *Histoire politique, économique et sociale de la Martinique sous l'Ancien régime* (*1635–1789*) (Paris: M. Rivière, libr. des sciences politiques et sociales, 1935), 123; C.P. Gould, "Trade between the Windward Islands and the Continental Colonies of the French Empire," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* xxv (1939): 473–90; P. Villiers, "Le Commerce en Martinique et en Guadeloupe pendent la Guerre de Succession d'Autriche," in *Commerce et Plantations dans la Caraïbe xviii^e^ et xix^e^ siécles*, ed. C. Butel (Bordeaux, 1996), 45–64.

[21] Pierre H. Boulle, "Patterns of French Colonial Trade and the Seven Years' War," *Histoire Social* 7, no.1 (1974): 48–86, especially, 70.

both Britain and France on North America.[22] Neither side had adequate resources to commit to North America and the West Indies. Any hope that Newcastle may have had of containing the war to America and thereby capitalizing on British maritime superiority was quickly extinguished. In 1756 the French responded to British pressure in America with a direct threat to invade Great Britain. In the ensuing uncertainty, France invaded and captured Minorca, destroying the British position in the Mediterranean and achieving quickly what Newcastle had sought to avoid – a significant conquest that might balance any British successes in North America. Worse still, Hanover, held dear by the King, was also under threat. If Hanover fell, the prospects of a permanent shift of power in North America looked dim. In these circumstances, extending operations to the West Indies was impractical. Orders were sent to governors to stop French encroachments, but the key objective in the early years of the war for both sides was to ensure that the large merchant convoys arrived and departed in safety.

The Origins of the 1759 Campaign

The war that erupted in 1755 was partly the result of ministerial instability in Britain. The political tension engendered by the diplomatic maneuvers and treaties aimed at protecting Hanover, and the loss of Minorca, were tremendous, but domestic politics and successive ministries did little to alter the locus of attention during 1756–1757. The divided Newcastle-Fox ministry gave way to the Devonshire-Pitt ministry in November 1756. William Pitt had long presented himself as the champion of a maritime war in which exploitation of British advantage at sea and in North America, was proclaimed as the infallible and economical way of containing the Bourbon powers. His opposition to measures in defense of Hanover led to his dismissal as Paymaster General from the Newcastle-Fox ministry in November 1755 and as the new Secretary of State for the Southern Department his ambition was to prosecute the war in North America with greater vigor. Hanover and Prussia would be supported by raids on the French coastline, which he asserted would divert French forces from Germany.[23] In June 1757 Devonshire was replaced by Newcastle, with Pitt

---

[22] T.R. Clayton, "The Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Halifax and the American Origins of the Seven Years' War," *Historical Journal* 24, no. 3 (Sept. 1981): 571–603.

[23] A traditional narrative of this event can be found in Basil Williams, *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (London: Longmans, 1915), 1: 267–74.

retaining his post as Secretary of State. The war plans did not change, but the rewards during the 1757 campaign were limited. The reinforcement 3,000 men to North America proved difficult to organize, and in America Lord Loudoun found that French naval reinforcement had made his plans to take Louisbourg impracticable.[24] The expedition to Rochefort failed to land. The French invaded Hanover and the Army of Observation, commanded by the King's son, the Duke of Cumberland, was defeated at Hastenbeck in July. Although the King furiously denounced the convention of neutrality for Hanover (Klosterseven) negotiated by Cumberland, the Electorate remained occupied and vulnerable. On the positive side the power of the French navy was gradually hemorrhaging away owing to wastage in manpower caused by disease and losses in battle.[25] The naval balance was turning decisively in Britain's favor.

While 1757 had not delivered the victories expected, Pitt vigorously defended the maritime policy. His ministerial colleagues did not oppose it, but were more sensitive to the need to bolster the defense of Hanover. Gradually, during the early months of 1758, Pitt came to accept the need to increase support for Prussia and Hanover and, eventually, as part of the agreement with Prussia, that British troops should be sent to garrison the port of Emden.[26] The ministers were aware this was an important shift in policy. There was no intention to conduct an offensive campaign in Europe, but support had to be given and Britain was moving to a 'double forward commitment' of financially supporting campaigns in North America and Europe.[27] Raising funds for the 1758 had not proved difficult, but both Pitt and Newcastle knew that the escalating expenditure of this war could not be politically justified, or fiscally supported, indefinitely. 1758 had to produce results.

---

[24] Richard Middleton, "A Reinforcement for North America, Summer 1757," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 41, no. 103 (May 1968):58–72; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of the Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (London: Faber, 2000), 179–84, 208–10.

[25] T.J.A. L Goff, "Problèmes de recrutement de las marine française pendant la Guerre de Sept Ans," *Revue Historique* 283, no. 2 (Avril-Jun 1990): 205–33.

[26] Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 60–63.

[27] The term 'double forward commitment' and the financial strain it placed on Britain has been described by D.W. Jones as characteristic problem of British policy since 1688. See *War and Economy in the Age of William III and Marlborough* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), especially 16. For the impact of Hanover on British policy, see R. Harding, "British Maritime Strategy and Hanover, 1714–1763," in *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714–1837,* eds. Brenadan Simms and Torsten Riotte (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 252–74.

By mid-August 1758 serious concerns were emerging. No news of the renewed attack on Canada under Abercrombie or Louisbourg under Amherst had arrived. The coastal raid against St Malo had achieved very little. The Prussian army was in retreat from Moravia and the Russians were advancing into Pomerania. Worse, since June the French army on the Rhine had been moving through Westphalia towards Hesse and Hanover. If the French entered Hanover it was possible that George II would recall his electoral troops from Prince Ferdinand's army on the Rhine and all pressure on the French in Germany would collapse. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had been conducting a clever campaign in Westphalia and had defeated the French at Krefeld in June. Without Hanoverians he would have little choice but retreat.[28] Newcastle saw the implications of a collapse in Germany:

> For except that we can divert the power and forces of France, by measures on the Continent all our other expeditions on their coasts and most expensive operations in both indies, and in North America, will turn upon us and signify nothing and prove a most useless expense which we are now, it may do something. But to think of supporting it long is visionary and impracticable and therefore it highly imports us, even this winter if possible to seize the first opportunity of making a reasonable peace.[29]

Something had to be done within the next year. For Pitt expanding the effort in Germany was politically difficult, but perhaps unavoidable if success in North America could not be achieved. On 18 August news arrived of the fall of Louisbourg which raised spirits, but two days later they heard of the defeat of Abercombie at Ticonderoga which put paid to any hope of a rapid advance up Lake Champlain to Montreal.

The ministry was facing a difficult problem. The war could not be financially supported indefinitely. Louisbourg had finally been captured, but at present it looked likely that it would be given up again (as it was in 1748) in exchange for Minorca. If Hanover fell even more sacrifices would have to be made. For the ministry as a whole, and Pitt in particular, this was a disaster. Three years war in North America had not produced results and although a renewed offensive in 1759 was not in doubt, the result was

---

[28] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 22 July 1758, Add. MS. 32882 (Newcastle Papers), ff. 37–38, The British Library, London (hereafter BL); Newcastle to Hardwicke, 23 July 1758. f. 45. For the campaign in Germany, see Reginald Savory, *His Britannick Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years' War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 67–115.

[29] Newcastle to White, 29 July 1758, BL: Add MS. 32882, f. 95.

certainly not predictable. It was in this context that the West Indies became significant.

Pitt's close association with City interests not only made him sensitive to their views, but he kept in close contact with them. During the summer of 1758 the wealthy Jamaican planter, William Beckford, a leading figure in the West Indian merchant interest, had assured Pitt that Martinique could easily be taken.[30] The West India planters had no interest in expanding possessions there. It would only disperse the small white population further and by increasing the supply of sugar drive down prices. However, Beckford was close to Pitt, knew the need for diplomatic bargaining counters and was probably encouraged by the success of the small expeditions that had taken the French slaving stations at Goree and Senegal in West Africa. He convinced Pitt that a small force under a vigorous general could easily overcome resistance on the island. The initial idea was for a force of 4,000 to attempt the island. Other ministers, Lord Ligonier (the Commander in Chief of the Army) and Lord Anson (First Lord of the Admiralty) did not object in principle to this expedition, but were not convinced that it was practicable with such a small force, and it was not clear how a larger force could be mustered given the demands of North America, Europe and the coastal raids.

On 17 September news arrived of the disaster at St Cast Bay, where an expeditionary army under General Bligh, which had been sent to attack St Malo, was caught re-embarking. Over 600 men were lost for no advantage. The coastal raiding policy seemed to have run out of energy and the tensions between Pitt and his fellow ministers was rising. Over the next three days a compromise was worked out. Newcastle agreed to persuade Anson and Ligonier of the practicality of the Martinique plan and have the forces increased to 6,000. It was to be a single blow at Martinique to capture that island as a bargaining counter in the moves towards peace. The troops would be sent on to join the battle in North America. In the meantime, Pitt agreed to drop the coastal raids and any other diversionary plan. He would also support action in Hanover and a renewed treaty with Hesse.[31] Ligonier was not as easily convinced as Anson about the plan. The regiments that had experience of amphibious operations had suffered severely on the coastal raids and were not fit for service in the West Indies.

---

[30] W. Beckford to Pitt, 11 September 1758, *The Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham,* 4 vols., eds. William Stanhope Taylor and John Henry Pringle (London: John Murray, 1838), 1: 352–54. Not all the correspondence with Beckford is still extant.

[31] Newcastle to Hardwicke, 18 Sept. 1758, BL: Add. MS. 32882, ff. 79–83.

This meant taking more battalions from home defense, which he already feared had been stripped to the bone for service in North America and Germany. Eventually a way forward was agreed. Two old battalions (3rd and 4th Foot) formed the experienced core of the force. Four newly regimented battalions, raised since 1756, provided the bulk.[32] This made a force from England of just under 5,000 soldiers. Additional troops from the 38th Foot (Ross's), the garrison battalion in the Leeward Islands, were to make up some of the numbers. Finally, at the end of November, two weeks after the expedition sailed, it was agreed to augment the force with seven companies of new recruits of Murray's Highlanders (42nd Foot) from Scotland. These troops were destined for North America, but it was agreed to divert them to the West Indian expedition as a temporary expedient. In total it was expected that the expeditionary force would number about 7,000 troops.[33]

As always the King took a close interest in the command of his forces. After some discussion, command of the expedition was given to Major General Peregrine Hopson. Hopson was an old soldier who had commanded the garrison at Louisbourg in 1747. The second in command was Colonel John Barrington, brother of the Secretary at War and close to Pitt.[34] The naval escort was under the command of Captain Robert Hughes of the *Norfolk* (74-gun), who would have under him a 90-gun, 64-gun (2), 60-gun (2), a 50-gun and bomb vessels (4). Once in the Leeward Islands, command would devolve to the station commander, Commodore John Moore, who had a single ship of the line (the *Cambridge*, 80-gun) a 50-gun and a few frigates.

The King signed the orders on the 16 October 1758. The dispatch of troops to North America, coastal expeditions and Germany had given the administration plenty of practice in assembling expeditions. The troops and artillery were embarked by the 25th and the force was almost fully assembled at Spithead by the end of the month. Nevertheless, some transports were in poor condition and bad weather made repairs at anchor

---

[32] Elliot's (61st, ex 2nd batt. 3rd Foot), Watson's (63rd, ex. 2nd batt. 8th Foot), Barrington's (64th, ex 2nd batt 11th Foot), Armiger's (65th, ex 2nd batt 12th Foot). (George II to Hopson, 16th Oct. 1758, The National Archives (TNA), PRO, CO5/215, f.31). The fullest account of this expedition is Marshall Smelser, *The Campaign for the Sugar Islands, 1759: A Study in Amphibious Warfare* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

[33] Pitt to Hopson, 30 November 1758, The National Archives CO 5/215 (Drafts to Govs in the West Indies), f. 77.

[34] Barrington was given the local rank of major general, much to the annoyance of Armiger, who was his senior as a regimental officer and resigned in protest (Armiger to Hopson, 22 Oct. 1758, TNA: PRO CO 110/1, f. 5; Hopson to Pitt, 25 Oct. 1758, f. 11.

impossible. One transport ran aground and was lost, but all on board were rescued. As the force lay wind-bound at Spithead the troops began to fall sick. In early November 200 men had to be landed to recover ashore. Hughes did what he could to redistribute stores and men from damaged transports. Pitt and the King became increasingly irritated at the delay, but finally, on 12 November Hopson announced that the force was at sea.[35]

The instructions to Hopson and Moore were explicit. Hopson was to sail to Barbados and consult with Moore. The force would be joined by troops from the 38th Foot. They were to attack Martinique. If they were successful they were to garrison the island and send 1,000 to join the army in North America. If they were unsuccessful and found alternative operations impossible they were to dispatch 2,000 troops to North America and bring the rest of the force back to Britain. The Highlanders were, in any case, to be sent on to North America.[36] The only additional point in Moore's instructions was that the force was to attack St Pierre, a small town lying approximately twenty miles north of the main town and port of Martinique, Fort Royale, which was reputed as a nest of privateers.[37]

The Campaign of 1759 and the Capture of Guadeloupe

Most of the expeditionary force arrived off Bridgetown, Barbados on 3 January 1759. Although ordered not to anchor, it was agreed that as it was not possible to surprise the French at Martinique, so they would wait for the artillery ships and hospital, which had become separated in the passage. In the meantime, Hopson practiced his troops in landing. By 13th the artillery ships and most of the Highlanders, who had left Scotland later than the main expeditionary force, had arrived and it was agreed to sail. By noon on the 15th the expeditionary force was off Fort Royale harbor. The only French ship of the line in the bay, the *Florissant* (74-gun) rapidly retreated under the guns of the fort. Hopson and Moore could be sure of complete naval superiority. On the advice of the pilots the commanders agreed to attack Fort Royale rather than proceed further north to St Pierre. Calms and contrary winds made the approach to the latter dangerous and any serious damage done to ships on that operation would make a

[35] Hopson to Pitt, 12 Nov. 1758, *St George* at Spithead, TNA: PRO CO 110/1(Guadeloupe Papers), f. 53.
[36] George II to Hopson, 16 Oct. 1758, TNA: PRO CO 5/215, f. 31.
[37] George II to More, 16 Oct. 1759, TNA: PRO CO 5/215, ff. 48–59.

successful attempt on Fort Royale more doubtful. The chief engineer and Quartermaster General were sent along the shoreline to reconnoiter a landing place. During the night there was a good deal of firing, but no serious damage.

It was decided to land at Cas Navires Bay, about three miles north along the coast from Fort Royale. On 16 January the warships moved to destroy the two small batteries defending the bay at Negro Point and in the bay itself. The defenders were quickly driven from their guns and marines were landed who took possession of the batteries. Although the French had been driven from the batteries, militia still held on in the woods and in trenches along the coast towards Fort Royale. It was decided to land the main force where the opposition had been driven out and by 5:00 pm two brigades, with the Highlanders, had landed at Negro Point and spread out to cover the landing area, which was the only clear ground between two deeply wooded ravines. Hopson set up a defended camp for the night. The next day parties were sent out into the woods to reconnoiter the road to Fort Royale. The advance through the wooded ravine and cane fields was disturbed by constant but irregular fire. Deep gullies, close woods and the twisting narrow road made Hopson nervous of the advance, which was, he reported, closer to five miles marching. He "never saw such a country, the Highlands of Scotland for woods, mountains, caves and continual ravines is nothing to it."[38] The intention had been to land artillery and stores to batter the citadel at Fort Royale, but Hopson now saw that this was difficult if not impossible. A plan was discussed for building three redoubts along the road to protect the route from Negro Point to the intended siege lines. Barrington was sent to consult with Moore to see if a landing place could be found for these stores closer to Fort Royale. Moore replied that he could not find anywhere suitable and that it would take two days to beat windward back to Fort Royale. However, he promised to supply seamen to land and carry the ordnance stores from Negro Point if desired. During the day the losses had been mounting and the soldiers did not think that the number of seamen offered by Moore was adequate to hold an effective line from Negro Point. Nor could they wait another two days for Moore to be in position before Fort Royale. By 3.00 that afternoon the soldiers had agreed to re-embark and by 10.30 p.m. the army was back on board the transports without further loss. During the day the army had lost about 70 men to the militia. Discussion with Moore about landing

[38] Hopson to Pitt, 30 Jan. 1759, TNA: PRO CO 110/1, ff. 57–62.

to the eastward of Fort Royale came to nothing as the pilots insisted that there was nowhere adequate on that side of the town.[39]

The fleet remained off Fort Royale bay during the night of 17 January, periodically irritated by French shot. The commanders agreed to look into St Pierre. They sailed at 10.00 on the 18th and arrived off that place on the 19th. It was worse than the pilots had claimed. New batteries and entrenchments could be seen and it became clear that the fort was not completely visible from the ships and so could not be attacked by the ships' batteries. The *Panther* (50 guns) was sent in to sound the bay and the *Rippon* (74-gun) dispatched to silence the batteries, which returned fire with more vigor than expected. Moore believed that St Pierre could be taken, but not without significant losses. Instead he suggested that Basse Terre, Guadeloupe might prove more useful and practicable. Hopson "acquiesced to his opinion" and by nightfall the fleet had left the bay for Basse Terre.

The force arrived off Basse Terre on 22nd and the next day the ships and bomb vessels began a bombardment of the town meeting a spirited fire returned by the French fort and batteries. At nightfall the bomb vessels opened up on the town, which was soon ablaze and at about 11:00 pm the town magazine exploded. On the morning of the 24th there was barely a shot from the town or fort and Hopson landed his troops in the early afternoon. The trenches and town were deserted. The citadel was abandoned as the British approached. Governor Du Treil prepared to carry on resistance from the mountainous hinterland, but the tables were now turned. Within forty-eight hours the British had gained possession of the only fortified port on the island. Sickness was the greatest danger to an expeditionary force from Europe. According to one officer, the army was sick before it arrived in the West Indies with fevers, fluxes, scurvy and even smallpox.[40] Malaria and Yellow Fever were bound to take an increasing toll. The numbers dead from disease is not known, but by the end of January over 25% of the entire army, including Hopson, was sick. If the figures given at a Council of war a month later were accurate, disease was

[39] Ibid. See also, Smelser, *The Campaign for the Sugar Islands, 1759*, 39–59. Evidence from the French archives suggests that the French defences were nowhere near as formidable as Hopson feared. Many of the white population were ready to surrender. They had too few troops to man their entrenchments and were short of provisions. By noon on the 17th, Beauharnois, the commander of the citadel at Fort Royale, was so alarmed by the British advance that he was preparing to abandon the fort.

[40] Richard Gardiner, *An Account of the Expedition to the West Indies against Martinico* (London, 1762), 10.

spreading rapidly, rising to over 55% of the original strength of the expeditionary army.[41] Nevertheless, the army was now sheltered in a strong defensive position giving the sick and fit some relief from the sun and rain and small numbers of reinforcements and slaves from Antigua arrived to support the garrison. French forces, on the other hand, had no hope of dislodging them and very little hope of succor from Martinique. The militia was exposed to starvation and their plantations to destruction.

Nevertheless, Du Treil refused to capitulate. Moore positioned his ships to prevent help reaching the defenders from Martinique and transported Barrington and about 2,000 troops around Basse Terre to take the Fort Louis at the narrow neck, which joined Basse Terre to Grand Terre. The fort surrendered on 14 February, effectively cutting the militia holding out in the mountains of Basse Terre from the rest of the island. Hopson died on 27 February and was succeeded by Barrington. The Council of War agreed to continue raiding the coastal plantations of Grand Terre. Disease continued to weaken the army but there were enough forces to mount expeditions around the island. In early March alarming news reached the British. The Marquis de Bompar had arrived at Martinique with seven ships of the line and four frigates. This force evenly matched Moore's line of battle. Moore was convinced that Bompar would do nothing, but quickly moved his squadron to Prince Rupert's Bay Dominica to be ready to intercept him should he attempt to reinforce Du Treil.[42] By the end of March resistance on Grand Terre had collapsed and in early April Barrington turned his attention to the last outposts on the east coast of Basse Terre. By now Du Treil was persuaded to negotiate a capitulation, which was signed on 1 May. All French military forces on the island were to be evacuated to Martinique. The persons and property of all civilians, white and free black, were protected. In the next two weeks the smaller islands of Marie Galante, Desirade, Petite Terre and the Saintes capitulated.

The news that Basse Terre had fallen reached London on 6 March 1759. The ministers were delighted. It was the first good news of the year. Although disappointed by the failure at Martinique, nothing, Pitt declared, was as important as Basse Terre. Its capture deprived the French of the value of the island. It had to be held and the island fully subdued. It also stimulated an idea that more could be achieved. There was no thought of

[41] Hopson to Pitt, 30 Jan. 1759, *The Correspondence of William Pitt*, 1: 24; Hopson to Pitt (private), 30 Jan. 1759, TNA: PRO CO 110/1, f. 71; Council of War, 27 Feb. 1759, f. 109.

[42] Moore to Pitt, 11 April 1759, TNA: PRO CO 110/1, f. 168.

reinforcing the army in the West Indies, but when Guadeloupe capitulated, rather than sending the troops immediately on to North America, Pitt instructed Hopson to capture the island of St Lucia, between Martinique and Guadeloupe, to provide a good shelter in the hurricane season. It was known that Bompar had left Brest in January and two additional ships of the line and additional stores had been dispatched.[43] Barrington's letter reporting his operations on Grand Terre arrived on 6 May. The capture of Fort Louis had provided the hurricane shelter that was needed, making an attack on St Lucia unnecessary. The King left it to Barrington's discretion whether to return to Britain after he had made dispositions for the defense of Guadeloupe and sent the remaining troops on to America. Long before this reached Barrington, he had made the dispositions for the garrison of about 2,500 under Colonel Crump and dispatching the Highlanders and just under 700 remaining troops to North America. Bompar belatedly landed a small force of regulars and irregulars at St Anne on the eastern side of Basse Terre, but withdrew them when he realized that the island had surrendered.[44]

The Collapse of the French West Indies, 1760–1762

The conquest of Guadeloupe was a very welcome relief in the spring of 1759. Britain now had the conquest that could ensure the retention of Louisbourg at the peace. In the meantime it would deprive the French of its wealth and provide the Royal Navy with a secure harbor at Fort Louis in the hurricane season. The political tension of the autumn of 1758 had given way to greater calm and confidence as bits of good news trickled in from different corners of the world. However it was not until well into the autumn that it was clear that the war had fundamentally shifted. Minden, Quebec and Quiberon Bay had deprived France completely of the initiative. During the winter and spring of 1760 there was a tense wait for more news from Canada, but on 27 June news arrived that Lord Colville had broken the siege of Quebec and the advance on Montreal could begin. With the fall of that city the British victory in Canada was complete. Other forces had already captured the key post of Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg)

[43] Pitt to Hopson, 9 March 1759, TNA: PRO CO 5/215, f. 105; Pitt to Moore, 9 March 1759, f. 111. This was revised three days later when Pitt reminded Hopson (not knowing of his death) to send the Highlanders to North America after the attack on St Lucia.

[44] Barrington to Pitt, 9 May 1759, TNA: PRO CO 110/1, ff. 139–44.

(November 1758), cutting off French forces in Canada from Louisiana. Thought could now be given to redeploying those large forces for other conquests in the Americas. Initially, thoughts were focused on New Orleans and Mobile. Illegal trade to those colonies was thought to be prolonging the war and Amherst was asked to consider at attack on those towns or Martinique.[45]

The West Indian islands became the focus of attention at the end of 1760. By January 1761 orders was sent to Amherst to prepare for an attack on Martinique after the hurricane season in September or October. In the meantime he was to send 2,000 troops to Guadeloupe to join an expedition to the 'neutral' islands of Dominica, and possibly St Lucia.[46] Amherst was able to assemble that force under Lord Rollo at New York. After a terrible passage, Rollo arrived at Guadeloupe on 2 June 1761 with only three transports, but rather than wait for the rest of the troops, he agreed with Governor Dalrymple to mount a surprise attack on Dominica with the 700 troops from the transports and garrison.[47] The force sailed on 4th and arrived at Rousseau, Dominica on the 6th. The troops landed that evening under cover of gunfire from the ships, meeting sporadic resistance from a small battery and the cotton fields. That night the French commander of the island was captured and Rousseau was occupied the next day. With the British established on the island the French settlers had little choice but to lay down their arms.[48]

The attack on Martinique was prepared over the early summer. It was the most complex operation in that region to date. The naval commander in the Leeward Islands, Captain James Douglas, blockaded Martinique and decided to wait with his ships at Barbados, so the force assembled well to windward of the destination.[49] Amherst appointed Brigadier General

---

45 Pitt to the Governors of the Northern Colonies, 23 Aug. 1760, TNA: PRO CO 5/215, f. 139; Pitt to Amherst, 24 October 1760, *Correspondence of William Pitt*, ed. G.S. Kimball (Macmillan, New York, 1906), vol. 2. An attack on Mobile was considered in February 1759, see, Karl Schweizer, "William Pitt, Earl of Chatham and Imperial Expansion: Unnoticed Material from the Amherst Archives'" *Archives* 28 (2003): 117–19.

46 Pitt to Amherst, 7 Jan. 1761, *Correspondence of William Pitt,* ed. Kimball, 2: 384–87; Pitt to Gov. Dalrymple, 14 Feb. 1761, TNA: PRO CO 5/215, f. 150.

47 Return of Lord Rollo's force, 4 May 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/56, f. 28; Dalrymple to Amherst, 3 June 1761, WO 34/55, f.1; Private Journal of the Conquest of the Island of Dominica by Capt. Douglas, PRO 30/8/48, f. 349. Douglas commanded the 300 troops of the King's Own taken from the Guadeloupe garrison.

48 "Private Journal of the Conquest of the Island of Dominica by Capt. Douglas," TNA: PRO PRO 30/8/48, f. 349.

49 Douglas to Pitt, 30 Sept. 1761, TNA: PRO CO 166/2 (Martinique Papers), f.1.

Robert Monckton to command the expedition and the troops from North America. Monckton was to assemble 6,300 troops at New York and 1,500 in South Carolina. They would be met by transports sent from Britain and were to sail to Barbados where they would join the 2,000 troops under Rollo. In September four battalions of foot that had participated in the conquest of Belle Isle were ordered to join Monckton and departed for the West Indies under convoy of Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, who had been appointed to supersede Douglas.[50]

Monckton arrived at Barbados on 24 December 1761. The troops from New York were healthy and in good spirits. Those from Belle Isle, which arrived ten days earlier, had suffered more on their rough passage. Rollo's small force, which had to beat windward from Dominica for weeks, was 'somewhat sickly'. Five hundred volunteers were raised on the island. Rodney had arrived on 22 November and together with Monckton he wasted little time in getting to sea again. The ships refreshed and watered while they waited for the troops from South Carolina and then put to sea on 5 January 1762. The army was about 14,000 strong with a black labor force of 1,500, over twice the size of Hopson's force that appeared off the island three years previously.[51] The French had not wasted time. Small numbers of reinforcements had arrived and a new governor, Vassor de Latouche, injected more order into the defensive preparations. Latouche knew that he could not stop the British landing and made greater preparations for supply to enable a defense to be carried on in the hinterland until rescue arrived from forces sent from France.[52]

The expeditionary force passed south of Martinique. An attempt was made on Pigeon Island in Fort Royale Bay, with the intention of establishing a secure anchorage opposite Fort Royale. Troops were put ashore, but the road towards Pigeon Island was found impassable for cannon, which would be necessary to reduce it. Monckton decided to re-embark and head for Cas Navires Bay, the place where Hopson had landed in 1759. Gunfire from the warships scoured the coastal batteries and the army began landing just before sunset on the 16 January without opposition.

---

[50] Pitt to Monckton, 21 Sept. 1761, *Correspondence of William Pitt,* ed. Kimball, 2: 469. The four regiments were Colvill's (69th Foot), Russane's (76th Foot), Morgan's (90th Foot) and Grey's (61st Foot). Admiralty to Rodney, 7 Oct. 1761, *The Rodney Papers, 1742–1763*, ed. David Syrett (London: Navy Record Society, London, 2005), 422. It is not clear why Douglas was superseded by Rodney.

[51] Rodney to Cleveland, 19 Jan. 1762, TNA: PRO CO 166/2, f. 21; Rodney to Newcastle, 21 January 1762, *The Rodney Papers, 1742–1763*, 434–35.

[52] Banbuck, *Histoire de Martinique, (1635–1789)*, 131–37.

Monckton was faced with the same march Hopson had attempted. The French had entrenched themselves on Morne Tartenson, the first of the mountainous ridges in front of Fort Royale. Marines and laborers were landed and guns brought up. By 24th the batteries were ready and the advance began. One thousand seamen with flat bottomed boats made a demonstration towards Fort Royal threatening the left flank of the French defenders, while Lord Rollo's brigade with the light infantry moved threatened their right flank. By 9:00 the French had been cleared out of the defensive positions. The French fled back to the higher defenses of Morne Garnier, which overlooked Fort Royale. In between lay a thickly wooded ravine. Monckton advanced to the foot of Morne Garnier that afternoon.

For the next two days the British seem to have stalled and on 27th Latouche decided to muster his best forces, 400 of the colonial infantry, to push the British out of the ravine. It was a decisive mistake. Against the experienced British light infantry the French columns were shattered and were chased over the ravine and into their entrenchments on Morne Garnier. The militia scattered and by 9:00 p.m. British troops were looking down onto the citadel and port of Fort Royale. It proved still too distant for an effective bombardment and guns were sent by water to Morne Capuchin, about 1,400 yards from the citadel. Before the new battery was established the citadel surrendered on 3 February. Latouche retired with the remnants of his force to St Pierre in the north of the island. Monckton had lost about 150 killed and wounded, but he had effective possession of the island within a month of commencing operations.[53]

Preparations to attack Latouche at St Pierre began, but before they were finished, deputies arrived offering to surrender the island. Terms were agreed on the 14th and Latouche with 320 provincial grenadiers were embarked on ships to take them to France. Monckton and Rodney quickly organized their force into smaller expeditionary forces to take the 'neutral' islands which the French had settled. Grenada surrendered on 5 March. St Vincent, St Lucia and Tobago followed.[54] As at Guadeloupe the French were too late in reinforcing the island. In January the Comte de Blénac had left Brest with eight line and 5,500 troops. News of his arrival in the region reached the Rodney on 5 March. Rodney prepared to intercept him, but

[53] Monckton to Egremont, 9 February 1762, Fort Royale, TNA: PRO CO 166/2, ff. 24–42.

[54] Monckton to Egremont 18 March 1762, TNA: PRO CO 166/2, ff. 72–77. After Pitt's resignation, the new Secretary of State for the Southern Department, the Earl of Egremont, wrote to urge the capture of the neutral islands in case the attack on Martinique failed. Egremont to Monckton, 9 Oct. 1761, CO 5/215, f. 169.

Blénac discovered that Martinique had fallen and escaped Rodney's pursuit to arrive safely at St Domingue.

War with Spain and the Capture of Havana 1762

Whilst the operation against Martinique had been in progress, momentous events had been occurring elsewhere. The tentative peace negotiations that Pitt had been conducting with the French minister Choiseul between April and September 1761 had revealed that France and Spain were forming a closer alliance. King Charles III of Spain, who succeeded his half-brother Ferdinand VI in August 1759, was extremely hostile to Britain. Even before his formal accession to the throne, Charles had approved a significant naval building program and the deployment of more ships to the West Indies which continued through 1760–1.[55] Choiseul's negotiating behavior suggested that he was confident of imminent Spanish support. The British ministry had lost some of its coherence since the death of George II in October 1760 and the inclusion of the new King's friends. There was increasing public disquiet at the continuation of the war and the rising costs of supporting Hanover and Prussia.[56] The war had reached a point where, to many people, the prospects for a good peace looked fair and issue of war and peace had become a major point of tension within the ministry. Negotiations with France broke down in September and Pitt was for bringing on the breech with Spain quickly. His cabinet colleagues disagreed and Pitt resigned on 5 October 1761. With negotiations stalled nothing could stop the drift to war with Spain, which finally broke out on 10 December.

What should be done was not in doubt. Havana had been an obvious target since the early eighteenth century. It dominated the exit channel from the Caribbean. Havana was the largest city in the Americas. It had formidable defenses and a population of about 35,000.[57] An ambition to capture Havana in 1739/40 had to be shelved as the British could not raise the men needed to take such a vast fortress, but now, with the ability to

---

[55] David F. Marley, "A Fearful Gift: The Spanish Naval Build-Up in the West Indies, 1759–1762," *Mariner's Mirror* 80, no. 4 (Nov. 1994):403–17.

[56] Karl Schweizer, "Israel Mauduit: Pamphleteering and Foreign Policy in the Age of the Elder Pitt," in *Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson*, eds. S. Taylor, R, Connors, and C. Jones (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 198–209.

[57] McNeill, *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain*, 38. The slave population of Cuba as a whole at this time is estimated to have been about 35,000 (see p.43).

move large numbers of battle-hardened troops from North America and Europe, and a navy that dominated the waters at home and in the Caribbean, it was a practicable proposition. The plan was quickly produced by Anson and Ligonier, probably on the advice of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, who had long experience of the West Indies in war and peace.[58] Anson and Ligonier presented the plan to the Cabinet on 3 January 1762. Monckton's army, then engaged at Martinique, would provide the core of about 10,000 experienced troops. Another 3,700, consisting of two regiments of regulars, four American provincial regiments, a company of rangers and another Independent company would be sent from New York.[59] The commander of the expedition, the Earl of Albemarle, was instructed to take four more regiments, totaling 4,000, with him, together with 220 French Protestant volunteers under Major Freron. A regiment of 500 free Blacks was also raised under a Major Fuller.[60] An unsuccessful attempt was made to raise 2,000 slaves on Jamaica to provide important labor force.[61] From a nominal force of almost 18,000, Albemarle was able to muster an effective expeditionary army of about 12,000 in May. Admiral Sir George Pocock was to command the naval force of nineteen ships of the line, plus bombs and frigates. The plan was to surprise Havana by approaching the city along the north coast of the island through the difficult Old Bahama Channel rather than rounding the western end of the island and following the current eastward.

Albemarle and Pocock arrived with their convoy at Barbados on 20 April 1762, just six weeks after Martinique capitulated. Provisions were assembled, replacement transports hired and plans conceived to convoy the army through the Old Bahama Channel. On 23 April the force sailed to water at Cas Navires Bay Martinique. The troops were reorganized on the transports. At St Domingue Pocock received the latest intelligence gathered by Rodney. Blénac's squadron was still at St Domingue and twenty Spanish ships of the line were said to be at Havana. It was thought that the French and Spanish intended to link up to invade Jamaica. The commanders were not deflected. Pocock took the precaution of adding

---

58 "Journal of the Siege of Havana" with Knowles "Narrative of Intelligence before going to Havana," BL: Add. MS. 23678, BL, London.

59 Return of the Forces from New York, 18 Oct. 1762, HA67/(461)/119 (Albemarle Mss), Suffolk Record Office.

60 Clevland to Geary, 13th Feb. 1762, in David Syrett, *The Siege and Capture of Havana 1762* (London: Navy Records Society, 1970), 31; "Establishment of the Regiment of Free Blacks," TNA: PRO CO 117/1 (Havana Correspondence) f. 3.

61 Lyttleton to Albemarle, 4 May 1762, TNA: PRO CO 117/1, f.73.

the *Marlborough* (68-gun) from Rodney's command to his squadron to give him almost parity at sea. The force proceeded to sea on 6 May, escorting the homeward bound trade convoy past Puerto Rico, along the north side of St Domingue and down to Cape St Nicholas at the western end of Hispaniola by the 17th. They waited for the convoy of troops bound from New York and the pilots that Commodore Sir James Douglas had recruited on Jamaica. On the 23rd Commodore Douglas arrived to take the trade bound for Jamaica under convoy and to deliver the eight pilots who were to take the fleet through the Channel. None of them impressed Pocock, especially the 86-year-old whose eyesight was now failing badly.[62] Pocock decided not to wait for the Americans, but left the frigates cruising for them with orders for them to hurry on to Havana. The fleet sailed on the 27 May.

The fleet arrived off Havana on the morning of 6 June, taking the Spanish entirely by surprise. Little had been done by Don Juan de Prado, the new governor of the city. No warning had been given neither by British privateer activity nor Spanish vessels.[63] The British knew little of the coastline, but a reconnaissance identified a good landing place east of Havana that was thought to lead to the heights that dominated the city and its main defensive work, El Moro Castle. After five years of accumulated experience, the landing procedures were well established and executed. Pocock took twelve ships in a demonstration towards the harbor entrance, while Albemarle's brother, Commodore Keppel, covered the intended landing place. High winds and surf made landing impossible, but it was achieved without opposition the next morning. Twenty-two infantry regiments, artillery and engineers, perhaps 11,800 personnel were landed in a single day without loss.[64] As the British advanced to the high ground they only encountered isolated groups of peasants and Blacks, which they were able to disperse easily. Once on the heights the British began to build batteries. The routes to the beaches were secured and seamen provided the vital labor force bringing water, supplies, stores and cannon up to the batteries. A covering force patrolled the region in search of food. On the 9th the Spanish sunk ships across the harbor entrance. On the 13th a force of light infantry landed to the west of Havana to divide

62 Pocock to Clevland, 26 May 1762, *The Siege and Capture of Havana,* 129–33.

63 David F. Marley, "Havana Surprised: Prelude to the British Invasion, 1762," *Mariner's Mirror* 78, no. 3 (Aug. 1992): 293–305.

64 David Syrett, "The British Landing at Havana: An Example of an Eighteenth-Century Combined Operation," *Mariner's Mirror* 55, no. 3 (Aug. 1969): 325–31.

the defenders' attention as work on the batteries proceeded. A Spanish counter-attack was driven off with heavy losses on 29 June. The first battery opened fire against the Moro on 1 July, supported by fire from three line of battle ships. Although the fire was a great success, reducing the Spanish operational guns on the Moro to just two, the action had to be stopped on the following day as the dry fascines of the battery seemed to be smoldering and in danger of setting alight. Despite this precaution, at 2:00 a.m. on 3 August, the smoldering fire broke into flame and the whole battery was destroyed.[65]

New batteries were constructed, but they too were in constant danger of burning. Siege lines were gradually extended towards the El Moro in order to start mining under the walls. On 22 July the defenders made another sally and were again driven back with the loss of perhaps 400 from a force of 1,500. New batteries were opened in the following days, but by now there were too few troops to work them. Water was very short, despite the best efforts of the seamen, and the sickness in the army was rising alarmingly. Fortunately, on 27th the first detachment of Americans arrived to reinforce the army on the western side of the city. By now the Spanish were aware of the mining under El Moro and in the early hours of 30 July sent out floating batteries to attack the miners in the ditch in front of the fortress. It was too late as at 2:00 p.m. on that day the mine was sprung. The wall crumbled and a practicable breach appeared. An immediate assault drove the defenders out.

The Spaniards turned their fire on El Moro while more batteries were built to fire on the town from the east and west. Albemarle moved his headquarters to the west of the city, leaving another of his brothers, Major General William Keppel, in charge of El Moro and the eastern batteries. By now there were too few troops fit for duty and too few tools to proceed with speed, but the new batteries were ready by 10 August. The next day they opened fire and at 2:00 p.m, de Prado sent out a flag of truce. Negotiations continued throughout the 12th and the capitulation was signed on the 13 August 1762.[66]

It was just in time. Albemarle wrote to Egremont, hoping that the King approved the terms of the capitulation,

> I do assure your lordship I wanted to get into the town at any rate, the army was so very sickly and that sickness increasing daily. If the North American

[65] "Journal of the Siege of Havana," 1762, TNA: PRO CO 117/1, ff. 89–91.
[66] Ibid, ff. 110–118.

> troops had not arrived when they did, I should have been drove to some desperate attempt to have profited of the little force I had left before it was entirely exhausted.[67]

A plan formed by Amherst for Albemarle to send 8,000 troops to join an attack on Louisiana was entirely unrealistic and dismissed by Albemarle. Nor could he even send the Americans back without making the garrison of the city impracticable. The sickness did not abate. 5, 366 men died of disease between 7 June and 18 October. The army that had numbered 11,576 on the day it landed, and had been reinforced by about 3,200 Americans, had only 2,067 men fit on 18 October.[68] Nevertheless, the victory had established British control across the main exit from the Caribbean and eliminated over half of the Spanish squadron in the West Indies.

The West Indies and the Peace of Paris 1763

The news that Havana had fallen reached Europe in September 1762. It caused a frisson of concern among the diplomats assembled at Paris. It was not the first time that the West Indies had proved a stumbling block to peace. Although the sheer scale of the conquests caused the British to consider what they were giving up very carefully, the West Indian conquests played the role expected of them when the campaign first began in 1758. Despite a pamphlet debate over whether Britain should retain Guadeloupe rather than Canada, there was little demand of additional sugar islands, especially from the planters.[69] Britain and France exchanged proposals over whether Guadeloupe should be returned for Minorca or evacuating parts of Hanover and Hesse occupied by the French army. The capture of Belle Isle in 1761 and further West Indian conquests of 1762 complicated matters seriously for British ministers, forcing them to reconsider their demands. The demand to retain the 'neutral' islands created controversy both in the negotiations and within the British Cabinet. To the French the importance of St Lucia, standing between Martinique and Guadeloupe, was so great that Choiseul was more inclined to give up the eastern side of

---

[67] Albemarle to Egremont, 21 Aug. 1762, ibid., f. 136. See also, David Syrett, "American Provincials and the Havana Campaign of 1762," *New York History* 49 (Oct. 1968), 375–90.

[68] "General State of H.M. Forces fit 7th June and 18th Oct. 1762," TNA: PRO CO 117/1, f. 157.

[69] William L. Grant, "Canada versus Guadeloupe: An Episode in the Seven Years War," *American Historical Review* 17, no. 4 (July 1912), 735–43.

the Mississippi Valley than lose that island, despite the fact that it would inevitably anger Charles III of Spain, who did not want the British closer to Florida or Mexico. For a short period in July 1762 an Anglo-French peace hinged on the fate of St Lucia. Just at the point when the matter seemed resolved the news of fall of Havana raised the question of further demands. However, by this time Choiseul was sure that he had wrung the best concessions out of the British that he was likely to get and was even prepared to compensate Spain by ceding Louisiana to her for the loss of Cuba to the British. In the event, the British ministry was also anxious not to prolong the war and settled for Florida. Spain, which had objected to French concessions to the British regarding access to the Gulf of Mexico during the summer also realized the game was up and agreed to that exchange of territory.[70] The Peace of Paris was a complex and wide ranging set of agreements and the West Indies were only a part of the overall considerations.[71] The war had not been fought for the West Indies, nor did the peace dramatically change the *status quo* in that region, but it was the dramatic victories achieved by the British there between 1759 and 1762 that undermined any hope of the Duc de Choiseul to save more than a remnant of the French empire in North America.[72]

Conclusion

The Anglo-French War of 1755–63 was not caused by conflict in the West Indies, but it played an important part in bringing it to an end. To Choiseul and the Spanish negotiator, Grimaldi, there was every chance by the end of 1762 that British naval and amphibious supremacy in the Caribbean could mean the collapse of Florida and Louisiana. The British policy of expanding the war to the Caribbean had produced a massive dividend.

---

[70] This paragraph is largely based on Savelle, *The Origins of American Diplomacy,* 492–510.

[71] For a full examination of the issues and negotiations see, Z.E. Rashid, *The Peace of Paris, 1763* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951).

[72] Jonathan Dull has recently argued that Choiseul's focus on reinforcing the French position in Germany was crucial to securing the final agreement of Britain to the cession of islands of St Pierre and Miquelon and preserving the French cod fishery at the mouth of the St Lawrence. These islands were the French nursery of oceanic seamen, accounting for about 25% of their number. Thus the small colonies made possible the renaissance of French naval power by the 1770s. See J. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 15–16, 222–243.

It was an excellent example of what Sir Julian Corbett called an "eccentric" strategy. It attacked the enemy in a vulnerable place, exploiting British maritime advantage, decisively changing the balance of diplomatic advantage. Whether this was the peculiar vision of William Pitt; his 'great design' as Corbett called it, or whether it was a vision far more broadly shared by ministers, that came to fruition as a result of the evolving conditions of war between 1756 and 1758, is still open to discussion.[73] Pitt certainly understood the potential of maritime power and actively considered its development.[74] Yet it would be a mistake to think that other ministers were averse to such a vigorous action in the pursuit of victory. Newcastle, as much as Pitt, was for extending the war into the West Indies in 1758. Pitt's successor as Secretary of State, the Earl of Egremont, and his colleague at the Northern Department, George Grenville, wanted to push the war against France as far as possible. Where they and some others differed with Pitt was on prematurely diverting energies to a war against Spain.

After the peace, the West Indies continued to flourish. The French West Indies, particularly St. Domingue, saw an acceleration of economic growth that seemed to confirm that the loss of Canada was a price worth paying for the wealth the sugar colonies generated.[75] For Britain, as well, the economic and political value of the West Indies remained central to policy. Dreadful and vast as the American Revolution was, when war broke out with France and Spain in 1778 and 1779 a real threat to the British West Indies emerged, and there was no doubt that "the West Indies will become

---

[73] Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years War,* 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1907), 1: 156. For the development of administration during this period, see C.R. Middleton, "The Administration of Newcastle and Pitt : The Departments of State and the Conduct of War, 1754–1760" (Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 1968). The latest history of the war presents Pitt as the mainspring of the West Indian operations with Newcastle only accepting the plan on the insistence of the King. See Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754–1763* (Longman: London, 2011), 377.

[74] After Guadeloupe Pitt considered avoiding towns and ports, but using an expeditionary army as a coastal raiding force, which would force the French settlers to surrender by starvation or deprivation. Professional soldiers were not convinced and it was never approved, despite the 'petit guerre' being an essential part of military operations in North America. See, Barré to Amherst, 29 Oct. 1760, in *Amherst and the Conquest of Canada,* ed. Richard Middleton (London: Army Records Society, 2003), 240.

[75] T.M. Doeflinger, "The Antilles Trade and the Old Regime: A Statistical Overview," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 6 (1976): 397–415; P. Butel, "L'Essor de l'économie de la plantation á Saint-Domingue dans la deuxième moitié du xviiie siècle,"in *État, Marine et Société*, eds. M. Acerra, J-P. Pouissou, M. Vergé-Franceschi, A. Zysgerg (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995), 89–100.

the principal theatre of War."[76] By 1782 America was lost, but the critical defensive battles for the West Indies were won.

For all their glory, the West Indian campaigns played a more peripheral role in objectives of participants in the Seven Years' War than they had done in the Anglo-Spanish war from 1739 to 1748 and later in the American War. However, the scale of the British offensive success within four years between 1759 and 1762 was never repeated, and it formed the background for ambition in the years between 1778 and 1783 and again between 1793 and 1801.[77] It was a misleading example of the potential diplomatic and military impact of British maritime power for future statesmen. Taken as a whole, eighteenth-century British amphibious operations against Caribbean objectives were not particularly successful.[78] The Seven Years' War stands out as the exception: not as a central cause of the war, but a uniquely successful and a central element in the bargaining that ended the war. As such, for all the glory and conquests elsewhere, the campaigns in the Caribbean and their impact on the peace were phenomena that had a disproportionate impact on future British maritime policy.[79]

---

[76] Maj. Gen Sir John Vaughan to Germain, 8 Feb. 1780, TNA: PRO CO 318/6 (West Indies Operations, 1779–1780), f. 42.

[77] R.N. McLarty, "The Expedition of Major General John Vaughan to the Lesser Antilles," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1951); Michael Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower: The British Expeditions to the West Indies and the War against Revolutionary France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

[78] J. Marchena Fernandez, *Officiales y Soldades en el Ejercito de America* (Sevilla, 1983), 185–86.

[79] The best account of the West Indies in this period is still Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936). It remains unsurpassed in the depth of the research and erudition.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE ANGLO-CHEROKEE WAR, 1759–1761

John Oliphant

In 1759 the southern British colonies went to war with the mountain-dwelling Cherokees, over frontier, trade and sovereignty issues exacerbated by a collision of alien cultures. After a South Carolina offensive collapsed and Cherokee war parties devastated the out-settlements, it took battalions of regular troops, two further military expeditions and the destruction of about twenty of their towns to bring the nation to a peace conference. Even then the Cherokees lost much less land than South Carolina had wanted, escaped retribution for the deaths of white settlers, and retained a real, if precarious, autonomy. This was partly due to the strength of their mountain fastnesses, partly to their impressive military and diplomatic skills, and very substantially to the willingness of British regular commanders to seek compromises scorned by colonists. While the first southern Superintendent of Indian affairs, Edmond Atkin, was generally ignored or sidelined by all concerned, army officers on the ground could make policy as they wished. The war was not only a significant event in Anglo-Native relations in the south, but marked the beginnings of imperial-colonial friction that would eventually bring revolution.[1]

The Cherokee Nation

The Cherokee people inhabited about sixty small towns straddling the great Appalachian range from the Tennessee or Cherokee River to the South Carolina piedmont in the east.[2] Their highland home and distance from the coast had cushioned them against white expansion from the coast; yet it had great strategic importance in the Anglo-Bourbon contests

[1] A much fuller exposition of this argument can be found in John Oliphant, *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier 1756–63* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

[2] Betty Anderson Smith, "The Distribution of Eighteenth Century Cherokee Settlements," in Duane H. King, ed. *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979) 46–60.

for North America, linking as it did the Savannah and its tributaries with the Mississippi system to the west. The Cherokees were also numerous in 1756, although smallpox and other imported pathogens had seen to it that at 11,000 people fielding 3,000 warriors, they were only a fraction of their pre-contact strength. The Creeks were only marginally stronger, while the Chickasaws had only 500 gunmen. The Catawbas had at most 300 by the early 1750s, reduced to a mere 50 or so by smallpox in 1758.[3] Moreover, though South Carolina had about 25,000 white inhabitants, this numerical advantage was offset by the threat from 39,000 black slaves. She could not look to aid from her neighbours: Virginia and North Carolina had their own slave populations and tiny Georgia was terrified of annihilation by the Creeks and Bourbon powers.[4] Thus South Carolina had neither the means nor the motivation to deploy its whole strength against the Cherokees, whose mountain presence prevented the growth of a runaway slave community like the formidable maroons of Jamaica. Under these conditions even 3,000 warriors could seem formidable.

The valleys and mountains divided the nation into four or five more or less independent regions, within which individual towns had a great deal of autonomy. The Lower Towns facing the South Carolina frontier were exposed both to white expansion and devastating Creek raids: by 1760 seven out of nine towns west of the Keowee valley had been abandoned.[5] The Middle and Valley Towns, deep in the mountains, were far safer. The Overhills on the lower Little Tennessee were vulnerable to Iroquois and Shawnee raids and close to the French at Fort Toulouse in the Creek country: though well aware of the importance of South Carolina they took care to keep up their relations with Louisiana.[6] Nevertheless, there was a kind

---

[3] Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists and Slaves in the South Atlantic Forests 1500–1800* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 82; James Adair, *The History of the American Indians, Particularly Those Nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South, and North Carolina, and Virginia...* (London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775), 227; Fred Gearing, *Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (American Anthropological Association, vol. 64, no.5, pt. 2, October 1962, Memoir 93), 113n; Russell Thornton, *The Cherokees: A Population History* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 17–23.

[4] R.C. Simmons, *The American Colonies From Settlement to Independence* (London: Longman, 1976), 177.

[5] Wayne E. Lee, "Fortify, Fight, or Flee: Tuscarora and Cherokee Defensive Warfare and Military Culture Adaptation," *The Journal of Military History* 68, no. 3 (July 2004): 751–56.

[6] P.M. Hamer, "Anglo-French rivalry in the Cherokee Country 1754–1757," *North Carolina Historical Review* 11, no.3 (July 1925): 303–22; Governor Lyttelton to the South Carolina assembly, 5 April 1757, enclosing Kelérec to Ministre de la Marine, 13 December 1756 and the articles of peace between Louisiana and a Cherokee faction, William Henry Lyttelton

of loose federal cohesion through the council at Chota in the Overhill country, which represented the councils of all the regions. The 'Fire King' of Chota–Connecorte or Old Hop succeeded in 1760 by Standing Turkey – was a symbolic national head and the Great Warrior, Occonostota was titular war chief. The Cherokees' most able diplomat Attakullakulla, The Little Carpenter or simply The Carpenter to the British, handled most important negotiations. Within this structure there was a broad consensus as to the general goals of the nation: secure hunting grounds, a sufficient supply of cheap good-quality trade goods, and national independence.[7] By 1756 all three were under threat – and some Cherokees were sounding out their neighbours for possible allies.

Neighbours, Enemies and Possible Friends

The Creeks were the critical factor. Being sufficiently distant from both New Orleans and the southern British colonies to retain their independence, they were also sufficiently close to seek assistance from French and British. Their hostility to the Cherokees went back many years and ran deep: by the end of their most recent war in 1753 Creek raids had destroyed all but three of the Cherokees' Lower Towns; and they had done so with British muskets, powder and ball while their enemies were hamstrung by a South Carolinian trade embargo.[8] Moreover, the great Creek leader Malachi of Coweta who died in 1756 had used his very considerable influence to promote friendship and even alliance with the British who alone could provide large quantities of cheap, good quality trade goods.[9]

However, Creek society, lacking even the rudimentary federal structure provided by the regional Cherokee councils, was bound together primarily by clan blood ties. Malachi's long final illness and death meant

---

Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, microfilm copy, Reel 1; John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944): 52–53, 61–62; David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 12–14; Fred Gearing, *Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (Menasha: American Anthropological Association, Memoir 93, 1962), 64; Gary C. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775* (Chicago: University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper No. 181, 1977), 100.

[7] Dorothy V. Jones, *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 39.

[8] Oliphant, *Cherokee Frontier*, 19–20.

[9] For Malachi's career see Steven C Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 186–228.

a deepening of divisions between the Creek towns, as those alarmed by the expansion of Georgia tried to forge a Franco-Creek Cherokee alliance. In September 1756 Creek raiders clashed bloodily with whites from the intrusive Briar Creek settlement. By now the very able Upper Creek leader Yahatustunagee of Okchay, whom the British called the Mortar, was trying to lure the Cherokees into a war. His town had been the scene of annual renewals of the 1753 Creek-Cherokee peace and as a result the Mortar had grown close to the Overhill Cherokees, perhaps even being ritually adopted by Chota. In 1756 he returned from a visit to the Cherokees with a 'Talk' (a diplomatic message) that expressed the fears of the warlike party there. He seems also to have attracted the Shawnee band living amongst the Creeks in the town of Tuckabatchee, who were already visiting the Cherokees to incite them to war.[10] By the summer of 1759 The Mortar probably had the allegiance of Togulki, Malachi's inexperienced nephew and successor as 'king' of the Coweta Creeks.[11]

He used these connections to facilitate Cherokee contacts with Fort Toulouse and exploited his own people's suspicion of Georgia settlements and the new South Carolina emissary, Daniel Pepper. Around May 1759 Yahatustunagee's people had built Etoahatchee, a town at the junction of the Coosa River and Coosawatchee Creek, conveniently close to the Cherokee country. From there he made visits to, and received visitors from, the Cherokee country, hinting that the French of Louisiana and the Spanish of Florida would support a Cherokee war against the British. The settlement may also have become a base for covert French emissaries to the Cherokees.[12] The Mortar's presence divided the leading Cherokee headmen. Some, like Occonostota, the Great Warrior, wanted to expel the Creeks from the Cherokee towns, but Connecorte and Standing Turkey protected them. At about the same time the Mortar accepted a war belt circulated to Creeks and Cherokees by a small Iroquoian tribe. Thus by the autumn of 1759 the Mortar had the support of some Creeks, a Cherokee

[10] Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760* (University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 127; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 61.

[11] Hahn, *Creek Nation,* 251–252, 254; Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28; Cashin, *Henry Ellis,* 79*;* Lieutenant White Outerbridge to Governor Lyttelton (two letters), Fort Augusta, 2 July 1759, Lyttelton Papers, Clements Library, Reel 3.

[12] Hahn, *Creek Nation,* 251–252.

faction, at least one northern nation and the Louisiana French, as well as a base for operations.[13]

Now he needed an incident to jolt the rest of the nation out of its neutrality. In September the moment seemed to have come. Atkin was in the Creek country, alternating transparently misleading promises about British war aims with threats to withdraw traders if the Creeks did not declare for George II. At a conference in Tuckabatchee town square one of the Mortar's adherents, a Cussita warrior called the Tobacco Eater, twice tomahawked Atkin and almost killed him. The attack has been attributed to the Superintendent's prevarication and threats and to the would-be assassin's insanity.[14] At bottom, however, it was probably a planned attempt to trigger an anti-British onslaught.

In fact, however, the Creeks remained deeply divided, so that while the Mortar and others might incite Cherokees, most had no intention of becoming involved. Indeed, fear that Creeks might actually help the British may partly explain why the Cherokees themselves took so long to go to war. Consequently the Creek and Cherokee war factions bickered about who would strike first. In the end, as we shall see, the Cherokees were driven into action by South Carolina's invasion of 1759 and some Creeks fought alongside the Cherokees in 1760 and 1761. But still the majority of Creeks would not move. Many headmen, led by Sempeyoffee of Coweta, worked actively to prevent a conflict they knew would be disastrous, while a few Lower Creeks actually fought against the Cherokees. In May 1760, with the Cherokee frontier already aflame, the Mortar's party again tried to force the issue by the slaughtering eleven British traders, only to find their revolt stifled by fellow Creeks. While the majority of Creeks may have contemplated joining the Cherokees if they won, they were not about to sacrifice their neutrality in a doubtful cause.[15]

Other southern nations were either too distant or too committed to the British to be of help. The Catawbas were a small nation, once almost extinguished but now augmented by refugees from a number of nations shattered by warfare, European settlement and European diseases. Like the Cherokees they were too close to the British settlements for comfort (in their case to North Carolina) but for them, with comparatively few warriors, cut off from French assistance, and utterly dependent upon

---

[13] Ibid., 252.

[14] Ibid., 247; Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., *The Appalachian Indian Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,), xviii.

[15] Ibid., 253–54; Saunt, *New Order*, 23–24.

British trade goods, armed resistance was out of the question. On the contrary they needed British military protection against Iroquois, Creek and Cherokee raids. To achieve that they had to appear as faithful allies always ready to fight the enemies of the British; but not so faithful that they could easily be taken for granted. In 1757–58 while the many Catawbas serving in defence of Virginia and Pennsylvania seemed less volatile and more reliable than the Cherokees, their leader, King Hagler, was demanding a fort in return for his warriors' services. Such a fort would be as much a symbol of British commitment to his nation as a source of physical protection. But by the spring of 1759 North Carolina had abandoned the project, leaving Hagler's people with no more than a couple of empty storehouses and a house without a chimney. A blood feud with the Cherokees was developing, seven warriors had been captured by northern Indians, and there was a real danger of conflict with nearby white settlers upon whom the nation depended for corn.

Desperate times called for desperate measures. Hagler set out to exploit a complicated boundary dispute between the two Carolinas, together with South Carolina's long-standing pretension to primacy in southern Indian affairs and increasingly urgent need of Indian allies, to bounce the Governor William Henry Lyttelton (1756–1760) into a Cherokee war. In April and June 1759 he accused the Carpenter of secret warmongering. In May his emissary offered to kill the Cherokee murderers of white settlers along the Yadkin River, thus stressing the superiority of Catawba loyalty and their value to the British. His success was limited. Though he promised a fort, and made arrangements for its building, Lyttelton was not to be drawn into a conflict to suit the Catawbas.[16] When the South Carolina governor did act a few months later it was at a time and for a purpose wholly his own. The pattern of conditional allegiance was repeated when Catawba scouts accompanied the Montgomery and Grant expeditions of 1760 and 1761, but went home when they thought they had done enough.

The Chickasaws were another small nation under threat, in their case from persistent French aggression – and like the Catawbas they needed British munitions and trade goods for their survival. Their bare survival in three fierce defensive wars was due partly to British traders' guns and ammunition.[17] Substantial number of Chickasaws left the original towns

[16] Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 80–84; Merrell, *Indians' New World*, 162–67.

[17] Robert Spencer Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 23–25; Norman Ward Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Valley, 1740–1750* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1941), 83.

to settle on the Savannah near Fort Moore and Augusta and at 'Breed's camp' among the Upper Creeks. The French, allied with the Choctaws and Arkansas, continued to menace the Chickasaw towns in all three areas, while the Chickasaws harassed French traffic on the Mississippi, their settlements and allies. By the spring of 1757 they were under attack from northern Indians, Choctaws and Cherokees.[18] They were in no position to try the elaborate manipulation attempted by the Catawbas, and they could hardly expect direct British military support, but it is no surprise to find some of them with the Grant and Montgomery expeditions in 1761 and 1762.

War Origins

Above all was the frontier. South Carolina's settlements crept forward inexorably from year to year, pressing into the Lower Towns' hunting grounds. By the mid-forties the ragged tide of traders, hunter-settlers and speculators had reached Long Canes Creek, a tributary of the Savannah about seventy miles from Keowee, the chief of the Lower Towns. By this time the land on the Carolina side was so penetrated and depleted of game that it was next to useless to the Cherokees. James Glen, the expansionist royal governor of South Carolina to 1756, seized the opportunity to negotiate a major cession: all the Cherokee lands up to the Creek. But the Long Canes boundary was consistently ignored by frontiersmen and even by the governors of South Carolina, who pretended to think that the Little River, a parallel tributary of Long Canes that flowed considerably nearer to the Lower Towns, was the real frontier. As late as 1759 Glen's successor Lyttelton was granting lands between Long Canes and the Little River.[19]

The steady erosion of the Cherokee hunting grounds seriously undermined their whole economy. Like other Native woodland cultures the Cherokees were now dependent upon European manufactures—firearms and ammunition, steel hatchets, knives, fishing hooks, hoes for their corn and squash fields, needles, iron cooking pots—which they could buy only

[18] John Buckles, Journal, 7 May 1757, in *Colonial Records of South Carolina. Series 2. Documents relating to Indian Affairs 1754–1765*, ed. William L. McDowell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 459.

[19] W. Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier 1607–1763* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 171–72; Louis de Vorsey, *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies 1763–1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 50–52, 112, 116–17.

with the hides of the whitetail deer. By 1742 the savage Creek-Cherokee War had made trade guns and ammunition a matter of life and death to the Lower Cherokees. Because the French and even other British colonies were so distant, these goods could only come from traders based on South Carolina, the very colony that was eating up their hunting grounds. By the 1750s overhunting had seriously reduced the deer-hide trade so that traders had to obtain their goods on credit and sell them on to the Cherokees on the security of the coming winter hunt. This created a chain of debt which kept the Cherokees short of vital arms and ammunition, left the Lower Towns vulnerable to Creek raids, and drove many a trader into fraud. False weights and measures were common. While the Cherokees thought dishonest traders better than none at all, a powerful head of resentment was building up against them and against South Carolina's tendency to use trade embargo as a diplomatic weapon.[20]

The territorial and economic threats inevitably raised the question of sovereignty. In 1730 a party of fifteen unrepresentative Cherokees had been taken to London where they accepted a treaty apparently ceding all their lands to King George and appointing an 'emperor', a recognizable authority through whom all could deal. The visitors had no right to cede anything and the emperorship was short-lived, but on the British side expansionist ambitions persisted. In 1752 the South Carolina was given a patch of land for a fort opposite Keowee on the Keowee River and use of land enough for a road between the fort and the frontier settlement of Ninety Six. The Cherokees thought they were buying trade, protection from raids and local British representatives with whom they could deal directly. Glen, however, thought of Fort Prince George, as the new post was called, as a curb on the Cherokees' independence and affected to believe that they had ceded all their land up to the Keowee. As war with France approached in July 1755 Glen tried to buy sovereignty with a fort among the Overhills and represented the Cherokees' gift of a bag of earth—a traditional gesture of alliance—as submission to George II. Fort Loudoun was built and garrisoned, but far from being a symbol of British sovereignty, its extreme remoteness gave the Cherokees a potential hostage;

---

[20] R.M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (New York: KTO, Milward, 1983), 269; Silver, *New Face on the Countryside*, 90–91; Gearing, *Priests and Warriors*, 87; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 20–24; David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier 1540–1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 146 ff; Mary U. Rothrock, "Carolina Traders Among the Cherokees 1690–1760," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications*, 1 (1929): 21–22, 27–29; Alden, *John Stuart*, 32; Eugene M. Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 288.

while the arrogant and violent behaviour of officers at both forts, especially Ensigns Miln, Coytmore and Bell, alienated parts of the populations they were supposed to serve. At the same time the Cherokees tried to develop alternatives. The 1756 Treaty of Broad River with the Virginians offered another Overhill fort and expanded trade in return for Cherokee military assistance.[21] Meanwhile some headmen made approaches to French Louisiana. However most Cherokee leaders, especially Attakullakulla, appreciated that there was no alternative to a friendship with South Carolina. Virginia and the French were both too distant, distant British naval action strangled the flow of French trade goods, and there was little real prospect of French military assistance.

At the beginning of Anglo-French hostilities the Cherokees were therefore already deeply divided over the wisdom of courting the British, and suspicion and apprehension were never far from the surface. In 1755 Edward Braddock's expedition was able to recruit only a handful of Cherokee scouts, but early in 1756 150 warriors under the Carpenter's foremost political rival, Ostenaca, Mankiller of Tomotly, joined the abortive Great Sandy River expedition.[22] After Broad River hundreds of warriors streamed north to protect Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania from frontier raids. They came for the presents which would reward their services, recompense them for the decline of trade and, in their minds, symbolize George II's pledge to protect them as his children.

From the Cherokee perspective, Virginia failed them at every turn. The Virginian fort was never manned. After the Great Sandy fiasco, Williamsburg feted Ostenaca, but failed to produce his warriors' presents. Next year parties hurried north by helping themselves to horses claimed by white settlers but on arrival found few or no presents waiting for them. Violence flared. The Cherokees plundered settlements and on their way home were attacked by the settlers whose horses they had stolen. In November a gang of outlaws from North Carolina slaughtered and scalped a family of Cherokee hunters near Long Canes Creek. In 1758 there were more clashes as parties moved north to assist the Forbes expedition or returned south disgusted with the paucity of presents and tardiness of British military preparations. Revenge, in Cherokee law, was now mandatory. Lyttelton's failure to deal with the Long Canes murders, on the

[21] Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 67–71; Alden, *John Stuart*, 47–48.

[22] Otis K. Rice, "The Sandy Creek Expedition of 1756," *West Virginia History*, 13 (October 1951): 5–19.

grounds that there was no proof against any specific person, looked disingenuous. To Cherokees it was the offending nation that was guilty, not the individuals concerned, and Lyttelton should have given them blood for blood. War parties began to seek revenge on the nearest targets, frontier settlers in North and South Carolina.[23]

The Lyttelton Expedition 1759

Lyttelton believed that war was now necessary and inevitable. The diffuse nature of Cherokee polity and the power of the law of revenge were, if not beyond his comprehension, certainly outside his moral compass. Rejecting Amherst's offer of a small number of regular troops, he called out the upcountry militia, took hostage a band of peace delegates led by Occonostota (thereby deliberately throwing away a real chance to obtain by agreement what he would now have to obtain by force) and marched with them towards Keowee. Having decided that rescue was out of the question, the Chota council allowed Attakullakulla to negotiate a deal: Occonostota's people were exchanged for fresh hostages, security for a Cherokee promise to deliver up the 'murderers' of white settlers. As Governor Henry Ellis of Georgia saw at once, the treaty was both humiliating and unenforceable. Before the ink was dry on the page Lyttelton's camp was attacked by smallpox and a critical supply problem. The expedition ended in an undignified scramble to get out of the Cherokee country while there were still soldiers left standing.[24]

No sooner had the governor and his sickly army vanished than war parties swarmed out to slaughter traders and devastate the Long Canes settlements. Traders were killed, cabins were burned and families massacred: twenty-seven settlers died at Raybourn's Creek alone and on

---

[23] Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 72, 115–117; Ensign Coytmore to Lyttelton, Fort Prince George, 11 June 1759; Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charleston, 1 September 1759, Colonial Office records, National Archives, Kew, London, CO 5/386, ff. 110–113; Alden, *John Stuart*, 80; John Philip Read, "A Perilous Rule: The Law of International Homicide," in Duane H. King, ed., *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 33–41. For the Long Canes murders see Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 41–44.

[24] Alan Calmes, "The Lyttelton Expedition of 1759: military failures and financial successes," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 77, no. 1 (Jan. 1976): 10–33; "Treaty of Peace and Friendship…," TNA: PRO CO 5/386, ff180–183; *South Carolina Gazette*, 29 December 1759; 5 January 1760; 5–12 January 1760 ; Sirmans, *South Carolina,* 334; Hewat, *Historical Account*, 2, 218–19, 226; Ellis to Pitt, Georgia, 15 February 1760, *Pitt Correspondence*, 254–56; Alden, *John Stuart*, 101.

1 February about 100 Cherokees caught and killed over fifty Long Canes refugees at a river crossing. Fort Prince George and Fort Moore on the Savannah were blockaded, while Fort Dobbs in North Carolina and Ninety-Six withstood assaults. In a matter of weeks the Cherokees had rolled the frontier back by over a hundred miles.[25] In desperation Lyttelton called on Amherst for the help he had earlier spurned.

Then came one more disastrous atrocity by the officers at Fort Prince George, where Lyttelton's hostages were confined. Occonostota, having failed to persuade Ensign Coytmore to release them, lured him out of the fort to his death in ambush. The enraged troops then slaughtered the hostages, most likely by firing into their crowded prison through holes in the roof. Once the besieging Cherokees realised what had happened they tightened their investment, firing into the fort from the neighbouring hills. The massacre destroyed the remains of Attakullakulla's peace party and ensured that the nation would fight on until the victims were fully avenged.[26]

Montgomery and Grant 1760

The relieving force of regulars, a battalion each from the 77th Highlanders and the Royal Scots was led by the 77th's Colonel Archibald Montgomery with Major James Grant second in command. Amherst ordered Montgomery to 'punish' the Cherokees 'for their infamous breach of the peace' and for 'their Inhuman acts of Cruelty' by 'Destroying their Towns'. At the same time Amherst wanted a swift campaign: he wanted Montgomery's 1,373 seasoned regulars back in time for the drive on Montreal. For that reason Montgomery's transports would wait for him

[25] Atkin to Lyttelton, Fort Moore, 29 January, 1, 5, 21 February, Outerbridge to Lyttelton, 2, 12, 15 February, Coytmore to Lyttelton, Fort Prince George, 7 February 1760, Pearson to Lyttelton 8 February, Shaw to Lyttelton, 21 February 1760, Ellis to Lyttelton, Georgia, 5 February, Henry Gallman to Lyttelton, 12 February, Benjamin Waring to Lyttelton, 15 February, George Pawley to Lyttelton, 27 February, James Francis to Lyttelton, 'Fort 96', 6 March, John Grinnan to Lyttelton, 'Turners Fort', 6 March 1760, and enclosures, Lyttelton Papers, Reel 3; *South Carolina Gazette*, 2–9, 16–23 February, 8–15 March 1760; Tom Hatley, The *Dividing Paths; The Cherokees and South Carolina Through the Era of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 127; Alden, *John Stuart*, 104; Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapell Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 298–302.

[26] Miln to Lyttelton, Fort Prince George, 24, 28 February; 1760, Lyttelton Papers, Reel 3; *South Carolina* Gazette, 9–16 February 1760; Adair, *American Indians*, 250; Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 301; Alden, *John Stuart*, 103–104., 16–24 February 1760, Miln to Lyttelton, Fort Prince George, 28 February 1760, Lyttelton Papers, Reel 3.

in Charleston harbour, the relief of Fort Loudoun was not even mentioned (by implication that would be done by a Virginian expedition approaching from the north) and Montgomery was strictly forbidden to garrison the frontier.[27] Yet when Montgomery's little convoy arrived in Charleston harbour on 1 April the means to achieve even such limited goals were lacking. Lyttelton was already packing for his long-desired promotion to the government of Jamaica while Lieutenant Governor William Bull, dreading a slave revolt and a Creek war, refused give Montgomery more than half the 400 Rangers he needed. The South Carolina regiment, supposed to be 1,000 strong, could muster only eighty sickly recruits, There were few wagons and supplies. These developments confirmed the jaundiced view of Carolinians both commanders had acquired during a 1757–58 quartering dispute in Charleston. '[S]uch a Set of People, railed Montgomery, 'I never saw; tis my opinion that if there were no [regular] troops in the Country that a dozen of Indians might go to Charles Town, tho' in conversation they are for putting all the Cherokees to Death, or Making Slaves of them'. On the other hand, Grant, who in August 1758 had had to deal with a band of unruly warriors at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, thought of Cherokees as engaging rogues who were decent enough if dealt with honestly. If confirmation were wanted it came from the obnoxious Miln, who on 7 May repeated Lyttelton's treachery by seizing eight warriors during a conference at the fort. To cap it all Bull's peace terms were harsh: fifteen Cherokee ringleaders to be executed, four more hostages handed over, and all white and black prisoners handed over before ratification.[28] By 1 June, when they reached the Twelve Mile River barely a day's march from Keowee, Both men quickly came to believe that the Cherokees were willing but too frightened to make peace and, worse, the colonists did not want it.

---

[27] Amherst to Montgomery, New York, 24 February, 6 March, Amherst to Grant 3 March 1760, TNA: PRO WO 34/48, ff. 1, 3, 5.

[28] *South Carolina Gazette*, 29 March-7 April 1760; Montgomery to Amherst, Charleston, 12 April 1760, Amherst Papers, National Archives, Kew, London, TNA: PRO WO 34/447, ff 4–5; Grant to Amherst,, Charleston, 17 April 1760, ibid., ff. 6–7; Montgomery to Amherst, Camp at Monk's Corner, 22 April 1760, ibid.; Montgomery to Amherst, Camp at Ninety Six, 24 May 1760, ibid., f. 12; South Carolina Commons Journals, 16–18 April 1760, CO 5/473, ff.97–99; Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, 6 May 1760, CO 5/377, f. 8; Bull to Grant, 29 April 1760, Ballindalloch Muniments, Ballindalloch Castle, Scotland, Bundle 394; Bull to Montgomery, Charleston, 30 April 1760, ibid.; Grant to Brigadier General John Forbes, 16 August 1758, Forbes Papers, Reel 3, Item 477; Miln to [Montgomery or Grant], Fort Prince George, 9 May 1760, Miln to Montgomery, Fort Prince George, 21 May 1760, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 561.

First Etchoe

The Cherokees' failure to attack Montgomery at the difficult crossing of the Twelve Mile River reinforced his conviction that a little decisive pressure would quickly produce peace. A rapid night march surprised Little Keowee where, to Montgomery's and Grant's dismay, rampaging troops bayoneted women and children as well as warriors. At Estatoe the Cherokees fled too late, losing ten or twelve people as they ran for the woods while others were caught in the burning houses. Qualatchee, Toxaway and Sugar Town were found empty and sacked before the expedition reached Fort Prince George. Altogether between sixty and eighty Cherokees had died and 40 had been taken.[29]

Grant and Montgomery, professional soldiers hardened by forest war, were appalled by what they had done. To Grant it was 'pretty severe' while Montgomery found Estatoe and Sugar Town 'more considerable than can be imagined, their Houses Neat and Convenient and Well Provided with every necessity of life'. Surely they had done more than enough to bring about a reasonable peace? Besides, they thought it 'next to impossible' to invade the Middle Towns. The remaining inhabited towns, Tomassee, Oconee, Echy, Chauga, Tugaloo, and Old Estatoe, were left alone while everywhere the Cherokees' crops were untouched. Montgomery and Grant then singled out two prominent Keowee men among Lyttelton's prisoners. Tistoe the headman and a principal warrior called the Wolf went into the mountains with an offer to spare the Middle Towns if Attakullakulla came to treat.[30] The British commanders settled down to await the inevitable peace delegation.

Three weeks later they were still waiting. The Cherokees' bitterness and distrust ran too deep to be assuaged by what Montgomery saw as his generosity and moderation. They saw his invitation to talks as another trap. The treachery of Miln, Coytmore and Bell still demanded revenge.

---

[29] Montgomery to Amherst, Camp near Fort Prince George, 4 June1760, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, ff. 14–15; Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America and the Islands of the West Indies including the Campaigns of MDCCLXIII and MDCCLXIV against His Majesty's Indian Enemies* (London: Printed for W. Strahan, and T. Cadell, 1772), 455; Grant to Bull, Camp near Fort Prince George, 4 June 1760, TNA: PRO CO 5/377, enclosed with Bull to the Board of Trade, CO 5/377, f 21 *et. seq*.; *South Carolina Gazette*, 12–19 July 1760.

[30] Montgomery to Amherst, Camp near Fort Prince George, 4 June 1760, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 15; Grant to Bull, Camp near Fort Prince George, 4 June 1760, enclosed with Bull to the Board of Trade, CO 5/377, f. 21 *et. seq.;* Montgomery to Bull, Camp at Fort Prince George, 7 June 1760, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 561; Lee,' Fortify, Fight, or Flee', 755 has a convenient map of the inhabited, uninhabited, fortified and unfortified towns.

The Carpenter's peace party was now so weak that he moved into Fort Loudoun and the hard-liners under Seroweh, the charismatic Young Warrior of Estatoe, were bent on resistance and revenge. By 24 June they were forced to recognise the truth and begin a march into the mountains. Their immediate target was Etchoe, nearest of the Middle Towns.[31] Unable to sustain a long campaign and quite unable to resupply Fort Loudoun they probably intended no more than a quick punishing raid.

Meanwhile Seroweh assembled most of the Lower and Middle Towns men, some Overhills and a few Creeks.[32] There was no point in trying to hold unfortified Etchoe; and in any case the Cherokees had long recognised the uselessness of native palisades against a powerful European enemy. The only alternative was to adapt boldly the usual Indian horseshoe formation, rapid movement and use of dense cover to minimise Montgomery's superiority in numbers and firepower.[33] At Crow's Creek six miles from Etchoe he found the ideal place. Between a high mountain on one hand and low hills on the other, through a narrow valley choked with dense forest and undergrowth, ran a river with high muddy banks. Here, where it was impossible to see further than ten feet ahead, a powerful blocking force would engage the head of Montgomery's column while other warriors hit the flanks and the vital baggage train.[34] Montgomery's men might share Braddock's fate: hemmed in, unable to use their superior firepower, hampered by their habit of firing by platoons, they would be shot to pieces and forced to flee. Even if he broke through his baggage train might be crippled, so forcing him to retire before he could strike the Middle Towns. At eight am on Friday 27 June Montgomery's advance guard collided with the blocking force.

As the British approached the ravine a Ranger company went forward to probe the thickets. The hidden warriors opened fire, routing the Rangers and killing their commander as he tried to rally them. Montgomery sent in his light infantry and grenadiers and a fierce close-range battle for the

---

[31] Captain John Stuart to Grant, Fort Loudoun, 6 June 1760, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 561; Montgomery to Amherst, 'Camp at Keowee Town', 23 June 1760, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f.16; Montgomery [to Bull, 23 June 1760], Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 561.

[32] Montgomery to Amherst, Camp at Fort Prince George, 2 July 1760, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 17; *South Carolina Gazette*, 5–12 July 1760.

[33] Lee, "Fortify, Fight, or Flee," 713–770, contains an interesting discussion of Native uses of fortification in this period.

[34] Adair, *American Indians*, 253; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 212; Alexander Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (London: Printed for Alexander Donaldson, 1779), 2: 232.

defile ensued. An infantry captain was shot down, a surgeon attempting to help him was severely wounded, and two soldiers died trying to recover his body. Only the smoke from Cherokees' firing and the abuse they hurled at the soldiers betrayed their positions; and everywhere Seroweh could be heard urging his men to stand firm. The redcoats reeled back into open ground where they were raked by fire from Cherokee riflemen, whose pieces greatly out-ranged the soldiers' muskets.[35]

But now the Highlanders had the measure of their enemy. As they reformed to halt the Cherokee counter attack, Montgomery extended his line, pushing his rearward Highland companies out to the left and the Royal Scots to the right. Finding their flanks turned and their retreat threatened, the Cherokees found themselves being driven out of the ravine. As they retreated to a low hill just out of reach of the advancing infantry their flanking parties fell upon the exposed pack and cattle train, briefly threatening to cripple the army entirely. Then the Cherokees retired under fire, the ravine was passed and the battered column reassembled on open ground.[36]

Montgomery had won the field but he now had fifty-five wounded to carry and had lost many horses. A great quantity of flour had to be destroyed in order to free enough animals for horse-litters. This in turn greatly reduced his radius of operations and limited the time he could stay in the mountains. He reached Etchoe next day only to find that the Cherokees had just abandoned it. Burning this one empty town could not bring the Cherokees to their knees and perhaps not even the destruction of all the Middle Towns would do so. 'The destroying of an Indian Town when the Savages have time to carry off all their Effects' was a futile exercise, Montgomery told Amherst, adding that' this one cost us rather too Dear…'.[37] He really had no choice but to retire, and he was probably happy to go. On 30 June the expedition began its withdrawal to Fort Prince

[35] Montgomery to Amherst, Camp at Fort Prince George, 2 July 1760, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 17; *South Carolina Gazette*, 5–12, 12–19, 19–26 July, 18–26 October 1760; *Maryland Gazette*, 7 August 1760; Hewatt, *Historical Account*, II, 232–233; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier,* 212–213; John W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 2: 407; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 131.

[36] Fortescue, *British Army*, 2: 407; Hewatt, *Historical Account*, 2: 232–233; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 213.

[37] Montgomery to Amherst, Camp at Fort Prince George, 2 July 1760, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f.18; Mante, *History of the Late War*, 492; Weir, *South Carolina*, 270.

George, harassed by Cherokee parties at every step, and thence all the way to Charleston.[38] Strategic victory went to the Cherokees.

The spectacle of tough British troops retreating before Indians appalled Charleston. Lieutenant Governor Bull was frightened that 'the imaginary triumphs of the Cherokees' would encourage the Creeks to fight, and that the French would execute 'their long concerted plan against this province'. The prospect of a Franco-Cherokee-Creek coalition supported by the Choctaws ('always at their disposal') existed chiefly inside Bull's own head, but was no less terrifying for that. In Charleston men saw Montgomery's departure as yet another sacrifice of southern interests to the needs of the north and imperial strategy. A tortuous compromise, by which Montgomery left four companies of Royal Scots behind, did little to lessen their anger and fear.[39]

The Fort Loudoun Massacre 1760

Montgomery's retreat, prudent and humane as it was, doomed Fort Loudoun. Starving and despairing of relief the soldiers who had not yet deserted forced their officers to capitulate on 6 August. The garrison and its families were to be allowed to march away under Cherokee escort in return for the fort with all its stores and artillery intact. But the need for revenge was still strong. Perhaps the Cherokee headmen never intended to let the garrison go, or possibly the young warriors were simply beyond command. Whatever the case on the 9 August the Cherokee escort gradually melted away and when the refugees camped for the night they had no protection at all. At daybreak they were suddenly attacked. Captain Paul Demeré, the three other officers, twenty-seven soldiers and three women died. Captain John Stuart was dragged to safety and with 120 others became a prisoner.[40] For the more sober Cherokee leaders, Occonostota and Ostenaca included, the Fort Prince George hostages had been fully

[38] Montgomery to Amherst, Camp at Fort Prince George, 2 July 1760, TNA: PRO WO 24/47, f. 19.

[39] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 132; Bull to Montgomery, Charleston 20 June, 7, 14 July 1760, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundles 394, 561; Bull to Montgomery, Charleston,12, 13 July 1760 (copy), TNA: PRO CO 5/377, ff. 189–90; Amherst to Montgomery, Albany, 18 June1760, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 468; J[ames] G[rant] to Montgomery, dated '30th, 8 at night', Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 561.

[40] *South Carolina Gazette*, 31 May-7 June, 16–23 August, 6–13, 13–20, 20–27 September, 11–18 October, 1760.

avenged and the war was over. Suspecting that the British would soon retaliate, they allowed Attakullkulla to help 'Bushyhead' Stuart, whom they knew and trusted, to escape to the Virginian force camped on the Holston River. But once again Cherokee initiatives were spurned. The Virginian commander, Colonel William Byrd, offered the Carpenter terms even harsher than those proposed by Lyttelton. Meanwhile news of the Fort Loudoun massacre forced Bull to give way to popular clamour for vengeance. He urged Byrd to burn the Overhill towns while asking Amherst for more regulars to relieve Fort Prince George.[41] The war would go on.

Grant 1761

Amherst had to send a second expedition, this time under Grant's command, with explicit orders to break Cherokee resistance, burn their towns and force them to sue for peace. Grant began to argue that a compromise peace, negotiated by himself, was a more realistic objective. A late winter or early spring campaign was next to impossible for 'want of Grass in the Woods & the [consequent] weakness of the Cattle…'. And what if, after their towns were sacked, the Cherokees merely retired deeper into their mountains, refusing both battle and capitulation? And if the Cherokees did ask for terms, who was to conduct the peace talks? '[A]s they are at War with four Provinces can any one Governor settle the difference of the Whole?' The answer, clearly, was the military commander on the spot, Grant himself. But Amherst would not be budged. Grant was ordered to stay in South Carolina until he had either 'compelled them into a peace' or received orders to the contrary.[42] Grant sailed from New York on 23 December 1760 but within days Henry Ellis of Georgia came to badger Amherst towards a compromise peace. In mid-January Byrd came to do the same. An anonymous sympathiser at Amherst's headquarters reported these conversations to Grant, who felt emboldened to try again for himself.[43]

---

[41] Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, 21 October 1760, enc. Major Andrew Lewis to Byrd n.d. (copy), TNA: PRO CO 5/377, Pt. 1, ff. 1–3, copies in Hardwicke Papers, Add. MS. 35910, 108–110, the British Library, London; Bull to the Board of Trade, 21/24 October with duplicate and additional postscript, TNA: PRO CO 5/377, Pt. 1, ff. 31–38.

[42] Amherst to Grant, New York, 15, 21, 22 December 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/48, ff. 38–44, 50–52, 58; Grant to Amherst, New York 20 December 1761, WO 34/47, ff. 36.

[43] Ellis to the Board of Trade, Georgia, 5 September, 25 October 1760, TNA: PRO CO 5/648, ff. 15, 20; Editorial comment and letter dated New York, 4 December [1760], *Royal Magazine*, 4, January 1761 (January–June, 1761); anonymous correspondent to Grant, 1, 19 January 1761, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 378.

Peace Feelers

By 17 January Grant had been a week in South Carolina and was determined to negotiate. There were strong technical arguments. The lack of grass would delay action until April at the earliest. The wagons where not ready, and the provincial forces were hopelessly dispersed: the sickly and neglected South Carolina Regiment was at the Congarees, and the Rangers were 'scattered up & down the face of the Earth'. But he gave far greater weight to political and moral reasons. The Cherokees were, on balance, less to blame for the war than the colonists; the majority of them, he thought, regretted the conflict and would readily make a fair peace, 'if they knew how to bring it about'. Indeed they would have done so in 1760 had it not been for the treacherous massacre of the hostages at Fort Prince George. Grant meant to remove the responsible officers, who were still sending back inflammatory reports to Charleston, as soon as possible. Amherst, however, would simply not believe in the Cherokees' repentance: 'punished therefore they must be, and that severely too, before Peace is granted to them; for until they have Undergone a due Correction & are thoroughly Convinced of the weight of His Majesty's Displeasure, there can be no Safety for the Inhabitants of his Southern American Colonies'.[44]

Grant immediately tried to find ways round these orders. He incited Bull to propose a wholesale exchange of prisoners by way of a Talk sent into Fort Prince George with a food convoy under Ranger escort. At the same time Miln was removed from his command and replaced by the trusted Ensign Lachlan McIntosh. The Cherokees responded at once. The following night Seroweh relieved the sleeping Rangers of 129 horses without taking a single scalp – suggesting that even he wished to keep the door to conciliation ajar. The more sober headmen certainly took Bull's gesture to signal a chance of an honourable peace. In the second week of March Attakullakulla appeared at Fort Prince George with 'a talk from several their Principal men'. McIntosh, clearly acting under orders devised by Bull and Grant, received the embassy warmly and gave presents to both Attakullakulla and his followers. The encouragement worked. On 24 March a messenger brought a conciliatory Talk from Ostenaca. On 1 April Seroweh himself came to plead that his actions had been provoked

[44] Grant to Amherst, Charleston, 17 January 1761, Amherst to Grant, 13 February 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, ff. 36–37, 61.

by Miln's behaviour.[45] All that was now needed was a real trust-building concession from the British side.

The opportunity was wrecked by Bull, who had to think of public opinion in Charleston, and by an action of Grant's scouts. Bull insisted that all white prisoners must be given up before the Cherokee captives could be handed over or peace talks begun. Cherokees who surrendered would be well treated but those who resisted or failed to release their prisoners would suffer at Grant's hands. The Chota council decided to ignore these terms while they awaited the outcome of negotiations with the Senecas, with the French at Fort Toulouse and with Virginia, but they did not reject them. Tistoe, the Lower Cherokee headman, returned to Keowee with a few poor and hungry followers. '[As he] puts himself entirely in our Power', a pleased Grant informed Amherst, 'he deserves Protection, I shall give him no Trouble when we march up'.[46] He was to be disappointed. About a month later, while Tistoe was away fetching corn from the Middle Towns, Grant's Chickasaws razed Keowee, killing a woman in Tistoe's house and wounding a boy, before re-joining the army near Saluda. Who would trust the British now? The horrified Monypenny acidly called it 'exactly true Indian assistance'. Grant did not mention the incident to Amherst.

Even so, not all was lost. The prospect of food, clothes and peace was enough to persuade some towns to give up their white captives. By late April about 113, including nearly forty survivors from Fort Loudoun, had been delivered to Fort Prince George. While Seroweh and others of the war party were convinced that they could repel Grant as easily as they had Montgomery, others were dismayed by the failure of their diplomatic initiatives. Ostenaca, despairing of a separate peace with Virginia, sent McIntosh another conciliatory Talk. Occonostota was back from Louisiana, irritated at the coolness of his reception there, and with nothing more substantial than eight packhorse loads of presents and a French commission. The Senecas, themselves short of ammunition and anxious to please

---

[45] *South Carolina Gazette*, 21–28 February, 28 February-7 March 1761; Grant to Amherst, 29 January 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 54; Alexander Monypenny, Journal, 23 March 1761, 1–2, typed transcript, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma; South Carolina Council Journal, 25 March, 13 April 1761, CO 5/477, ff. 52, 53, 55; 'A talk from the Young Warrior of Estatoe to Mr. McIntosh', Fort Prince George, 21 April 1761 (copy), enclosed with Grant to Amherst, 12 April 1761, WO 34/47, ff. 49–60.

[46] South Carolina council Journal, 25 March 1761, TNA: PRO CO 5/477, f. 53; Bull's Talk to Attakullakulla, 30 March 1761 (copy), Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 560, Amherst's copy at WO 34/47, ff. 90–92, Monypenny, Journal, 23 March 1760, 2; Grant to Amherst, 30 March, 12 April 1761, WO 34/47, ff. 58–59.

the British, were making ostentatious preparations *against* the Cherokees.[47] The Chota council could only continue its waiting game, hoping for a real concession that would satisfy the war faction and underpin a durable peace.

Meanwhile Grant persuaded Bull to soften the harsh terms of 1760 and to give him a copy in case, after a successful action, the Cherokees should try to negotiate. After all, they would certainly first approach Grant, and would only talk as long as his army remained in their country, which in turn would be determined by supply problems. In this way, blandly assuring Amherst that he would not 'interfere about the Peace', he persuaded the commander-in-chief to let him deliver South Carolina's terms. But the revised terms reached him at The Congarees in mid-April were far from moderate. The Cherokees were to choose and execute six warriors. All white prisoners were to be released at once but Indian captives only when the peace had been ratified. All Cherokee lands below the Twenty-Six Mile River, a tributary of the Savannah roughly twenty-six miles below Keowee, were to be given up, bringing the official frontier to within a long day's ride of the Lower Towns. Attakullakulla was to be declared the Cherokee ''Emperor' in acknowledgment of his 'inviolable Attachment to the English': a blatant attempt, as in 1730, to set up a puppet government. In future Cherokee murderers of whites were to be executed by the nation, while the colonial authorities would deal with white offenders: the law of revenge was to end. Grant immediately protested against the first, third and fourth stipulations, implying that he would not exert himself to enforce them. Bull would not budge on the executions, though he acknowledged that the Cherokees would strenuously resist; but he agreed secretly to drop the boundary and emperorship clauses. Bull did not tell the Commons House until September while until 2 June Grant conveniently 'forgot' to mention it in his letters to Amherst.[48]

Thanks to torrential rain, Grant did not reach Ninety Six until 18 May and it took him another fortnight to struggle up to Fort Prince George.

---

[47] Bull to Amherst, Charleston, 15 April 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/35, f. 194; Grant to Amherst, Camp at Twenty-Two Mile Creek, 5 May 1761, WO 34/47, ff. 66–67; South Carolina Council Journal, 6 May 1761, CO 5/477, f. 57Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 243–246; Monypenny, Journal, 28 May 1761, 19; 'The little Carpenter's Talk to Colonel Grant, Fort Prince George, 27 May 1761, WO 34/47, f. 89.

[48] Bull to Grant, 14 April 1761, South Carolina Commons Journals, TNA: CO 5/477, ff. 113–114; Bull to Amherst, Charleston, 15 April 1761, WO 34/35, f. 145; Gran to Amherst, Camp at fort Prince George, 2/5 June 1761, WO 34/47, f. 82;Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, 30 April 1761, CO 5/377, ff. 73–74.

The long slow march gave the peace party in the Cherokee nation time to seize the initiative. The Chota council gave Attakullakulla twelve days in which to reach a satisfactory agreement with Grant and report back to the nation. Having warned off a young warrior faction planning to attack Grant on the march, he set off for Keowee. There he was horrified to find a war party from Settico, an Overhill town with a tendency to favour a French alliance, determined to wreck the negotiations. He quickly presented McIntosh with a Talk, offering to discuss peace on behalf of the Great Warrior. McIntosh immediately sent the proposal down to Grant, and Attakullakulla waited impatiently for his reply. Forty-eight hours later no answer had come from Grant and his twelve days were rapidly slipping away. Reluctantly, the Carpenter gathered his followers and began the long dismal ride back to the Overhill country.[49]

Grant received Attakullakulla's Talk on 23 May, the day after it was sent. He was still many difficult mud-slogging miles from Keowee so there was no need to meet the Carpenter at all—unless, of course, he wanted to end the war as quickly as possible. He composed a reply superficially in accord with his orders, but containing enough encouragement to keep the Carpenter at Fort Prince George. He had, he wrote, 'always had a good opinion of the Carpenter, would be glad to see him, when convenient, but would not now detain him'. He would march into the Middle Towns but would not disturb the inhabitants if they remained quietly in their settlements. He would discuss peace with Occonostota in person, and carefully specified how the Great Warrior should approach the camp.[50] Grant's messenger rode hard to reach Fort Prince George on 24 May, narrowly escaping death at the hands of Seroweh's marksmen, only to find that he had missed Attakullkulla by a matter of hours.[51] Later that day McIntosh's mud-spattered galloper overtook the Carpenter, who at once wheeled his party about and made again for Fort Prince George.[52]

Grant's advance guard came within sight of the fort, whereupon the thirty or so Cherokees hovering outside fled, leaving only Attakullakulla

---

[49] Monypenny, Journal, 28 May 1761, 19; "A Talk from Occonostota & the Little Carpenter to Lt. Mackintosh," Fort Prince George, 22 May 1761, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 511; 'The Little Carpenter's Talk to Colonel Grant, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 89; *South Carolina Gazette*, 13–20 June 1761.

[50] Monypenny, Journal, 23 May 1761.

[51] Ibid, 28 May 1761, *South Carolina Gazette*, 13–20 June 1761; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 244.

[52] Ibid., 246; "The Little Carpenter's Talk to Colonel Grant, Fort Prince George," 27 May 1761, TNA: PRO WO 24/47, f. 81.

and five companions were there to greet Grant on 27 May. That night they met privately at the fort, following the usual Indian protocol of reaching an agreement behind the scenes before it was announced publicly the following day. The Carpenter seems to have condemned the attack on Grant's messenger and offered to have the Settico party put to death. He asked for, and was granted, ten days' grace to put Grant's terms to the Great Warrior. During the public conference next day Grant politely refused to wait even half an hour and added that he would march once his preparations were complete. This was as good as a promise not to move for at least a week. Already the troops were at work making pack-saddles, flour bags, 'and sodds' to put under the saddles, and improvising harness from green hides for over 600 horses. The 150 wagons to be left at Fort Prince George had to be protected by a redan breastwork backing onto the fort. The conference ended with Grant giving Attakullakulla and his escort rum and other presents, formal pledges of good faith. As Monypenny put it, 'Coll Grant was very civil to him'. Next day, Friday 29 May Attakullakulla set out to see Occonostota about a peace. Grant told Amherst that 'it was not proper to refuse absolutely coming to terms and so deprive him of all hopes of an accommodation', that 'Faith is to be kept with Indians, as with other men', and that not having yet *seen* Bull's Talk of 30 March he had to tread carefully. In reality, of course, he probably knew the contents of that Talk already, and, as he casually admitted, he possessed a copy of Bull's earlier peace proposals.[53]

On all sides men thought that peace was on the way. Grant's civilities to the Carpenter upset his Chickasaws and Catawbas, who thought the war was over; the Chickasaw headman had to reassure his young men by pointing to the work on the pack saddles. The Tail of Estatoe (reputedly Seroweh's right-hand man), came with Moitoi of Keowee seeking permission to settle and plant corn at Keowee. By 2 June 60 or 70 'almost starved' Indians had settled under British protection. It was plain to all that these miserably poor and hungry refugees could not threaten the frontier for some time to come. Forbidden to hunt in the woods, reduced to eating strawberries and acorns instead of corn, and with very little dried meat,

[53] Captain Christopher French, Journals, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Wednesday 27 May 1761, 92; Monypenny, Journal, 28 May 1761, 19; Laurens to John Etwein, Camp of Keowee, 11 July 1761, Philip M. Hamer and George C. Rogers, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens Vol. Three: Jan. 1 1759-Aug.31 1763* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 3: 475; Grant to Amherst, 2/5 June 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 81; "The Little Carpenter's Talk to Colonel Grant," ibid, f. 89; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 246.

they had to be given seed corn and peas to plant. By 2 June it was rumoured that the army would march to meet the Carpenter at Estatoe where, squeezed between Byrd and Grant, the Cherokees would cheerfully accept South Carolina's terms. A white escapee from Chota confirmed Occonostota's disenchantment with the French. Even Monypenny was sure that lack of enemy action meant that the Cherokees were 'much inclin'd to peace'. Most of the civilian wagoners and some soldiers, who had strict orders to the contrary were so sure of peace that they thought little of crossing the river to gather wild strawberries. 'Till one of them is kill'd', remarked Monypenny, they will never believe there is any danger'.[54]

Grant and Monypenny were less optimistic than the rank and file. Grant trusted the Carpenter but no-one else and fully expected to be attacked on the way to Etchoe. Sensing that the Cherokees were delicately balanced between peace and war, he played for time. He wrote to Bull on 3 June, explaining that he would march on the 7th. That day it began to rain heavily and continued for two days. All work had to stop, so that a further two days were needed to prepare the expedition. That made no difference to Grant, who had already decided to march on the 7th, but the rain was a plausible reason to feed to Amherst.[55] In fact Grant had deliberately given the Carpenter an extra two days; making ten days in all since the public conference on 28 May. The colonel had kept his promise to the Carpenter.

Second Etchoe

But the Carpenter had not returned, an ominous sign. Already there were indications that The Tail, Tistoe and Seroweh would fight. On 4 June The Tail was caught spreading fear of mountains and Cherokees amongst Grant's Indians. On 7 June the little army uncoiled itself into a marching column and began to wade the waist-deep Keowee River. Two days Henry Laurens was convinced that Attakullakulla's initial approach had been a ruse, to hold up the offensive for as long as possible. Grant, however, hoped for Cherokee deputies until the morning of 10 June, exactly twelve

[54] Monypenny, Journal, 29–30 May 1761, 20–21; French, Journal, 29 May 1761, 94; *South Carolina Gazette*, 13–20 June 1761; Grant to Amherst, Camp near Fort Prince George, 2/5 June 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f.81; Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, 19 June 1761, CO 5/377, f.81.

[55] Grant to Amherst, Camp at Fort Prince George, 2/5 June 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 82.

days from Attakullakulla's departure.[56] By that time it was clear that a powerful Cherokee force lay across his path, ready to do battle.

Attakullakulla had utterly failed to convince Occonostota that it was safe to go to Grant's camp. The Chota council refused to hand over white prisoners while Cherokees were still held in South Carolina, and in any case the hostile leaders were determined to fight. Seroweh, despite his earlier, tentative approach, was already raising the Middle Towns warriors. Tistoe, with good reason, was against all compromise. Fort Toulouse had sent four or five hundredweight of powder and perhaps twice that of ball: not much but perhaps enough for a second Etchoe. So the Carpenter was thrust aside and hundreds of young men (probably about 600 but possibly twice that many) flocked to resist the invasion. The Cherokees were outnumbered and outgunned and the speed of Grant's advance forced them to fight him in the very last defile before Etchoe. Nevertheless, there was every chance that they would serve him as they had served Montgomery.

The Cherokees did not repeat last year's mistake by trying to tackle Grant head-on. The defile was flanked on the Cherokees' left by a steep mountain and the wood-fringed Cowee River on the right. Seroweh put his gunmen on the slopes of the mountain and behind the river, ready to harass the column at long range where Grant could not bring his superior numbers to bear. Fighting at long range they would force Grant to hurry forward onto open ground, thus drawing his vulnerable pack train into the defile where it could be attacked in force. With luck they might cripple Grant at minimal cost to themselves. At 8 am the second battle of Etchoe began.

Once again the Cherokees came very close to success. Their skirmishers on the mountain fell back before Grant's Indians, Rangers and light infantry, drawing him on and forcing him to deploy flank guards to fire-fight the warriors safely behind the river. At 8:30 Grant sighted the end of the defile, a ford and open grassland beyond. While the leading light infantry engaged the Cherokee skirmishers at the crossing the vulnerable pack train entered the ravine. At once the Cherokees stormed it, killing six Rangers and drivers, wounding many more and slaughtering about fifty horses. The escort commander panicked and for a moment the train was on the brink

---

[56] French, Journal, Monday 8 June 1761, 98–99; Laurens to Etwein, 11 July 1761, *Laurens Paper*, 3: 74; "Journal of the March and Operations of the Troops under the Command of lieut. Colonel Grant of the 40th Regiment, upon an Expedition from Fort Prince George against the Cherokees," 10June 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/40, f. 95.

of destruction; but only for a moment. 175 provincials sent hurrying rearwards by Grant turned the tide, while far ahead the light infantry had forded the river. By mid-morning the whole force was safely across. The Cherokees, unwilling to be drawn into an open frontal assault, kept up a distant firing until about 11:30, when they ran out of ammunition and withdrew.[57]

The Cherokees' tactics had kept their losses down to 30-odd dead and one man taken, dramatically better than at the first Etchoe.[58] They had killed only ten whites and one Catawba but they had wounded fifty-two and killed about as many pack animals.[59] Unfortunately for them, Grant had brought many more horses than in 1760 and had kept the average load down to 150 pounds, so that burdens could easily be redistributed and the wounded carried without sacrificing food. He was still perfectly capable of invading the Middle Towns and the warriors, with no ammunition left, could not stop him. Their best chance now was to stay out of reach until the enemy's stamina and supplies ran out.

Grant knew that time was against him. If he could catch the retreating warriors he might just win a decisive victory. If not, only the complete destruction of the Middle Towns and their crops could force the Cherokees to treat. He did not hesitate. He gave his men two hours to rest, sink the dead in the river, tend the wounded and build them litters. Then they were off, marching at a killing pace for Etchoe, under orders to 'put every Soul to Death'.[60] Even if meant only for the warriors—and there had been nothing as violent since Little Keowee in 1760[61]—it was ruthless enough. Grant meant to force a decision that night.

The Cherokees did not oblige him. Though the troops marched all night, the Middle Towns of Etchoe, Tassee and Nequassee were evacuated before they could arrive. The empty houses were burned and at Nequassee the miserable work of destroying crops began. Two days later a large band of

---

[57] French, Journal, Wednesday 10 June 1761, 102; *Maryland Gazette*, 13 August 1761; Grant, Journal, 10 June 1761; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 248–249; Proceedings of the court martial of Captain john Dargan of the Rangers, Camp at Fort Prince George, 4 August 1761, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 378.

[58] John Stuart to Grant, Charleston, 17 October 1761, ibid; Laurens to Etwein, 11 July 1761, and 'A Letter Signed Philolethes', *Laurens Papers*, 3: 75, 288.

[59] "Return of the Killed and Wounded…," 10 June 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 97; French Journal, 10 June 176, 103–104; letter dated "Col. Grant's head-quarters, near Fort Prince George," 10 July 1761, *Royal Magazine*, 5 (September 1761), 153–54.

[60] Grant, Journal, 10 June 1761; French, Journal, Wednesday 10 June 1761, 103–104.

[61] For a contrary view, see Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 139.

Cherokees was almost surprised by a flying detachment but the warriors lost only one man killed and one old woman taken. So elusive were they that on 14 June Grant's Catawbas and Savannah River Chickasaws left to claim their scalp bounties in Carolina. By 2 July the troops had sacked fifteen towns and ruined 1,500 acres of corn fields, beans, melons and orchards; but in all that time only four Cherokees were killed and five taken. On 3 July at Joree, the army's last stop in the Middle Towns, a party of five slipped between the army's picquets and scalped a pack-horseman, the first damage the Cherokees had been able to inflict, and escaped unscathed. By now over 300 soldiers were wounded, sick or lame, and about 1,000 men had worn their shoes to tatters.[62] Though hungry, lacking ammunition and with their families fled to the Valley or the Overhills, the Cherokee fighters had denied Grant his decisive blow. And they had, without knowing it, created a split in the British command: a split which accelerated the disintegration of the whole expedition.

Imperial-Colonial Tension and Military Disintegration

Colonel Thomas Middleton, commander of the South Carolina Regiment, had always resented serving under an outsider and a mere lieutenant colonel. Grant, on the other hand, was unimpressed by a man who had passed the winter in Charleston while his men froze, sickened and died at the Congarees. They also had sharply differing views on discipline and on the proper conduct of the campaign. As early as 2 April Middleton had infuriated Grant by obtaining a letter placing him under Grant's orders only until Bull directed otherwise, and another, secret, order, allowing Middleton to leave the campaign if the service became 'irksome and disagreeable' to him. In mid-June at Cowee he accused Grant of depriving him of a chance to send letters home. At Joree he seems to have demanded an invasion of the Valley. When Grant demurred and resolved to retire to Fort Prince George, he produced Bull's second letter and announced that he would use it at Keowee. On 10 July, the moment the army sighted Fort Prince George he withdrew from his 'voluntary' subordination. Next morning he set off for Charleston, leaving his regiment behind. Once in

[62] French, Journal, 10–3 July 1761, 105–148; Grant, Journal, 12–14 June 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, ff. 95–96; *South Carolina Gazette*, 4–11 July 1761; Laurens to Etwein, *Laurens Papers*, 3: 75; "Extract of a letter from an Officer in Col. Middleton's regiment," *Royal Magazine*, 10 July 1760.

Charleston he appealed to the parochial and aggressive mind-set of colonial public opinion. By mid-July it was common talk that Grant, by sparing the Valley, killing too few Cherokees and destroying so much food, had only encouraged the Cherokees to resume their frontier raids, By the end of the month Middleton, using Peter Timothy's *South Carolina Gazette* as a platform, was claiming sole credit for reinforcing the cattle guard on 10 June, and accusing Grant of failing to encircle and trap the Cherokees.[63] His whole campaign, of course, appealed to a deeper resentment of imperial interference in local affairs and of the northern focus of British strategy, going back at least to the quartering dispute of 1756.

Meanwhile Middleton's deserted regiment was fast disintegrating. The provincials' pay was in arrears, their term of enlistment had expired on 20 July, their commander was gone and the pull of their homes in the colony overcame whatever military discipline was left. The Rangers' service would be up on 10 October and of the Indians only a few Mohawks and Upper Chickasaws remained. The Chickasaws were reliable: 'quite a different Species from any other Indians I have ever met', commented Grant, but the Mohawks were scalp-hungry and undisciplined. Supplies were critically short: by the end of June only seventy-three wagons were fit for service, and the horses were so exhausted that teams had to be doubled. Byrd's Virginians on the distant Holston River were few in number, ill-supplied, had not moved for months.[64] Grant's threats of renewed action were self-evidently pure bluff.

Diplomatic Approaches

Deep in the Cherokee country Grant's raid had had one concrete result: on or about 1 July Attakullakulla had persuaded the Chota council to make peace. But he had to yield to Occonostota's insistence that the first approach should be made to Virginia, the less aggrieved, weaker and less active enemy. In this way the Cherokees' foes might be divided and South Carolina induced to grant honourable terms. Attakullakulla was sent to

---

[63] Paul David Nelson, *General James Grant: Scottish Soldier and Governor of East Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 33; Middelton to Grant, Camp near Fort Prince George, 10 July 1761 (copy), *Laurens Papers*, 3: 291–92.

[64] Grant to Amherst, Camp at Fort Prince George, 10 July, 3 September 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, ff. 94, 99; Byrd to Amherst, Camp at Stalnaker's, 19, 22 July 1761, the latter enclosing. Byrd's Talk to the Cherokees. 19 July 1761, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 378; Byrd to Bull, 26 July 1761 CO 5/379, f. 115.

make overtures to Byrd, reaching the camp on the Holston on 18 July. Byrd, however, told him that by Amherst's order the peace preliminaries must be left to Grant. He could only make personal capital from the situation, blaming the war upon absent rivals (Occonostota, Standing Turkey and Ostenaca) before bearing Byrd's Talk back to Chota.[65]

Meanwhile, with the Carpenter thus conveniently sidelined, Occonostota and Standing Turkey began their own approaches to Grant, first through Old Caesar of Chatuga and afterwards co-opting the aid Tistoe of Keowee and the Slave Catcher of Tomotly. On both occasions Grant, knowing he must deal with a properly authorised delegation, insisted on having the 'first voices'. On 10 August he gave Tistoe and the Slave Catcher 'twelve sleeps' to bring a satisfactory reply. Occonostota, however, discovered that Seroweh had just raided Georgia and was terrified of being seized in revenge. Yet peace was essential. Almost the whole Cherokee population was crowded into the Valley and Overhill Towns, with food for perhaps a third of their number. Without food or ammunition they would be terribly vulnerable to the winter raids of Chickasaws, Shawnees and Iroquois, and a renewed British offensive in the spring the Cherokee nation could mean annihilation. If the three principal headmen dared not go to Grant, the only recourse was the Carpenter.

The Keowee Preliminaries

Attakullakulla was given charge of an eight-man delegation. Occonostota went with them, having decided to conceal himself close enough to the negotiations to intervene by messenger if need be. The Carpenter appeared before Fort Prince George on 29 August and immediately presented his credentials. A pipe from Standing Turkey, indicating that Attakullkulla represented the 'first voices', was first smoked all round.[66] The Carpenter then offered strings of white beads signifying peace from Chota, Settico, Chatuga and Great Tellico; thus managing to combine a conciliatory tone with a warning that the other towns remained unconvinced. He accepted that the Middle Towns had wrought their own destruction and asked Grant to pity the 'Dying, Naked and Starving' refugees. He promised that Seroweh and others still at war would be dealt with, and asked for peace on the basis of a mutual restoration of prisoners and the restoration of

65 Byrd to Amherst, Camp at Stalnaker's, 1 August 1761.
66 French, Journal, Saturday 29 August 1761, 160.

trade. He ended by pointing out his past friendship and in particular the rescue of John Stuart. Grant responded in kind: he reminded the Carpenter that he had personally ordered the release of Miln's prisoners in 1760, though the final terms must be settled by Bull in Charleston.[67] The messages were clear: the Cherokees would accept non-punitive terms, while Grant would support any reasonable demands from their side. The meeting then adjourned, almost certainly to allow the private consultation which was the usual preliminary to public Indian diplomacy.

That evening Grant probably read Bull's terms to Attakullakulla (from which, of course, the territorial demands had already been removed) and was told that the nation would never accept the executions and that the proposal to make him emperor was extremely unwise. It would ruin his prestige, which in any case was no greater than that of any other leading figure, and he could not achieve peace without their consent. Grant then agreed to drop the emperor clause and refer the matter of executions (which he had no authority to remove) to Bull in Charleston.

When next day Grant publicly read out the terms the emperor clause had gone. On the point of executions the Carpenter instantly said he must first consult the nation. Grant immediately gave him until the next day to consider, thus giving both men the appearance of bargaining while allowing Attakullkulla time to consult Occonostota. The following morning, that of 31 August, Attakullakulla gave what Christopher French, a captain of light infantry who kept a detailed journal, rightly termed a 'very artful' speech. Feigning shock at the severity of the British demands (which he had of course known since May), he politely refused to accept any executions. He balanced this by agreeing to expel all French agents from the nation, and that future offenders on either side should be executed. But the key message was clear: time was running out and if the British wanted peace quickly they must forget about retribution. Grant responded that the matter would have to be referred to Bull but should he consent 'to lay aside the First Article he [Grant] should have no objection'. The Carpenter accepted at once, naming five companions who would go with him to Charleston while the others went back to the nation to see 'whether they will agree to the first article if insisted upon by the Governor'.[68] The whole

[67] "Attakullakulla's Talk to Col. Grant," Camp at Fort Prince George, 29 August 1761;TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 163; Grant to Bull (copy), Camp at Fort Prince George, 2 September 1761, South Carolina Commons Journal, CO 5/479, f. 114.

[68] French, Journal, Monday 31 August 1761, 16–161; South Carolina Commons Journal, TNA: PRO CO 5/479, ff. 119–120.

procedure had the air of a hurriedly rehearsed play spelling out what even Grant's officers already understood: the execution clause was dead.

Grant now wrote to Bull, explaining what he had done and making it abundantly clear that further military action was out of the question. In short, if the lieutenant governor wanted peace it must be upon the Keowee terms or not happen at all. On 3 September the Cherokees finally set out for Charleston.

The Treaty of Charleston

Grant's news and the approach of the Cherokee delegates threw Lieutenant Governor Bull into a panic. He would now have to justify a peace demanding neither executions nor territory nor a puppet emperor. Unlike Grant he could not ignore public opinion so he resorted to deception. On 10 September Bull had decided to be economical with the truth.

On the morning of Tuesday 15 September Bull and the council met Attakullkulla at Shem Town, away from the rumours of yellow fever and anti-Cherokee hysteria of Charleston. That afternoon he referred the peace preliminaries to the Commons House and tabled his own letter of 14 April containing the original peace terms. In this way he deliberately drew attention to the original boundary clause which Grant, supposing the matter to be dead and buried, had not mentioned at all. This allowed the Commons to think that that although the colony would have to forego executions it would still gain a substantial slice of Cherokee land. The angry members referred the matter to a committee which counted Middleton amongst its members. The result was predictable: the peace must include both executions and confirmation of the 1730 treaty, which would force the Cherokees to recognise British sovereignty and accept the emperor clause. But when the Commons heard Grant's journal read the unpalatable truth sank in: only Grant could enforce executions and Grant would do no such thing. Next day the House voted to give up both the executions and the emperor clause, making clear that only the new Twenty-Six Mile River Boundary made these concessions tolerable. Through a second committee, of which the radical Christopher Gadsen was a member, the House then condemned Grant's failure to heed Middleton, an officer 'of great Influence. Merit and abilities, and well acquainted with the Interest of the Province & the proper method of Treating with the Cherokees'. Consequently Grant had failed to invade the Valley, bring the Cherokees to a second battle, and to kill many more of

them – and no other imperial commander would ever to do otherwise. Consequently the colony must accept a feeble treaty foisted upon it by an incompetent and intrusive outside authority.

The yellow fever panic having subsided, the whole conference now moved back to Charleston, where on 22 September Attakullakulla formally accepted the revised terms subject to ratification by of senior headmen. Though he objected to the revived boundary clause in private, he was too pleased at being rid of the executions to make a fuss in public. Besides, it was an honourable enough peace and the territorial price might yet be evaded. On 24 September he set out for the nation.

Neither Bull nor Grant was sure that the ratifying delegation would come. Grant was furious that the boundary clause had been reinstated behind his back and quite sure that a peace based upon an 'Encroachment of seventy Miles upon the Indian country' could not last, In the shorter term, Occonostota and Standing Turkey, still suspicious of the British, would be unlikely to risk their lives and liberties in Charleston. When Attakullakulla arrived at Fort Prince George Grant did his best to restore confidence by making an unarmed tour of the Lower Towns and, making a virtue of logistical necessity, by beginning the withdrawal to Ninety Six. Once there he sent up hogs and flour as presents for the two hundred and more Cherokee men women and children, Tistoe and the Wolf included, now arriving to settle in the Lower Towns.[69] But for these people, whose means of existence were under grave threat, the boundary issue was still alive. Tistoe and the Wolf visited Fort Prince George to demand the original Long Canes line, implying that the stability of the peace depended on it.[70] These developments, and further pressure from Grant,[71] persuaded Bull that the colony must substantially reduce its demands.

The Treaty of Charleston was ratified on 18 December 1761. The boundary was fixed at the Forty Mile River, which meant a substantial but much reduced loss of hunting grounds. There was no emperor and no retributive executions. Trade would be resumed only when all the white prisoners had been released.[72] Though imperfect these terms were so much better than those of September that they made possible subsequent

[69] Grant to Amherst, Camp at Ninety Six, 5 November 1761, TNA: PRO WO 34/47, f. 111; French, Journal, Wednesday 14 October 1761, 165.

[70] McIntosh [to Grant], Fort Prince George, 6 November 1761, A Talk from Tistoe and the Wolf, 1 November 1761, Ballindalloch Muniments, Bundle 378.

[71] Monypenny to Grant, Forbes's house, [Charleston], 14 November [1761], Ibid.

[72] South Carolina Council Journals, 14–18 November 1761, TNA: PRO CO 5/477, ff. 93–99.

improvements in imperial-Native relations. A colourful visit to London in 1762 confirmed Ostenaca as an Anglophile.[73] The 1763 Congress of Augusta reassured all the southern nations as to British intentions now that the French were defeated and probably prevented the spread of Pontiac's revolt; while the general boundary line proclamation and working out of its details over the next three years went some way towards a managed frontier.

On the British side colonists were infuriated by what they saw as the product of improper imperial interference. Grant fought a bloodless duel with Middleton and he and his men were hissed as they marched through Charleston to their ships. As late as 1763 Middleton and Christopher Gadsden continued to accuse Grant of marginalising Americans. John Stuart, Edmond Atkin's successor as southern Superintendent of Indian Affairs, kept the issues alive through his consistent campaigns for imperial control of the frontier, and his opposition to traders taking payment in Indian land. In the south these issues lay behind opposition to the Stamp Act and so became a fundamental cause of the revolution.[74]

[73] John Oliphant, "The Cherokee Embassy to London, 1762," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27, no 1 (January 1999): 1–26; Troy Bickham, *Savages Within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 28–32; Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 165–89.

[74] J. Russell Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), Introduction and chs 1–6, *passim*.

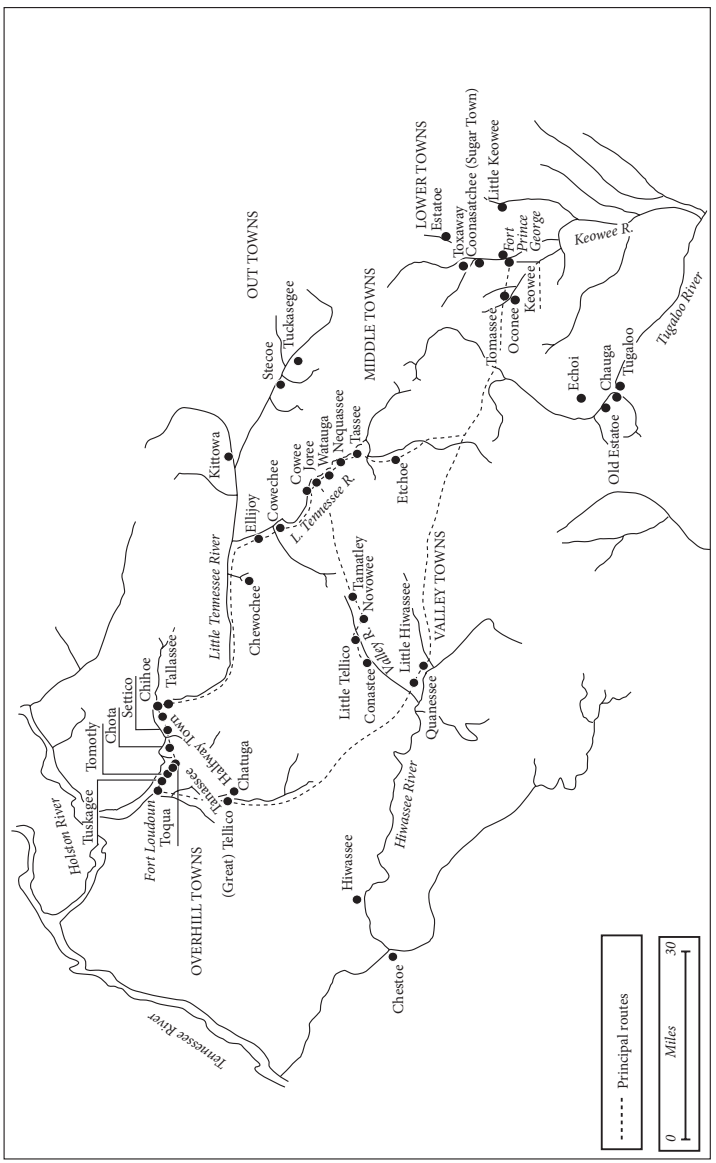


Figure 1. The Cherokee Country.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE BRITISH POLITICAL PRESS AND MILITARY THOUGHT DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Mark H. Danley

Britain was the clearest beneficiary of the peace settlement of 1763, and attempts to explain its success have long drawn the attention of historians. Alongside arguments about the strength of the British "fiscal-military state" and traditional emphasis on energetic field commanders, debate continues about the importance of the Pitt-Newcastle government as a successful war ministry that was able to formulate and execute a sound grand strategy.[1] Regardless of where one finds the origin of Britain's ultimate success one question cannot be avoided. How did political expression compare with the ideas that contributed to military decision-making? Answering this question is essential.[2] After all, both grand strategic and

[1] For the traditional attempt to explain success by a sound strategy see Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 2 vols. (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992, originally published London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907); on the "fiscal military state" and British economic strength see the now-classic John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York: Knopf, 1989), especially [xiii]-xxii; [29]-63; [165]-217 and H.V. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20–33; for a view challenging the importance of Pitt see Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), and for analysis of this interpretative thread, see Christopher Duffy, "Introduction: Corbett and His *England in the Seven Years' War*" in Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), xxv-xxvii; for arguments on the importance of Pitt and a sound, coordinated strategy see Karl W. Schweizer, "An Unpublished Parliamentary Speech by the Elder Pitt, 9 December 1761," *Historical Research* 64 (February 1991): 92–93; Jeremy Black has also cautioned against seeing the institutional considerations such as the ability to raise revenue and mobilize armed forces as the main reason for eventual British victory and instead pointed to the importance of British strategic choice; see Jeremy Black, *Pitt the Elder* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 166.

[2] Granted, the concept of 'public opinion' is hard to define and difficult to gauge once defined, as Marie Peters explains in *Pitt and Popularity: The Patriot Minister and London Opinion During the Seven Years' War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 3–5, 22–24, but 'public opinion' generally consisted of conglomeration of the opinions of several constituencies and interest groups: the moneyed elite, the Whig establishment, the 'City interest', and the collective consensus of opinion, where it existed, in various other corporations and in the country.

strategic level decisions were the subject of considerable public debate.[3] It is hardly surprising that discussion of military strategy could enter the political press. Historians of the eighteenth-century British press have already acknowledged the importance of news about foreign affairs, international diplomacy and European conflict.[4] William Pitt the Elder's decisions about the overall marshaling and allocation of Britain's resources depended upon his ability to galvanize the political will of the nation.[5] Britons, including some even outside the propertied classes and traditional elites, demanded a high degree of oversight of the government's conduct of war. Indeed, the British public debated all levels of military decision-making; newspapers and political pamphleteers would even question a commander's tactical decisions.[6]

Writers and readers of the political press could hardly grapple with the issues of Britain's global military effort without engaging some of the same issues about the conduct of war that appeared in another corpus of literature: the printed texts that shaped the strategic mindset of the British officer class. The 'print revolution' of early modern Europe had by the mid-eighteenth-century expanded considerably the influence of all kinds of printed material on public life. During a period before staff colleges and formalized general staffs and with few military academies, British officers of the mid-eighteenth century looked to no formally developed and articulated body of military doctrine. Instead the men who became army officers relied on a variety of means for education, many of which depended in turn upon the expanding print culture of eighteenth-century Britain. The material elements of British print culture included books on war; and these provided the eighteenth-century British officer class with a corpus of writing about armed conflict that shaped their

[3] M. John Cardwell, *Arts and Arms: Literature, Politics and Patriotism during the Seven Years War* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 9–14. This chapter uses the terms 'grand strategy'; 'strategy'; 'strategic level'; 'operational'; 'operational-level' and 'tactical' in their modern contexts; although eighteenth-century British officers did not use these terms themselves, they had a conception of the different levels of military decision-making; see for example use of the term "the grand manoeuvres of war" in Samuel Bever, *The Cadet: A Military Treatise* (London: W. Johnston, 1756), 20.

[4] Jeremy Black, *The English Press: 1621–1861* (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2001), 44–46; Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 197–243.

[5] Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 1–3.

[6] For example, see below regarding the political press treatment of the British landing of Rochefort; and Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 94–102.

decision-making both in the field and in the cabinet.[7] That same corpus also could provide the political press with source material, both for criticizing and for supporting generals' decisions. Comparing the ideas in the political press about military operations with the ideas in the books popular with British officers refines understanding of eighteenth-century British print culture. Such a comparison shows how different communities in the public sphere can look at the same source and draw different conclusions. Obviously it is neither original nor surprising to recognize that not everyone reads the same text the same way. Yet determining just how and to what extent readings and interpretations diverge is not always obvious. Still, it is often necessary. Although the overlap between political and military roles among the elite male population of eighteenth-century Britain was never absolute, it was substantial enough to warrant attention. Indeed, identifying the connection and the disconnect between the ideas in the books popular with British officers and the ideas in the political press sheds more light on the conditions under which British ministers and generals made decisions during the Seven Years' War. This is so because both the books popular with British officers and products of the political press entered the intellectual world of British statesmen and military commanders during the war.

Anyone thinking about British strategy during the Seven Years' War should recall that the perhaps most central personality – William Pitt the Elder – had himself once been an army officer. By the time of the Pitt-Newcastle ministry he was far removed in time from that experience, which after all had not lasted long. Still, his experience as a young man with an Army commission shaped the later statesman. William Petty-Fitzmaurice, later Earl of Shelburne and 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, recalled that Pitt claimed to have read military literature assiduously while

---

[7] On the 'print revolution' in the early modern world generally see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), especially pp. 92–107; on the importance of particular military books to the officers of the eighteenth-century British army, see Ira D. Gruber, *Books and the British Army in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press co-published with the Society of the Cincinnati, 2010), 3–63, and "Books Preferred: The Authorities" [tabulated list of books most referred to in "statements of preference" of eighteenth-century British army officers], Appendix B, pp. 279–287 of ibid.; also see list in Ira D. Gruber, "The Education of Sir Henry Clinton," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 72 (Spring 1990): 134–37, 148–50; on the importance of military reading for officer training during the first half of the century see J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715–1795* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 153–208 and Azar Gat, *The Origins of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 25–94.

a young officer, although some contemporary evidence suggests Pitt may have spent as much time in less intellectual pursuits that were common to young officers.[8] Therefore whether the young Pitt read carefully the books that became popular with other British officers is unclear, but he did at least own some of them.[9] Indeed, he sometimes still cited his knowledge of military history and experience when planning operations and discussing strategy and operations with colleagues in the cabinet.[10] Even Pitt's colleagues in the cabinet who lacked military experience maintained relationships with experienced officers, who served them as informal military advisors.[11] If the body of works popular with British officers was at least part of the intellectual milieu of statesmen, it is still necessary ask to what extent army officers in turn cared about the political press. If they did, then comparing the ideas about strategy in the books important to officers and the ideas about strategy in the political press remains important.

---

[8] Lord Fitzmaurice, *Life of William Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquess of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence*, 2d rev. ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912), 1: 57; Basil Williams, *Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, 2 vols. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), 1: 41–43 writes of Pitt's military reading while Black, *Pitt the Elder*, 6–7 cites evidence showing Pitt admitted to drinking and carousing as a young officer.

[9] Williams, *Life of William Pitt*, 1: 42–43 cites Pitt the Younger's recollection that his father owned a copy of one of Vauban's works and mentions the young Cornet Pitt's discussions with James O'Hara, 2d Baron Tyrawley (Irish); a list of books purchased in 1754 in the Chatham papers show that Pitt owned a copy of Grotius, and works that dealt with the conflicts during Elizabeth I's reign, among other works; see PRO 30/8/74, ff. 19, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), Kew, UK.

[10] William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire, *The Devonshire Diary: Memoranda on State of Affairs, 1759–1762*, ed. Peter D. Brown and Karl W. Schweizer, Camden Fourth Series, vol. 27 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1982), 51–52.

[11] For example, Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, who had much to say about strategy despite his lack of personal military experience, often consulted and relied upon the advice of experienced army officers such as Colonel Joseph Yorke, British minister to the Hague. Yorke not only passed on news to Newcastle, his relatives, friends and political allies but provided strategic analysis on the course of the war. On the Newcastle-Yorke relationship see Reed Browning, *The Duke of Newcastle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 267; examples of Yorke's analysis of the conduct of the war and military affairs generally, offered from the perspective of an experienced officer, are legion in the Newcastle Papers in the British Library; a few representative examples include a report on Marshal Broglie's logistical situation and Yorke's beliefs on his likely next moves based on Prince Ferdinand's position in mid-September 1760, Joseph Yorke, Hague to Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, [London], Sept. 11, 1760, Add. MS. 32,911, ff. 214, The British Library, London (hereafter BL), and a report on French operations during the 1761 winter campaign, Joseph Yorke, Hague to Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, [London], Feb. 27, 1761, BL: Add. MS. 32,919, ff. 297–99.

Officers and the Political Press

Although some officers ignored or even scorned the notion that success in war depended on the printed word, in fact military reading and writing in general was an important part of the organizational culture of the eighteenth-century British army.[12] Certainly books on war were important to officer education, but were newspapers and political pamphlets part of the army officer's military-intellectual world? Of course one must not distinguish too sharply between political writing and the textual output of army officers; in a sense any work written by an army officer was "political" in that he was an agent of the political state. Yet some officers tried pointedly to distinguish between well-reasoned, documented military historical writing and military theory grounded on precedent on the one hand, and the commentary of writers with overt partisan motivations on the other hand. For example Captain Samuel Bever, when explaining his ideal vision of a young officer's education, distinguished between military history and analysis of campaigns by soldiers or historians and "false Descriptions of paltry News-Writers."[13] Bever was an experienced officer and by all evidence an educated man well-versed in the military literature of the period.[14] So his comments suggest that even the highly literate or bookish officer might distinguish between views found in the political press and ideas found in military writing he considered more intellectually legitimate. Military historians writing during the eighteenth century sometimes agreed with Bever's perspective. Thomas Lediard, who had served as civilian secretary to the Duke of Marlborough prior to writing his history of the Duke's campaigns during the War of the Spanish Succession, criticized political commentators as "insolent scribblers" for doubting the operational acumen Marlborough displayed at the siege of Bouchain in 1711.[15]

Yet the overtly political press – whether in the form of newspaper, weekly essay paper, or the occasional pamphlet – nevertheless likely entered many an army officer's military-intellectual world, for better or

---

[12] Houlding, *Fit For Service*, 169–72; Gruber, *Books*, 24–26; Ira D. Gruber, "British Strategy: The Theory and Practice of Eighteenth-Century Warfare," in *Reconsiderations on the Revolutionary War: Selected Essays*, ed. Donald Higginbotham (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 19–20.

[13] Bever, *Cadet*, 150.

[14] Gruber, *Books*, 69–70.

[15] Thomas Lediard, *Life of John, Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the Roman Empire...*, 3 vols. (London: Printed for J. Wilcox, 1736), 3: 181.

worse. First, officers understood that public discussion affected the government's ability to wage war and they knew that a general had to pay attention to popular opinion. For example, Field Marshal John Ligonier incorporated remarks on the direction of popular opinion along with operational commentary in his correspondence with John Manners, Marquis of Granby, commander of the British forces in the Allied army in Germany.[16] Similarly, Royal Navy Lieutenant William Hotham wrote to his brother, army Captain Charles Hotham, that although he admitted "seldom does publick report do justice" and "tho' the Crowd too often misjudge" a military man still had to concern himself with popular opinion for "a Philosopher may say he cares not for popular clamour, but it is a wrong maxim for military people to be of that opinion."[17] Officers who read military history would have gotten a similar impression of the importance of popular opinion not just for the government's overall conduct of the war but for a commander's operational level decisions. For example, Thomas Lediard's history of Marlborough's campaigns sometimes pointed to the effect of English and Dutch public opinion on the strategic and operational conduct of the war.[18]

Although not all officers embraced the intellectual dimensions of military service, some of them did include in their personal libraries newspapers and political pamphlets alongside books on military theory, practical treatises, and military history. For example, the library of an anonymous general officer sold at auction in 1773 contained among 442 lots of books a parcel of 19 volumes of the newspaper the *London Chronicle*, 1757–1766.[19] General James Oglethorpe, who built a reputation both soldierly and intellectual, counted among his extensive library holdings a number of collected volumes of newspapers and monthly magazines including the *London Gazette*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London*

---

[16] John Ligonier to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, Aug. 20, 1762, Mss Letters & etc. [vol. XXIII], 1760–1763, ff. 46, Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland (hereafter Rutland Mss.), Belvoir Castle, Grantham, UK.

[17] William Hotham, Portsmouth, to Charles Hotham, [Richmond?], Oct. 26th, 1755, Hull University Archives, DDHO 4/6/22; Charles Hotham was at that time aide-de-camp to Ligonier; he was in 1757 promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and became Adjutant General of British forces in Germany 1757–1763; on William Hotham see A.M.W. Stirling, *The Hothams*, 2 vols. (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1918), 2: 297–330; on Charles Hotham, later known as Charles Hotham Thompson see Gruber, *Books*, 93–95 and Stirling, *The Hothams*, 2: 64–92.

[18] Lediard, *Marlborough*, 1: 512, 521–22; 3: 95–97.

[19] *A Catalogue of the Library of a General Officer, Lately Deceas'd…which will be sold by Auction, by S. Baker and G. Leigh…* (London: [S. Baker and G. Leigh], 1773), 13 [lot 396].

Magazine, the *Monthly Review* and the *British Magazine* as well as "Tracts on the German Wars," a group of "Political Tracts," and a "Parcel of Pamphlets".[20]

Although it is not known how much Charles Hotham acted on his brother's private advice to keep track of newspapers' reactions to and analyses of campaigns, some of his fellow army officers while on campaign clearly did pay attention to the political press. During the Seven Years' War British Lieutenant-General Jack Mostyn, aide-de-camp to the King and close advisor to Lord Granby, knew one officer who even while in the field apparently did what Hotham advised. Mostyn remarked to his friend the Earl of Lincoln on the reading habits in the field of one regimental officer, a mutual friend.[21] Though the identity of the officer is uncertain, it was probably James Durand. Mostyn wrote of the officer "he is really & truly finer than ever; His tent is a Pavillon [pavilion] for a Bashaw and whole [illegible] cover'd wth. a Persian Carpet; His table lights like an altar & covered wth. maps & draughts & Gazettes of all Courts, the London Chronicle, & the votes of the House of Commons."[22]

Despite the complaints of men like Captain Bever, British army officers had other motives besides a general acknowledgement of the importance of public opinion to own and read newspapers and political pamphlets.

---

[20] [*A Catalogue of the Entire and Valuable Library of General Oglethorpe, Lately Deceased, to which is added the Library of another Gentleman…May 5, 1788*], Sotheby and Company, Catalogues of Sales (London: University Microfilms #8300321, reel 8), 25, 27–28, 46, 54–55. original partial copy without title page in British Museum, SCS 19 (4), as of 1935 full copy in private collection of Mr. Leonard L. Mackall, Falmouth, VA.

[21] On John "Jack" Mostyn, see Walter Evelyn Manners, *Some Account of the Military, Political, and Social Life of the Right Hon. John Manners, Marquis of Granby* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899), 67–68; *Oxford DNB*, 39: 491 and *Army List*, 1759, 4, 29, *Army List*, 1760, 29.

[22] Jack Mostyn, Retbergh, [Rietburg?, Germany] to Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, London, June 23, [1759], Papers of Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 2nd Duke of Newcastle under Lyne (1720–1794), in the Newcastle (Clumber) Collection, NeC 3,539, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Nottingham, UK. Although the identity of Mostyn's newspaper-reading officer friend is uncertain, it is likely Major General James Durand; a document enclosed with another letter of April 16, 1760 from Mostyn to the Earl of Lincoln (NeC 3,555) in the same collection and that Mostyn indicates is from the same newspaper-reading friend is signed "Dorone"; the *Army List* for 1759 lists officers named "Duroure" and "Durand", the former being Major General Alexander Duroure, Col. of the Fourth (King's Own) Regiment of Foot but serving during the Seven Years' War as "Captain or Keeper", (i.e., commander of the garrison) of St. Maws and the latter being Col. (after June 24, 1759 Major General) James Durand of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, *Army List*, 1759, 40, 51, 154; *Army List*, 1760, 44; letters in SP 87/28–29 and SP87/33 – SP87/36, TNA, Kew, UK, show that Durand was indeed in Germany during 1758–59, attached to the headquarters of the Allied army under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and corresponding with Lord Holdernesse as military advisor.

The distinction between political polemic and "news" was of course not firmly established in the eighteenth century. Army officers, like their Royal Navy colleagues as well as Britain's diplomats at home and abroad, had a greater need than many private persons to stay as aware as they could of world events. Newspapers, therefore, were valuable to officers simply as a means of information. One newspaper, the *London Gazette*, was particularly important in this respect. As the official government newspaper it was by mid-century less important as a forum for political debate. Yet the very fact that the ministry had a mouthpiece in the form of a newspaper itself helped foster debate about the conduct of the war; having a *de facto* record of the government's position at very least gave other writers on war a starting point for their criticism. Even the more partisan newspapers still relied on the government's version of events from the *Gazette* for the most basic recent facts about the course of the war.[23] Further, distribution of copies of the *London Gazette* to officers in the field served as a kind of institutional communication, for example keeping them up to date on the course of operations in other theaters or on changing political appointments at home.[24] Finally, long after a conflict the *London Gazette* served as a historical source. Indeed Thomas More Molyneux used various issues of it in his historical analysis of amphibious operations, even though he was well aware of the historiographic hazards of doing so.[25]

Closely related to the newspaper, and deserving of consideration alongside it as a medium for political debate, was another genre: the occasional pamphlet.[26] Although the bulk of the army's officers probably

---

[23] On the *London Gazette*'s importance in the decades before the war see Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study in the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1987), 33,159; on its decline in importance for analysis during the early 1760s see Robert R. Rea, *The English Press in Politics, 1760–1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 9; on its continued importance as a source of raw information see Black, *English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, 93–95.

[24] See for example John Stuart, Earl Bute, St. James to John Manners, Marquis of Granby [Germany], July 21, 1761, Granby Letter Book I, Rutland mss., Belvoir Castle, Grantham, UK.

[25] Thomas More Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions, Or Expeditions That Have Been Carried on Jointly by the Fleet and Army, with a Commentary on a Littoral War* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1759), Part I: 90–92, 94, 96, 117, 134, 136–37, 153; for examples of Molyneux's awareness of the need to compare gazettes with other contemporary sources see for example Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 90, 92, 144–45.

[26] Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 14–22 explains how the categories of the newspaper, the weekly essay paper, the occasional pamphlet, and the monthly review or magazine were all important elements of the political press, but that two genres – the weekly essay-containing newspaper, and the political pamphlet – did the most to shape political expression during the 1750s-1760s; Black, *The English Press: 1621–1861*, 36–37 contrasts some aspects of newspapers' and pamphlets' political role.

did not have to play a direct role in Parliamentary politics, the very fact that the higher ranking men in the army were part of the overall political fabric meant that political pamphlets entered the lives of army officers and examples of them numbered among the printed publications they owned.[27] In addition to owning (and presumably reading) pamphlets some officers wrote them, whether anonymously, pseudonymously or under their own names. Many officers regarded writing on war in general as something that would bring credit upon them in the eyes of their fellows. Some were therefore quick to take credit openly for works of which they were proud. Others wrote anonymously, but still expressed a hope that their writing was good for the service.[28] The unwillingness of many officer-pamphleteers to assign their public identity to political pamphlets therefore suggests that they must have held that species of writing in a somewhat different light then a work of military history, a technical book or a theoretical treatise.

Most pamphlets dealing with war did not address broader strategic issues or address military theory in the way that printed books did. Rather officer-authors of pamphlets sought to explain operational successes and failures, and justify decisions before a scrutinizing public. One of the texts most popular with British officers of the eighteenth century, *Caesar's Commentaries on the War in Gaul and the Civil War with Pompey,* bore some resemblance to a political pamphlet. Caesar originally wrote the work to justify his own actions before a public – something with which British officers could likely sympathize.[29] Although some officers considered

---

[27] See for example Gruber, *Books*, 92–93.

[28] Houlding, *Fit for Service*, 169–72.

[29] On this aspect of Caesar's writing see Julius Caesar, *Seven Commentaries on the Gallic War with an Eighth Commentary by Aulus Hirtius*, trans. Carolyn Hammond (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), xxix-xxxvi, and Michael Grant, *The Ancient Historians* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1994), 186–94. The extent to which eighteenth-century British readers were aware of Caesar's aims as author is unclear; the introductions to the most important eighteenth-century English editions make little reference to this aspect of Caesar's writings, see Martin Bladen, "Dedication", "To The Reader", and "The Life of Cæsar", pp. [iii]-xxix in *C. Julius Cæsar's Commentaries of his Wars in Gaul and Civil War with Pompey...* (London: Printed by T. Wood for J.J. and P. Knapton [and others], 1737), and William Duncan, "Dedication" in *The Commentaries of Cæsar*, trans. William Duncan (London: J.and R. Tonson, S. Draper and R. and J. Dodsley, 1755), although a seventeenth-century edition popular with British officers of the Seven Years' War period did make direct reference to the political value Caesar himself placed on his *Commentaries*; see p. [24] [verso of leaf c2] of "The Life of Julius Cæsar" in *The Commentaries of C. Julius Cæsar of his Warres in Gallia, and the Civile Warres betwixt him and Pompey*, trans. Clement Edmonds (London: R. Daniel, 1655); on the popularity of Caesar with eighteenth-century British officers generally see Gruber, "British Strategy," 19–20; Gruber, "Education of Sir Henry Clinton," 135; Gruber, *Books*, 16–17, 153–156.

pamphlets important, some also suspected that political pamphlets were less useful to the aspiring soldier-scholar than other forms of military writing. Some officers were concerned that the arguments in a pamphlet debate could become so convoluted that it did not facilitate argument and analysis of a quality useful to soldier-scholars. For example, Molyneux mentioned in his *Conjunct Expeditions* that he sought to explain and analyze, and cite evidence to support his conclusions without descending into the "minute detail of pamphlet altercation."[30] Yet Molyneux himself must have recognized that many occasional pamphlets still had some value to him as a historian because he cited many in his own historical work.[31] Moreover, political pamphlets still had their place in the discussion of military literature in which British officers are known to have engaged.[32] Pamphlets on military topics appearing anonymously or pseudonymously during wartime might generate speculation among officers regarding the author's identity, his political or personal motivation, and discussion of the validity of his argument.[33]

Newspapers and political pamphlets were, therefore, part of the military-literary world of the British army during the period of the Seven Years' War. Within the print culture of eighteenth-century Britain, therefore, 'professional' military writing and the works of the political press were not completely disparate bodies of text. Readership and ownership of printed works is one thing, however, and content is another. Therefore a deeper question remains. How did the ideas about strategy in the political press converge with and diverge from the ideas about strategy in the books popular with British officers? Some idea of that convergence and divergence becomes apparent in two test cases: the treatment in the political

---

[30] Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 202.

[31] See for example Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 182, 204, 206.

[32] See examples of officers' recommendations of reading lists to one another in Sandra L. Powers, "Studying the Art of War: Military Books Known to American Officers and Their French Counterparts during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Military History* 70 (3) (July 2006): 781–814.

[33] For example, Major General Robert Napier wrote to his friend Charles Hotham in November 1758 following the appearance of a pamphlet about the failed landings at Saint-Malo earlier that summer and allegedly written by Lieutenant General Bligh, wondering whether other officers behind the expedition's planning might have had a hand in authorship; see Robert Napier, London, to Charles Hotham, [Germany], Nov. 8, 1758, DDHO 4/8/4, Hull University Archives, Hull, UK; the masculine pronoun is used above because most of the documented speculation on authorship involved males; although women were excluded from the formal institutions of public life it is conceivable that some anonymous or pseudonymous authors of pamphlets on military subjects and foreign policy might have been female; indeed this subject merits further study.

press of two strategic-level issues that generated very contentious debate in Great Britain during 1756–1763. One is the issue of which theater of operations deserved Britain's primary attention, and another is a related issue – the value and execution of the British landings on the French coast 1757–1761.[34]

The Political Press, Military Thought and the German War

Whether as policymakers or members of the reading public, during the Seven Years' War, Britons debated heatedly the questions of whether and to what extent Britain should devote financial and military resources to Continental European theaters. Although the controversy, part of the broader debate between the so-called "continental" and "maritime" approaches to English and British strategy, was by no means new the fact that this controversy played out in the political press during the Seven Years' War underscores the degree to which Britons realized the strategic challenges of the war's global scope.[35] The debate over Britain's Continental commitment took place in both newspapers and pamphlets, but perhaps the most influential work of the political press on the issue was a pamphlet, Israel Mauduit's *Considerations on the Present German War*. Mauduit's pamphlet influenced public opinion, national politics and therefore ministerial policy.[36] The essence of Mauduit's argument was not new – Britain's

---

[34] One could also argue that the debate in the political press about the peace negotiations of 1760–1763 and the subsequent debate over the Peace of Paris involved issues about the higher-level conduct of war at least as important as the two issues discussed here; this debate has received some treatment though in Rea, *English Press in Politics*, 13–41 and Karl W. Schweizer, "The Press War of 1762: Origins and Dynamics" in *Statesmen, Diplomats and the Press – Essays on 18th Century Britain* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2002): 151–64, 208–212; admittedly this issue deserves more attention in terms of how ideas advanced in the press compared to contemporary military thought but space limitations prevent its consideration here.

[35] Schweizer, "Speech by the Elder Pitt", 94–95; David French, *The British Way in Warfare, 1688–2000* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 48–61.

[36] Mauduit (1708–1787) was a dissenting minister and woolen trader turned lobbyist and political writer; the most important and thorough study of Mauduit's pamphlet and its effects is Karl W. Schweizer, "Israel Mauduit: Pamphleteering and Foreign Policy in the Age of the Elder Pitt" in *Statesmen, Diplomats and the Press – Essays on 18th-Century Britain* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2002): 165–76, 212–16; also see Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 182–86, 189–90; Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754–1763: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2011), 500–501; and a useful analysis of Mauduit's work in the context of Pitt's defenses of his policies and debate about the war generally in the political press in Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714–1783* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 463–98.

devotion of resources to a war in Continental Europe was not strategically cost-effective. Rather, Britain should concentrate on attacking French interests overseas. The conceptual problem with Mauduit's argument is well documented. As Karl Schweizer points out, Mauduit failed to understand that the campaign in Germany was part of a global war and did not recognize that policymakers needed to evaluate efforts and results in one theater in the context of the value of efforts in other theaters. Yet despite his narrow vision, Mauduit nevertheless profoundly influenced public opinion and his work achieved considerable popularity.[37]

Although it is not known how many army or Royal Navy officers read and discussed Mauduit,[38] given the general popularity and political influence of the pamphlet, one still might ask how his ideas comported with contemporary British military thought. In fact, by failing to conceive of the German campaign in the context of a multi-theater war, Mauduit diverged from important elements of the British strategic tradition. A substantial part of the body of military writing popular with the generation of British army officers who fought the Seven Years' War narrated and analyzed conflicts in which success depended upon a belligerent's ability to balance efforts in one theater against those in another. One example comes from what might be regarded as the text most popular with eighteenth-century British army officers – Julius Caesar's *Commentaries*.[39] While Caesar's narrative of his campaigns in Gaul largely moves sequentially from action in one region of Gaul to action in another, his account of the Civil War with Pompey clearly shows how as a military writer he believed events in one region were only comprehensible if he accounted for simultaneously occurring events in others. The war between Caesar and Pompey ranged across the Mediterranean world and depended on Caesar's ability to balance demands of one theater against those of another. For example, during the opening stages of the conflict in early 49 B.C.E., when Pompey fled Brundisium in Italy, Caesar decided to secure Spain instead of pursuing Pompey directly across the Adriatic. To pursue Pompey not only meant Caesar would lose time gathering ships to transport his own troops across

[37] Schweizer, "Mauduit", 170–76.

[38] Gruber did not find any editions of Mauduit's pamphlets listed among the library lists, reading lists, or other statements of preference of the 42 eighteenth-century army officers he examined; Gruber, *Books*, 255.

[39] Gruber found that British officers during the eighteenth century, including men serving during the 1750s-1760s, preferred Caesar above all other books on the art of war even as preferences were shifting towards contemporary Continental books on war; Gruber, *Books*, 16–17, 153–156.

but meant too that he would allow the pro-Pompey commanders in Spain time to consolidate their position. Later, when Caesar explains his reasoning for his peace offer to Pompey in 48 B.C.E., he bases it explicitly on his calculation of the strategic parity each side had achieved across several theaters.[40] In Caesar's *Civil War*, much of the action is only comprehensible if one can account for advantages in one theater in light of the situation in other theaters.

It was not only the ancients who taught British officers of the eighteenth century that warfare conducted across vast spaces required strategic decision-making that accounted for geographic range. More recent examples of the importance of considering one theater in light of actions in others come from the histories of the War of the Spanish Succession. Although the Seven Years' War gets perhaps the most attention as the first truly global conflict, historians must not forget that both sides during the War of the Spanish Succession had to marshal forces across a wide geographic range and coordinate efforts in multiple theaters. The precedents of that war are especially important in understanding Britain's strategy during the Seven Years' War.

This is so because the experience of the War of the Spanish Succession was alive in the institutional memory of the British state and military institutions of the 1750s–1760s, particularly the British army. First, the War of the Spanish Succession was still well within the living memory of the British army. Although the Commander-in-Chief in Britain John Ligonier provides the most salient example of a Spanish Succession veteran still performing important functions during the middle of the century, other such officers include James O'Hara, 2d Baron Tyrawley (Irish), Thomas Bligh, William Blakeney and Humphrey Bland. Second, William Pitt's service as an army officer, however brief, had been during a period critical for the creation of a written record of the English (later British) army's experiences in the nearly quarter-century of constant warfare between 1689 and 1715 against Louis XIV's France. Army officers of the 1730s were conscious of the fact that many of the older, combat-experienced veterans of the wars against Louis XIV were starting to die off. They therefore hastened to commit personal and institutional memory to print, resulting in a particularly fruitful period for military publication. The two decades following the war of the Spanish Succession saw the publication, official sanction,

---

[40] Caesar, *Commentaries*, trans. Bladen, 218, 277; Caesar, *Commentaries*, trans. Duncan, 2: 142–43 (Book I, chap. XXVIII); 2: 11 (Book III, chap. VIII).

and then republication of the first drill manuals for the entire British army as well as the publication of extensive histories of Marlborough's campaigns.[41] These were books that stayed at the center of the military-literary world and shaped British military thought through the period of the Seven Years' War. The strategic traditions of the earlier British experience were then accessible and familiar to the men who directed Britain's war effort in 1756–1763.[42]

While the military historians of the War of the Spanish Succession focused chiefly on the campaigns of Marlborough and Prince Eugene in the Low Countries, they narrated, analyzed and commented on the conduct of the war in terms of a multi-theater conflict. Marlborough's successes or failures were strategically meaningful only in the context of British efforts in Spain and Allied efforts in central Europe and northern Italy. Two of the more important eighteenth-century histories of the War of the Spanish Succession made this point: Jean Dumont's *The Military History of His Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Savoy…as also of His Grace the Late Duke of Marlborough* and Thomas Lediard's *The Life of John, Duke of Marlborough*. One instance comes from each historian's relation of events in December 1707. In that month, parliamentary debate on the best strategy to force France to terms moved to whether to make Spain or Flanders the primary theater. Some had argued that the main British military efforts should be in Spain because the main objective of the Allies was to settle the Habsburg Archduke Charles on the Spanish throne. According to them, attacking France in the Low Countries would divert resources from the most important theater. But Marlborough, present during the debate, countered that any evaluation of the cost-effectiveness of efforts in one theater had to account for how those efforts affected friendly and enemy capabilities in other theaters. Even if Spain was the theater in which Britain wanted to achieve the final result, Britain still had to exert

---

[41] Houlding, *Fit for Service*, 183–187; also see Humphrey Bland, *Treatise of Military Discipline*, 2d ed. (London: Sam[uel] Buckley, 1727), preface [verso of leaf A4] and Adam Williamson, *Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne* (London: J. and P. Knapton, 1740), [v].

[42] Gruber showed that British officers of the eighteenth century preferred books about Marlborough's campaigns to all other military authors besides Caesar and Vauban, and that British interest in the War of the Spanish Succession persisted even during a mid-century shift towards preference for French books on War; Gruber, *Books*, 14–15, 17, 156–57, 168, 176, 187, 191, 196, 199. Other conflicts within living memory of Pitt's and Ligonier's generation, such as the War of the Austrian Succession, were to some extent reflected in officers' reading preferences, see Gruber, *Books*, 14, but the historical memory of the War of the Austrian Succession does not seem to have resonated as clearly in the political press as did that of the War of the Spanish Succession.

effort in another theater – Flanders. The British effort in Flanders helped keep the Netherlands in the war. Continued Dutch belligerency in turn enhanced the overall Allied effort and ensured the best chance for keeping the Bourbons off the Spanish throne. The effort in Flanders, therefore, was still the most cost-effective route to victory.[43] Simply because Britain's overall war aim had to do with a result in Spain did not necessarily mean that the main military effort had to be in that theater. Sometimes the most cost-effective route to victory meant exerting effort in another theater. Coordinated strategy, not localized strategy, won wars. Indeed, this was the essence of the argument Pitt advanced to defend his strategic decisions during the Seven Years' War.[44] Whether some vision of conquering Canada in Germany really shaped Pitt's decisions at the time is highly contestable, as many modern commentators have pointed out.[45] Moreover, it is difficult to say with certainty whether during the 1750s-1760s readers of military literature on the War of the Spanish Succession gravitated towards any particular issue or issues salient in that historical experience. What is more important is that the histories of the War of the Spanish Succession that were accessible to Pitt, Ligonier and their commanders indeed strongly conveyed that getting a result in one part of the world was possible by military effort in another part of the world. Contemporary military thought diverged from popular political discourse but accorded with policy, whether the policy was truly premeditated or not.

The concept of strategic distraction which Israel Mauduit seems to have missed itself represents an instance of a broader theme prevalent in British strategic thought – the idea that the key to victory lay in one side's ability to limit or obscure the other's options. Several of the books popular with British officers of the mid-eighteenth century argued that a

---

43 Jean Dumont, Baron de Carlscroon, *The Military History of His Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Savoy…as also of His Grace the Late Duke of Marlborough*…,trans. Paul Chamberlen (London: W. Rayner, 1736), Part II: 334–35; Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 227–28; another example comes from Allied attempts to distract the French by feigning plans to maintain a separate force on the Moselle in 1708, Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 240–41; Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 339; another history of the War of the Spanish Succession provided an analysis of the preceding campaign of 1706 in similar terms, i.e., that its significance was only intelligible if one considered the Allied success and failures in all the various theaters in aggregate, [John Bancks], *The History of John Duke of Marlborough…*([Dublin?]: Printed in the year, 1754), 168–73 [ESTC T141200].

44 Schweizer, "Speech by the Elder Pitt", 92–105, especially pp. 95–97, 101–102.

45 Jeremy Black, *The Continental Commitment: Britain, Hanover, and Interventionism, 1714–1793* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 8–9; also see Middleton, *Bells of Victory*, especially pp. 211–214.

successful commander often forced enemies to spend more time and resources reacting to his own actions than doing anything else. In other words, whether or not one sought to defeat the enemy in open decisive battle or concentrated more on besieging fortresses, the key to victory lay in the ability to seize and maintain the strategic and operational initiative. This idea is one of the main themes in the work of a French commander and military writer of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century who shaped British military thought– Antoine de Pas, Marquis de Feuquières.[46]

It is especially useful to evaluate Mauduit's argument in light of Feuquières's ideas, in part because Mauduit seems to have known of Feuquières. Indeed, on first reading, Mauduit seems to adopt several concepts found principally in the French author's works, perhaps exemplifying the propensity political writers had for occasionally appealing to authorities they believed guided the ministry's and the military's strategic decision-making. Mauduit rarely made reference to specific works, but he did mention concepts that are clearly from Feuquières. The French theorist devoted a great deal of effort in his writing to explaining how seizing the initiative was important whether one enjoyed a preponderance of relative advantage over an enemy already or was seeking to gain such. Feuquières said that all strategic and operational situations could be classified into what he called either an "offensive war", "defensive war", or "war between equal powers". Feuquières used the terms "offensive" and "defensive" to mean more than just one side's intentions; rather by "offensive" war he meant a strategic situation in which one side enjoyed a relative advantage over the other.[47]

Mauduit did refer to Feuquières's first three species of war and mentioned them as if he meant to cite authority: "Every one who has thought on the subject of war, must have considered the three different kinds

---

[46] For examples of Feuquières's emphasis on acting faster than an enemy could react, and forcing an enemy to expend more time and resources reacting to one's own actions than doing anything else, see Antoine de Pas, Marquis de Feuquières, *Memoirs Historical and Military: Containing a Distinct View of all the Considerable States of Europe*, 2 vols. (London: T. Woodward, 1736; reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 1: 138–39, 150–51, 164–68.

[47] Feuquières considered "offensive war", "defensive war", and "war between equal powers" three of the five "species" of war; the other two were "auxiliary war" and "civil war" but their essential characteristics were defined by the relationship of political authorities to forces in the field, and not by the preponderance of relative advantage between adversaries' field forces which defined the first three "species" of war; Feuquières discusses multiple operational examples of each "species" of war throughout his *Memoirs*, 1: 92–215.

of it: a war of offense, a war of equality, and a war of defence"[48] He used Feuquières's terms elsewhere in his argument as well.[49] Yet the structure of Mauduit's argument did not suggest more than a superficial understanding of Feuquières's classifications of strategic situations in which belligerents could find themselves. While Mauduit referred to Feuquières "species" of war by name, he seems especially to have misunderstood what Feuquières said about the "species" most applicable to the British campaign in Germany, a "defensive war". According to Feuquières, when on the strategic defensive a commander should still attempt to dictate the pace and tempo of the conflict as much as possible. Feuquières called for an active defense, in which a commander sought to seize the initiative and through skillful maneuver limit the opponent's options.[50] Mauduit wrote as if the very fact of being on the strategic defensive meant the Allied forces in Germany would always react, and never force the French to react to them.[51] He intended this claim to bolster his argument that Britain's effort in western Germany could never be cost-effective. Whether he was right or wrong, however, he used Feuquières's terminology but not with the same meaning as the French theorist so popular with British officers. Parties in a politicized debate can use terminology drawn from what they believe are authorities and yet mean something quite different than what other social or political constituencies mean when using that same terminology. Mauduit's appropriation of Feuquières's terms did not mean he appropriated his ideas or even understood fully them. Ironically, this places him in contrast with one of the senior military commanders in charge of implementing the Pitt-Newcastle strategy. Field Marshal Lord Ligonier had adopted both Feuquières's terms and their meanings in formulating a suggested strategy for the 1745 campaign during the War of the Austrian Succession.[52]

Yet it was not just on the matter of Feuquières's active defense and on the importance of strategic diversion that Mauduit differed from the ideas in books familiar to British army officers. Central to Mauduit's argument on the inutility of prosecuting the war on the Continent was his claim that

---

[48] Israel Mauduit, *Considerations on the Present German War* (London: John Wilkie, 1760), 71.

[49] Ibid., 59.

[50] See for example Feuquières, *Memoirs*, 1: 149–52, 158, 160–62, 193–96.

[51] Mauduit, *Considerations*, 71–74.

[52] Rex Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier: A Story of the British Army, 1702–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 93–94; Whitworth cites the original plan in SP 87/16, TNA, Kew, UK; it is now in SP 87/16/32, ff. 66–68.

Britain could never hope to win a decisive battlefield victory in Germany. According to him, Britain could never build up enough preponderance of strength over the French in men and material to defeat them in a decisive, war-ending battle. The thrust and substance of this argument diverged from British strategic thought in reliance on the idea that Britain and its allies could expect to defeat any enemy – especially France – simply by gaining a single decisive victory in a field battle against their main force. Feuquières and a number of the other books popular with British army officers during the period of the Seven Years' War took at best a nuanced and perhaps quite ambiguous approach to the question of whether a general should seek victory through decisive battle. Certainly some of the military authors to whom British officers looked advocated a battle-oriented strategy, but starting with the middle decades of the eighteenth century the British army may have tended more towards an approach that gave as at least as much credence to defeating an enemy through attrition as to seeking decisive battle.[53] Mauduit wrote that no victory against a French army on the Continent would ever be decisive enough to bring "the matter to an immediate issue".[54] Compared to contemporary military thought he seemed simply to expect too much from battle.

In advancing his skepticism about the possibility of gaining a decisive battle Mauduit nevertheless addressed related issues in a way that brought him closer to accord with broader trends in British military thought. He believed a decisive victory in open battle was impossible because France enjoyed a considerable amount of strategic resiliency owing to its larger population and great resources.[55] He referred to the English (later British) experience during the War of the Spanish Succession. Marlborough and his Dutch allies could repeatedly defeat French armies in open battle, but Louis XIV and his ministers could always seem to raise another army. Britain was unable to exhaust the French through repeated defeats in the open field. Mauduit believed France enjoyed an analogous advantage over Britain in the western German theater during the Seven Years' War. British effort in Germany was not cost-effective, therefore, because France could continually field new armies no matter how spectacular a victory any

[53] Gruber, "British Strategy", 20–22; Gruber, *Books*, 36–40; Gruber attributes further skepticism among British officers about risking battle to end a war to a shift in interests towards Continental authorities such as Saxe and other authors who cautioned generals against always seeking victory through major field actions.

[54] Mauduit, *Considerations*, 72.

[55] Ibid., 59–60, 72, 80–83; Mauduit also addressed generally France's capacity to raise huge armies continually, pp. 5–6.

British or Allied commander won in any particular battle. In fact, some of the books popular with British officers did address this same issue of French strategic resiliency. Both Lediard and Dumont did so (at least implicitly) making much of how long the Allies and French lingered seemingly on the brink of peace all the while, year after year, still engaging each other in the field.[56] In some cases they mentioned the issue of French strategic resiliency explicitly, such as in their treatment of the events following the Battle of Ramillies in 1706. Each historian mentioned how, despite the alleged turn of events decisively in the Allied favor after the victory at Ramillies, France was still able to raise considerable new forces and contest the very strategic advantages the Allies had just gained.[57] Likewise, even after explaining all France's setbacks after the 1707 campaign, Lediard still claimed of the French in early 1708 that "indeed, their Forces, this Year, seemed to be more numerous than ever, especially in the Netherlands…"[58] To the eighteenth-century British military mind, overcoming the depth of France's grand-strategic level assets was a much more difficult issue than deciding whether to go to war in the first place. Perhaps this was in part owing to the strategic legacy of Louis XIV. As John Lynn has observed, most belligerents during that period found wars difficult to end and found themselves compelled to balance intricately diplomatic initiatives, operational military effort, and financial exertion to bring finally a conflict to a victorious conclusion.[59]

Yet the books popular with British army offers during the mid-century did provide insights on how Britain and its allies could force France to terms in a major conflict in spite of the latter's strategic staying power. Feuquières's ideas provided part of the formula. One way for a commander to seize and maintain the strategic initiative that Feuquières valued so much was to gain a series of operational advantages, whether by maneuver or open battle. Each advantage alone might not shift the initiative over to a commander, but gained incrementally would result in an overall

---

[56] See Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 121–27 on the French peace proposals following the 1706 campaign; see Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 416–22 and Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 429–44 on the negotiations during the first half of 1709 and Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 467–70 and Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 561–67 on the negotiations after the 1709 campaign.

[57] Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 81; Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 216; Dumont also mentions that the French still retained considerable strength beyond most reasonable expectations at the opening of the 1707 campaign; Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 303–304.

[58] Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 235–36.

[59] John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 1667–1714 (New York: Longman, 1999), 2–3, 373–75.

advantage and freedom of action.[60] The pursuit of sequential small victories resulting in incremental increase in overall preponderance of advantages would eventually force to terms even a power with France's strategic depth. Exhausting France required an accumulation of small steps, judiciously chosen, on the operational level. Winning a major field action could be one such step, but it was only just one step.

The histories of the War of the Spanish Succession popular with British officers incorporated this idea. The expectation that any of Marlborough's victories, or any single battle in any one theater, should end the war was not salient in most of the English-language histories of that conflict accessible to men like Pitt, Ligonier, and their contemporaries. For example, when France first came to the negotiating table in 1706, it was not the Allied victory in the battle of Ramillies alone that forced them there, but the culmination of a number of incremental gains in multiple theaters – one of which was the victory at Ramillies – that together were enough to get the French at least talking peace.[61]

Another example of how British military writers believed the accumulation of advantages would drive France to terms despite that power's strategic resiliency came from various historians' treatment of the Allied attempt on Toulon in 1707. Although the campaign was ultimately unsuccessful, what is important is how some the histories of the War of the Spanish succession interpreted the campaign. Lediard believed that even though the Allies failed to take the city, the losses they caused to French shipping still resulted in a strategic victory as such losses over the long term inhibited France's ability to wage a long war.[62]

---

[60] Examples can be found in Feuquières, *Memoirs*, 1: 138–39, 174–75, 177–78, 201–202, 209, linked to his concept of "changing the constitution" of a war.

[61] Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 234–235; Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 125–26.

[62] Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 226; Admittedly, Jean Dumont's history of Marlborough, which Ira Gruber found somewhat more influential than Lediard's text (see Gruber, *Books*, 156–57, 168, 191), did not take the same view of the Toulon expedition's strategic significance, see Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 322–333. On the other hand, Thomas More Molyneux, a long-serving experienced officer, military writer and military intellectual, came to the same conclusion as Lediard and believed that the expedition, though an operational failure, still achieved a relative strategic victory by diverting French forces from other theaters, Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 145–46; Lediard himself echoed this argument in his *Naval History of England*, 2 vols. (London: John Wilcox, 1735), 2: 821, note "(p)". Here Lediard, unlike in his Marlborough book, does not connect the Allied effort on Toulon with driving the French to renew their overtures for peace, but does contend that stillborn assault on Toulon still had an admirable effect of diverting French attention from Spain, Italy, and Germany and therefore aiding Allied efforts in those theaters.

When Mauduit centered his arguments against the war in Germany on the claim that Britain could never hope to defeat France decisively in that theater, he essentially ignored the strong precedent in British military writing that advantages in different theaters cumulatively could force an enemy to terms. Karl Schweizer has already documented Mauduit's lacking in this area as well as his dismissal of the idea of strategic-level diversion, but it is nevertheless telling that Mauduit's ideas were not quite consistent with the strategic ideas of the body of texts that shaped army officers like John Ligonier and the young William Pitt. The ideas that shaped the generals' decisions – as best as historians can identify them, in any event – may not always be the same ideas that galvanize the most support from the larger body of literate people who try to shape policy in a society with a vital print culture.

While Mauduit the pamphleteer was consistent and steadfast in his assertion that British efforts in Germany were ill-conceived, few of the newspapers treated the issue of the German war consistently. As one might expect, as various newspapers moved back and forth from support of Pitt to opposition of him they printed arguments for and against the commitment of troops to Germany.[63] Sometimes in the course of making an argument, newspapers might advance justifications that accorded conceptually with the ideas in books popular with British officers, but in other cases they might not. A genre so dependent on commercial viability of its product had to respond to public opinion just as it might try to shape it and therefore could not always be consistent. Indeed, as Jeremy Black has observed the economics of newspaper publishing did not necessarily allow for well-reasoned consistent political theory as the basis for content selection.[64] Yet examining what the papers did say about the strategic decision behind the German war, whether consistent or not, is still necessary if one wishes to unravel the relationship between the political press and contemporary military thought.

The London newspaper *The Monitor* provides some examples of inconsistent strategic thought. It was originally founded by Richard Beckford in 1755 and continued during the war by his brother, William Beckford, a political ally of Pitt. Although overall its writers tended to support Pitt's policies, it did at times vary its ideas and arguments.[65] Sometimes during

---

63 Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 118–22, 184.

64 Black, *English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, 47.

65 Marie Peters argues that the *Monitor* is a useful newspaper to examine for insight into how the Pitt ministry stood with "public opinion"; Beckford's political origins were

the course of the war, the *Monitor* seemed to agree with Mauduit that the war in Germany was ineffectual because British efforts there did not yield independently decisive results.[66] On other occasions articles in the *Monitor* showed an understanding of the interrelationship of theaters in global warfare, although the authors applied that understanding to analyzing France's rather than Britain's position.[67] The conception of how and whether battle should be decisive also varied in the arguments that the *Monitor*'s authors used. Sometimes its authors evidenced a Mauduit-like belief that the value of a battlefield victory should be judged by the severity of its effects on the entire French war effort. In evaluating the importance of the Allied victory at Krefeld in 1758, for example, the *Monitor* concluded that it was not as important as the taking of Louisbourg.[68] On other occasions the *Monitor* seemed to suggest that if a battle conferred even just a temporary advantage relative to activity in other theaters, it was worthy. For instance, in 1758 it cited both Roman and Carthaginian experiences during the Second Punic War to show that one should not necessarily expect victory in a single field action, no matter how spectacular, to end an entire war.[69] Here the newspaper cited historical examples from one of the texts most popular with British officers, the Greek historian Polybius.[70] So despite its sometime-agreement with authors like Mauduit, on occasion the *Monitor* indeed seemed to draw on the strategic tradition of Pitt and Ligonier's generation.

Other newspapers besides the *Monitor* might at times discuss the consequences of a major battle in terms consistent with British military thought of the period. One example comes from the *London Chronicle*, the

---

Tory, yet he maintained an alignment with the merchant interest in London and tried to align himself with Pitt. Peters believes Beckford used the *Monitor* to direct his own influence in the London political scene towards Pitt's policies and as a result the *Monitor*'s authors both reflected and shaped public opinion. Moreover, one of the *Monitor*'s authors, hack-writer Rev. John Entick, later authored a history of the Seven Years' War. Given the interrelationship during the Seven Years' War between the *Monitor*, its owner and authors, the Pitt-Newcastle ministry, and various London interests, it is a useful newspaper to examine for ideas about strategy; Peters rightly points out that the *Monitor* as a weekly "essay-paper" differed somewhat in form from the newspapers geared towards economic notices, brief news, etc; see Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 6–16.

66 *Monitor*, no. 289 (Jan. 31, 1761), especially pp. 1745–48; on this part of the Monitor's arguments and other newspapers' reactions to Mauduit's arguments see Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 183–90.

67 See for example *Monitor*, no. 242 (Mar. 8, 1760), 1457–58.

68 *Monitor*, no. 162 (Aug. 26, 1758), 977–82.

69 *Monitor*, no. 150 (June 3, 1758), 905–10.

70 On the importance of Polybius to eighteenth-century British officers, see Gruber, *Books*, 13, 17, 35, 42, 174–75, 206–207.

paper that Jack Mostyn's fellow officer kept on the table in his tent. The *London Chronicle*'s report of the consequences of Vellinghausen in 1761 suggested a comprehension that victory might be significant even if it resulted just in forcing an enemy to shift attention away from one theater to another or simply deprived the French of a previously-held operational-level freedom of choice. The pseudonymous author of a letter to the printer compared Ferdinand's situation after that recent victory to the operational situation of Contades and Broglie after the French victory at Bergen in 1759. Regardless of any sweeping strategic outcome, a victory could limit an enemy's options on the immediate operational level and theater level. The author, identified only by his initials "T.W.", speculated that the French had hoped a victory would enable them to force the Dutch out of their neutrality, revive public credit, or "give weight" to the French position in the ongoing peace negotiations. Evaluating the decisiveness of any major field action was complicated by and depended upon analysis of a broader operational, strategic and political situation. It was not as simple as judging whether or not the outcome of a battle spelled the end of the war. The *London Chronicle*'s commentary in this case suggests an expectation of the strategic value of a battlefield victory closer in line to the thought of Feuquières or the historians of the War of the Spanish Succession, and further from the "all or nothing" conception of Mauduit.[71] Several newspapers, like Mauduit, also addressed the issue of French strategic resiliency and its challenge for Britain. The *Monitor* had done this in the summer of 1758.[72] The *London Chronicle*, while on occasion advancing a Mauduit-like argument on the inutility of the campaign in Germany, recognized France's strategic staying power and compared Britain's situation in the late summer of 1761 to the Allied grand-strategic situation in the later years of the War of the Spanish Succession.[73]

Related to the ever-present concern about French strategic resiliency was another concept prominent in mid-eighteenth century British military thought that affected analysis of the German campaigns. This was the idea that operational-level pressure must continue until the conclusion of a final peace agreement and until the enemy actually began demobilizing. Neither an enemy's signal that it wished to negotiate (whether made publicly or covertly), nor the beginning of negotiations, nor even the conclusion of preliminary articles of peace was a justifiable reason to let up on

---

71 *London Chronicle*, Aug. 6–8, 1761, p. 130.
72 *Monitor*, no. 150 (June 3, 1758), 905–10, especially p. 908–909.
73 *London Chronicle*, August 20–22, p. 179–81.

military operations in the field despite any temptations to do so, whether from war-weariness or internal partisan debate. The idea that operational-level military pressure had to continue throughout the whole negotiating process was a significant theme in the histories of the War of the Spanish Succession.[74]

Several newspapers echoed this theme. For example, by the summer of 1761 Britain seemed to enjoy clear grand-strategic advantages over France with major victories in North America, the Caribbean, and India fully consolidated. Yet peace negotiations dragged on over the issue of access to the Newfoundland fisheries. During this period, several newspapers contended that while the expense of the war made concluding a peace soon quite desirable, Britain should not buy peace at any price. The *Monitor*, for example, made several arguments about the need to keep up the operational military pressure on France in theaters around the world if the Britain wanted an advantageous peace settlement.[75]

At the same time, even military planners and advisors to the cabinet who knew the importance of keeping up the pressure until peace was final showed an understanding of the importance of public opinion on this matter. Perhaps this was so because they understood too that strategic necessity and war weariness could be at odds. Ligonier sometimes mentioned the "general conversation" in London when discussing possibilities for peace with Granby late in the war.[76] Joseph Yorke made even more clear, however, his understanding of the necessity of maintaining operational pressure on the enemy and his understanding of the importance of public opinion and the press. During the late summer and early fall of 1762 Prince Ferdinand, commander of the Allied army in Germany, was in a challenging position. He had driven the French back across the Fulda River to the east of Kassel after a battlefield victory at Wilhelmsthal on June 24, but in September the French commander Soubise maneuvered

---

[74] See Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 416–22; Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 429–37, especially p. 431–33, and on the negotiations following the 1708 campaigns and 2: 448 on the importance of continued military pressure; also see Dumont, *Military History*, Part II, 468–69 and Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 562–67 on the French peace offer and Allied preparations to continue the war after the 1709 campaign; the accounts of both authors on the latter subject are nearly the same. Lediard, however, sometimes coupled his explanation of the importance of continued military pressure with his partisan defense of Marlborough from political rivals; Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 220–24.

[75] Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 198–99; see especially *Monitor*, no. 303 (May 9, 1761), 1828–29; *Monitor*, no. 308 (June 13th, 1761), 1859.

[76] John Ligonier, London, to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, [Germany], September 17, 1762, *Letters & etc.*, vol. XXIII, f. 54, Rutland Mss., Belvoir Castle, Grantham, UK.

the Allies out of their position west of the Ohm River. Ferdinand took up a strong defensive position on the other side of the Ohm, however, which easily allowed him to cover the siege of Kassel.[77] Yorke knew that the Allied ability to continue the siege of Kassel put pressure on the French during the ongoing peace negotiations. He was afraid, however, that the press would not understand this and wrote to Granby on Sept. 18:

> "I forsee that the march to the Ohrne [Ohm river] on your side, and the French marching along the Lahne on the other, will be variously interpreted, and that on the other side of the water it will be worked up into a retreat, without considering that Cassel must be taken if the peace is not made, and that if it is, the enemy must winter behind the Main as much as if you had staid at Sladen or made them repass that river in consequence of a decisive battle. I have endeavoured to explain this in as clear a way as I am able, as well to friends as to the public, in an article for the *London Gazette*."[78]

Yorke's statement is especially valuable because in it he encapsulates multiple ideas important to understanding the relationship between the political press and military thought during the war. These ideas are the concept of the value of cumulative advantages, the concept of maintaining pressure on an enemy until peace was final, the general notion of the importance of public opinion for commanders in the field, and the idea of using the *London Gazette* as a conduit for getting the government's point of view before the public eye in a debate.

Newspapers overall may have been inconsistent in the principles they articulated, and may have resolved strategic issues related to the German war differently from time to time. More revealing, however, is perhaps the consistency of the historical traditions and memory on which they drew. For in this they were quite consistent with important strands of British military thought. Regardless of how newspapers resolved the various issues also prominent in the military literature on the War of the Spanish

---

[77] Sir Reginald Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany During the Seven Years War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 405–13; Franz A.J. Szabo, *The Seven Years War in Europe, 1756–1763* (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2008), 408–11. Despite Yorke's belief in the importance of taking Kassel to constrict French options, Szabo (p. 411) points out that news of Kassel's actual capitulation on Nov. 1 came too late to affect peace negotiations; on the other hand Corbett, *England in the Seven Years War*, 2: 361–62 suggests that even during the autumn French knowledge of Kassel's likely fall negatively affected their negotiating power.

[78] Joseph Yorke, Hague to John Manners, [Marquis of] Granby, [Germany], Sept. 18, 1762, in Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part V, *The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland, K.G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols. (London: HMSO, 1889), 2: 275.

Succession, their very emphasis of those issues provides another example of how the political press sometimes incorporated the same strategic legacy and historical memory that influenced British commanders and statesmen of the period. Indeed, on at least one occasion during the final years of the Seven Years' War the *Monitor* provided even starker evidence of its writers' belief that the precedents of the War of the Spanish Succession were relevant its own day. The June 6, 1761 edition of the *Monitor*, while discussing the ongoing peace negotiations, reprinted an almost-verbatim excerpt from Jonathan Swift's pamphlet *Conduct of the Allies*. The section reproduced dealt with the importance of recalling original war aims when evaluating proposed peace terms.[79]

The ideas and argumentation behind the press treatment of the decision to commit British forces to the western German theater both diverged and converged with the ideas prevalent in British military thought of the period. Although Mauduit showed little understanding of the importance and potential of multi-theater coordination and expected more decisive results from battle than contemporary military thought might have suggested was realistic, both Mauduit and the newspapers agreed that the depth of France's resources posed problems for Britain. Meanwhile newspapers like the *Monitor* and *London Chronicle*, whose content was determined both by ideology and commercial concerns, varied in their agreement with the broad trends of British strategic thought. Yet the political press still drew on much of the same intellectual tradition and source material as the books popular with the British army. Newspapers printed verbatim parts of earlier texts on familiar subjects while Mauduit referred to Feuquières's concepts but did not draw conclusions from them consistent with the overall strategic approach of the French general. Yet the divergence in interpretation of commonly-consulted sources between contemporary political writing and military thought was even starker in writing on another strategic issue of great import during the war – the value and execution of the British raids on the French coast, 1757–1761.

---

[79] *Monitor*, no. 307 (June 6, 1761), 1852–53; Jonathan Swift, *The Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry in Beginning and Carrying on the Present War*, 4th ed. (London: Printed for John Morphew, 1711), 7–9; the *Monitor* did not repeat the section for Swift word for word; a few words and phrases were changed and excerpted, but the passages are substantially the same; Gruber did not find Swift's famous pamphlet among the preferred books of the forty-two British army officers he examined, though it is easily conceivable it numbered among the groups of pamphlets that some owned; see Gruber, *Books*, 222.

The Political Press, Military Thought and the Coastal Raids

Contemporary writings on the raids on the Channel and Biscay coasts of France include a case of a military scholar and political pamphleteers writing at nearly the same time on the same subject, demonstrating quite clearly how authors from different constituencies could consult the same sources but arrive at different conclusions. On the surface many of the pamphlets – particularly those originating from the failure at Rochefort – seem to focus on attaching blame to some particular person or party for the setbacks. The overall subject of amphibious landings had long been of interest to British military writers. Britain had tried to use amphibious raids on the French coasts during previous conflicts, but the first attempt during the Seven Years' War came at Rochefort in September 1757. That landing failed to do much damage to the French and the disappointment among the British public led to an inquiry. Although the inquiry in turn occasioned a heated exchange of pamphlets, it also motivated at least one officer to publish a book-length analysis of amphibious warfare on both its strategic and tactical levels. The former body of writing lay clearly within the political world of fractious debate about the conduct of the war. The latter was the work of an experienced officer – as 'professional' as any – and lay within both the emerging tradition of military scholarship and the realm of political debate.

Because much of the debate surrounding the miscarried expedition to Rochefort was simply about whom the nation should blame for the failure of the raid, most of the actual content of the Rochefort-related pamphlets centered on tactical issues. Indeed, the debate sometimes came down to highly technical details, such as whether local hydrography prohibited effective naval gunfire support of a landing. Yet in the course of making these arguments, the authors did touch upon some larger issues of military thought, such as the scope and means of intelligence, the surety of conditions under which a commander had to make strategic-level and operational-level decisions, and the inherent fragility of success or failure in warfare. The level of decision-making which a commentator – whether army officer or political writer – thought led to success or failure was revealing about that commentator's ideas on the conduct of war and the degree to which one could meaningfully analyze its outcome. Both civilian political writers and army officers addressing the outcome of the Rochefort expedition grappled with the question of how to determine whether an officer's decision was reasonable, how much foresight to expect from a commander, and indeed just what was knowable at all in

warfare. It was on these subjects that pamphlet literature on amphibious operations both converged with and diverged from the body of military thought familiar to the broader body of British army officers.

The minutes of the court martial proceedings that followed the Rochefort expedition's return were published, and it was that work which occasioned the first spate of political publishing on the subject of amphibious raids.[80] Among the first responses was an anonymous 44-page pamphlet released in 1758, titled *Candid Reflections on the Report* (*As Published by Authority*) *of the General-Officers*, possibly written by Henry Fox or perhaps George Bubb Dodington.[81] The author of *Candid Reflections* largely defended the commanders' caution, basing his arguments on an understanding of the imperfection of operational intelligence and uncertainty of an enemy's ability to react. The author argued that although the reports of French reinforcements in the area might have been exaggerated, the commanders had no sure way of knowing whether they were. In several cases the author cited what he apparently believed to be authorities on military operations. The author admitted that a commander should exploit the fact that an enemy operated under uncertainty as well, citing "that axiom of marshal Turenne's in war, That one is not always to suppose an enemy will do all that he might do" but at the same time cautioned "as much as it is a rule in war, not to suppose that an enemy will think of every thing that might guard against an attack, as little can it be one, to suppose

---

[80] On the various pamphlets and responses issued see *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Mrs. Harris*, vol. 1, edited by W.S. Lewis, Lars E. Troide, Edwine M. Martz and Robert A. Smith, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W.S. Lewis, vol. 37 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 523–24, n. 1; interestingly, Conway may have expressed some uncertainty about going through with the publication once the pamphlet was about to be released; see Henry Seymour Conway, London to Horace Walpole, March 16? or 23?, 1758, *Yale Edition of Walpole's Correspondence*, 37: 523–24.

[81] *Candid Reflections on the Report* (*As Published by Authority*) *of the General-Officers, appointed…to Enquire into the Causes of the Failure of the Late Expedition to the Coasts of France* (London: S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1758); although published anonymously, Samuel Halkett and and John Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, new and enlarged ed. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926–1962), 1: 275 gives Henry Fox as the author and English Short Title Catalogue mentions this work as "sometimes attributed to Henry Fox"; see ESTC N26525 and ESTC N199; for later editions see ESTC T19884 and ESTC N4816; Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 100, n. 70 questions this attribution and suggests possibly George Bubb Dodington as author of this and another pamphlet in the Rochefort controversy; W.S. Lewis, et. al. report that a ms. note in a copy at Yale University suggests Arthur Murphy as author, see *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway,* 1: 523–24, n.1.

he will think of nothing."[82] The author of *Candid Reflections* centered his argument on concepts that appeared consistently in several books popular with British officers of the eighteenth century – the unpredictability of outcome and the difficulty during combat operations of undertaking actions that would otherwise seem simple.[83]

The analysis in *Candid Reflections* occasioned the response of political pundit Thomas Potter, an ally and defender of Pitt. He therefore sought to dispel any notion that the overall plan had been ill-conceived since the whole operation had been essentially Pitt's idea. Potter accused the expedition's commanders of being overcautious. He based his claims on a belief that the realm of the possible in amphibious operations was actually greater than either the author of *Candid Reflections* or the commanders themselves believed. Potter recognized the possibility that the French could have been gathering reinforcements concealed behind Rochefort as the commanders believed, but reasoned that the commanders could just as easily have assumed the French were not doing so. He argued that their very decision to err on the side of caution was an error itself. Potter believed that when faced with operational uncertainty, a commander should act on the possibility that the unknown might favor rather than disfavor him. Potter wrote, citing an unnamed officer, "we should never take it for granted that all is done which ought to be done, even in France."[84]

Henry Seymour Conway, one of the officers commanding the ground forces in the ill-fated expedition, responded with *The Military Arguments in the Letter to a Right Honourable Author Fully Considered*. He wrote under the pseudonym "an Officer", issuing the pamphlet in mid-1758. Conway argued that the failure to achieve operational surprise at Rochefort limited the commanders' options and therefore doomed the expedition. Conway also emphasized intelligence issues. He contended that regardless of what the British knew beforehand about Rochefort's defenses and the strength of the French field forces that could react to a British landing, the intelligence on French defenses that the commanders gained only after arrival before Rochefort changed what they reasonably believed they could do. Thus changes in available intelligence over time affected a commander's

---

[82] *Candid Reflections*, 6, 19.

[83] See below and note 88.

[84] [Thomas Potter], *The Expedition Against Rochefort, Fully Stated and Considered* (London: S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1758), 28; Potter wrote the pamphlet under the pseudonym "a Country Gentleman" but Halkett and Laing, *Dictionary*, 2: 238 attributes the pamphlet to him, as does English Short-Title Catalogue; see ESTC T65006; ESTC N9542 and ESTC T33816.

options.[85] Such an observation may seem obvious to modern readers, but Conway believed it was a point that Potter missed. Conway then answered Potter's contention that the commanders should have attempted a coup de main.

Conway cited authority and precedent from recent military history to show that commanders could not proceed wantonly without due regard for the unpredictability of tactical situations. He argued that Potter's conception of a coup de main and the use of surprise was superficial. Citing the attack on Bergen-op-Zoom during the War of the Austrian Succession, he distinguished between surprising a specific part of a fortress's garrison after the majority of it was exhausted following a long siege and surprising an entire fortress or city by approaching it quickly. In other words, he distinguished between what one today would call tactical-level surprise and what today one would call operational-level surprise.[86] He summed up his view on how a commander's understanding of the inherent chaos of a dynamic tactical situation in which one could never enjoy complete intelligence with a direct answer to Potter's advice that generals gamble that the unknown favored them. Conway explained "To make strained calculations of what your enemy will do argues timidity, but not to make any calculations at all argues folly." Conway believed that while a commander could never be certain of the outcome of any operational situation, he had to make calculated risks, writing "an army may as well have no General, or a General no head, if such calculations are not made."[87] Conway's conception of the entropy and unpredictability that characterized warfare was consistent with Feuquières. The French author emphasized unpredictability in several instances. Sometimes he did so by making general observations on the concept or by noting specific reasons why a commander's operational position relative to an opponent was often so fragile, such as how one small error generally led to a series of greater errors one could not have imagined beforehand.[88]

Conway demonstrated his familiarity with Feuquières and other core works of contemporary British military thought. He showed that even when he entered a political arena of print to write on the subject of war he still wanted to refer to the body of military literature important to British

---

[85] [Henry Seymour Conway], *The Military Arguments in the Letter to a Right Honourable Author Fully Considered, by an Officer* (London: Jacob Robinson, 1758), see especially pp. 26–31 on intelligence issues.

[86] Ibid., 21–22, 31–32.

[87] Ibid., 56.

[88] Feuquières, *Memoirs*, 1: 175, 202, 209, 250–51.

officers of his day. For example, he grounded his understanding of the importance of and potential for operational-level surprise in Feuquières, citing the French author in several places.[89] Conway's intellectual world had long included books on military operations; indeed he had studied military history during his youth.[90] By time he commanded troops during the Seven Years' War Conway was also familiar with political writing about war and the importance of the British political press during wartime.

Yet Conway had long understood also that the political press might not always incorporate the same strategic principles found in the books upon which British officers came to rely. For example, while a young officer during the War of the Austrian Succession he had once expressed to his brother a belief that the strategic analysis of some members of the general public might fall short, and once referred disparagingly to the "Nestors of the Coffee houses".[91] In another letter to his brother, written following the 1745 campaign in France, the young Conway expressed his belief that France was still at a relative disadvantage despite some victories that "make a great figure in a Gazette & dazzle people unacquainted with this country."[92] Conway believed that despite the propensity of popular opinion to magnify the significance of losses in the Flanders theater, in any upcoming peace agreement the French would still have to trade back any gains to recover what they had lost in other theaters. His commentary thus demonstrated an understanding of the interrelation of multiple theaters and knowledge that popular opinion might not reflect his understanding. He therefore brought together his knowledge of the politicized commentary of commanders' decisions during wartime with his knowledge of the military treatises and works of military history that his fellow officers valued to shape his writing on his own experiences as a commander. Contemporary military thought shaped his views as officer-author even when he wrote in the political arena. Conway believed that a political writer's citing of the same body of source material as those that

89 Conway, *Military Arguments*, 31, 43, 47.

90 On the young Conway's study see Henry Seymour Conway to Horace Walpole, Jan. 25, 1737, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Mrs. Harris*, 1: 1.

91 Henry Seymour Conway, Lessines, to Marquis of Hertford, [Britain], May 29, 1745, Letters to Francis Seymour Conway, LWL mss. vol. 84, f.3, Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, CT.

92 Henry Seymour Conway, Vilvorde [Vilvoorde?], to Marquis of Hertford, [Britain] Sept. 13, 1745, Letters to Francis Seymour Conway, LWL mss. vol. 84, f.2, Lewis Walpole Library.

shaped officers' education did not automatically convey credibility if the political writers misunderstood the source.

Conway and Potter continued their debate in print with three more pamphlets, one by Potter in answer to Conway's *Military Arguments*, and two more by Conway in answer to Potter. The emphasis in the later publications was mostly on dispute of particular points of evidence, but in some cases each author did touch upon broader issues of strategy, operational art, and the limits of knowledge in operational decision-making. Potter responded to Conway's citing of military literature, attacking the notion that commanders should rely on book knowledge. Conway never in fact suggested such, but the fact that Potter viewed this line of attack as a legitimate rhetorical or argumentative technique is of interest. It suggests that Potter believed, at least, that his audience might not have accepted that the commanders whom they wanted to hold accountable made decisions within the broader intellectual framework of a body of strategic thought.[93] In other cases, Potter made arguments inconsistent with the ideas in the books that British officers preferred. For example, when disputing Conway's calculations of the likely manpower of Rochefort's defenses Potter attacked the idea that intelligence estimates should take into account dockworkers and other able-bodied civilians in Rochefort. Potter ridiculed Conway, "I think ought to be added to your Account, a full and well appointed Monastery of Benedictines, and another of Capuchin Friars." [94] The military history of recent conflicts that men like Conway and his contemporaries read, however, contained plenty of precedents in which armed civilians fought effectively as a supplement to regular troops defending a fortified place or rough terrain.[95]

---

[93] [Thomas Potter], *Reply of the Country Gentleman to the Answer of his Military Arguments by the Officer* (Dublin: P. Wilson and J. Exshaw, 1758), 20–22; Potter also published this work pseudonymously but Halkett and Laing, *Dictionary*, 5: 90 and English Short Title Catalogue both attribute it to him; see ESTC T44607; ESTC N25992; ESTC T143716.

[94] Potter, *Reply of the Country Gentleman*, 29–30.

[95] See for example, the report of nearly 6,000 armed civilians helping defend the village of Steeken during the 1703 campaign in Flanders during the War of the Spanish Succession, Lediard, *Marlborough*, 1: 234 and Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 82.; likewise Thomas More Molyneux cited several examples in his historical review of British experiences with amphibious operations, see his description of the French forces defending Toulon in 1707, Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 142; and armed peasants trying to help defend Vigo in 1719, ibid., Part I: 169; in the latter case, however, the civilian resistance was not effective; other examples of armed civilians en masse affecting the outcome of a campaign include "the boors rising" to drive the Elector of Bavaria's forces out of the Tyrol in 1703, Lediard, *Marlborough*, 1: 277; Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 104; "Burghers under arms" after the capitulation of Ghent in 1708, Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 419; Dumont, *Military*

Conway's answers to Potter likewise contained attempts to refute various pieces of evidence point-by-point, but in doing so Conway likewise touched upon broader issues. He again suggested that Potter misunderstood how the entropic tendencies of military action at the tactical level conditioned decision-making. He took Potter to task, for example, for expecting the same level of documentation and standards of evidence in a council-of-war held on shipboard in the midst of a precarious operational situation as Britons expected to find in a civil or criminal court.[96] The exchange between Conway and the other pamphleteers on the Rochefort landings exemplified further a dynamic at work in the debate between Mauduit and his opponents. A political writer might attempt to refer to the same sources as those important to British officers, cite them, or even ground his argument in them. A political author's doing so, however, did not mean that he understood those sources in the same way that officer-readers of the British army did, nor in a way even generally consistent with the broader body of military thought known to the British army.

Debate about the conduct of particular operations was not the only context in which both political writers and army officers addressed amphibious attacks on the French coast. Both military men and writers with overt political motives treated the concept of using amphibious landings in general as a means of strategic-level diversion. Indeed, this emphasis on diversion was consistent with Feuquières's notion of denying an enemy freedom of action on the operational and strategic levels of war. Although modern authors have not agreed on whether British coastal raids met their diversionary goals, during the war itself several pamphlets appeared justifying the strategic efficacy of coastal raids in general.[97]

History, Part II, 410; Molyneux also noted that in his own day armed peasants helped in the French defense of Saint-Malo; Molyneux,*Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 238.

[96] [Henry Seymour Conway], *The Officer's Answer to the Country Gentleman's Reply* (London: Jacob Robinson, 1758), 9–10.

[97] While Julian Corbett believed that the raids did have some effect, more recently Richard Middleton, Christopher Duffy and Franz Szabo have cast doubt on the notion. Likewise, Marie Peters in assessing the treatment of the raids in the political press called the landings "of questionable value" strategically. Daniel Baugh notes that Marlborough did not remain at Saint-Malo long enough after his first landing there in early June 1758 to provide a substantial diversion of French forces away from Ferdinand, thereby disappointing Pitt, and George II; see Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 308, 311–12. Although the raids of 1758 might not have caused the desired outcome, they did have some effect. As Szabo admits, the June raid at least caused the French enough uncertainty to allow Prince Ferdinand to cross the Rhine. According to Corbett, the 1758 landings did decrease French strategic options that year, while several years later during the 1761 the capture and occupation of Belle-Îsle did create a sort of chain reaction effect on French deployments in

Their arguments were generally consistent with contemporary military thought. Indeed both Classical works such as Polybius and more recent military histories of the War of the Spanish Succession contained examples of amphibious operations that were effective strategic-level diversions.[98]

The eighteenth-century military text most directly focused on amphibious operations, however, brought together arguments about the potential of amphibious operations in general with analysis of particular actions

---

Europe, resulting in the transfer of some troops from Germany; see Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 1: 302–03, 2: 167–68; Middleton, *Bells of Victory*, 84–85; Duffy, "Introduction" in *England in the Seven Years' War*, 1: xxiii; Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 131; Szabo, *Seven Years War in Europe*, 141–42, 182–84; Rex Whitworth, *Ligonier* does not provide a clear judgment on the effect of the 1758 raids, but contends that the capture of Belle-Îsle in 1761 might have taken some of the pressure from Ferdinand's forces in Germany; see Whitworth, *Ligonier*, 250–68, 352, especially p. 261, while Black, *Pitt the Elder*, 208 shows how some contemporaries may have thought the capture of Belle-Îsle mainly confirmed Pitt's intransigence against pursuing peace. Baugh, *Global Seven Years War*, 529, reminds that it is difficult to determine if the French ever seriously tried to send additional forces to Belle-Îsle after the British got ashore. Note, however, that some contemporaries certainly believed the strategic-level diversionary potential of the landings. Ligonier, for example, favored the attack on Belle-Îsle to distract the French after recent setbacks in Germany; Whitworth, *Ligonier*, 347; also British intelligence reported in July 1761 that Prince Soubise, one of the joint commanders of French forces in western Germany, was ordered to detach forces from his army to guard against further British assaults on the coast; Devonshire, *Diary*, 101; for an example of a political pamphlet supporting the idea of amphibious diversionary attacks, see *The Nature and Utility of Expeditions to the Coast of France: Containing a Description of the Maritime Parts of that Kingdom; an Account of the Strength of its Ports in the Channel, the Ocean, and the Mediterranean, with Observations upon our Late Enterprizes* (London: G. Burnet, 1758); the author of this pamphlet, who used the pseudonym "an officer in the last expeditions" is unknown, Halkett and Laing, *Dictionary*, 4: 158 and 9: 221 does not list it and English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC N9972) suggests no attribution.

[98] Examples from Polybius include the Roman attempt to raid Africa to divert Carthaginian attention from Sicily during the first Punic War and the decision of Philip V of Macedon to switch to a strategy of maritime raiding against the Aetolians so as to gain temporary, local superiority in successive parts of the theater in 218 B.C.E. during the Social War; see Polybius, *The History of Polybius, the Megalopolitan: Containing a General Account of the Transactions of the World, and Principally of the Roman People, during the First and Second Punick Wars*, 2nd ed. trans. [Henry Sheeres] (London: Printed by W. Onley for Sam Briscoe…and R. Wellington, 1698), vol. 1, book 1, p. 45–47; vol. 2, book 5, p. 142–44; Polybius, *The General History of Polybius in Five Books*, 3rd ed., trans. Mr. Hampton, 2 vols. (London: H.S. Woodfall for J. Dodsley, 1772), 1: 66–69, 2: 167–68; Polybius, *Histoire de Polybe…avec un Commentaire…par M. de Folard*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam: Chatelain et fils, 1753), 1: 84–86; 5: 201–203; an operational-level example of amphibious distraction in Polybius comes from Lucius Aemilius' use of an amphibious feint to capture Pharos in 219 B.C.E. during the Illyrian War Polybius, *History*, trans. [Sheeres], vol. 1, book 3, p. 29–31; Polybius, *General History*, trans. Hampton, 1: 304–307; Polybius, *Histoire*, trans. Folard, 4: 19; Both Lediard and Dumont mention the diversionary effects of the Toulon campaign and the Allied landings on the coast of Languedoc in 1710; see Lediard, *Marlborough*, 3: 92; Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 510; both authors give the same account and analysis nearly verbatim.

during the Seven Years' War. This was the work of a British army officer who served during the war, Lieutenant Colonel (later Colonel) Thomas More Molyneux. Molyneux's book is especially important in that he wrote as serving officer and scholar. He addressed his work to other officers, but wrote about the same issues at the same time that his fellow Britons debated in newspapers and political pamphlets. He published *Conjunct Expeditions* in 1758, after the defeat on the beaches near Saint-Malo. Although his primary audience was the British army, he stated clearly that he wrote to address not just the frustration that his fellow officers felt at the defeats at Saint-Malo and Rochefort but to address the public's frustration as well.

Molyneux was an experienced officer who wanted to produce a systematic analysis of why amphibious operations were important and how Britain could succeed in them. He was thoroughly grounded in British military thought, and Ira D. Gruber's analysis of Molyneux's studies and notebooks has shown that Molyneux was quite the military intellectual.[99] He divided his work into two parts. The first was an overall analysis of English and British experience in amphibious warfare starting from Caesar's landing in Britain. In the second part Molyneux made his technical and tactical recommendations to avoid further defeats such as the one at Saint-Malo. Molyneux understood the obvious importance of cooperation between land and naval forces, but focused his analysis on the army's role, as he thought that was the service most lacking. Although the emphasis on the second part of the work was indeed on what one would today call the tactical level of decision-making, Molyneux's work as a whole contained the author's commentary and judgment on the strategic-level and operational-level dimensions of amphibious warfare. In commenting and rendering such judgment, he sought to treat the issues of his day in historical context.

Molyneux was interested in the concepts of action and reaction and advocated, consistent with Feuquières's ideas, that a commander should seize the initiative, seek to maintain freedom of action, try to deny the enemy freedom of choice and limit the enemy's options.[100] Indeed, it was freedom of action that gave a seaborne invasion force or raiding force such

[99] Gruber, *Books,* 18, 100–103.

[100] For an example on the importance of acting quickly, seizing the initiative and maintaining freedom of action, see analysis of the Toulon campaign, Part I: 143; and Part I: 251–52; on the importance of maintaining freedom of action generally, and in amphibious operations especially Part II: 14, 21.

potential for strategic-level effect. Yet Molyneux realized that attackers often suffered a disadvantage of lacking tactical-level or operational-level intelligence. They often did not know the terrain or coastal waters well or were unsure of the strength of opposing forces.[101] He was convinced, nevertheless of the strategic efficacy in the long run of amphibious attacks on England's and later Britain's Continental enemies, whether Habsburg Spain in the sixteenth century or France in his own day.[102] He based his claims not just on theory but on his analysis of historical precedent. He agreed, for example, with some of the historians of the War of the Spanish Succession that the Toulon campaign of 1707 still had some good effect by distracting the French, even if the Allies failed to take Toulon itself.[103] He gave similar judgments about the less-than-successful British attempt on L'Orient in 1746. To Molyneux the experience, despite its failure, still demonstrated the strategic potential of such operations to distract France from other theaters, owing to the fact that "this Expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the French Nation, as one of the greatest Insults they had ever sustained."[104] He exhibited consistency with other strands of British military thought. For example, he was aware of the problem of the entropic nature of combat operations and realized that commanders simply could not always predict whether they would achieve the desired outcome. He cited, for example, Turenne's reminder that no commander could avoid making mistakes but that the best commanders were only those who made the fewest.[105] He also agreed with Feuquières's rejoinder that in warfare even the smallest of errors were magnified in effect, far beyond what one might expect. Molyneux found examples of that truism in the history of amphibious operations.[106]

Perhaps the most striking element of Molyneux's approach was his complex relationship as officer-author, military theorist and military historian with the political writers on warfare. On one hand, he ranks among those officer-authors who expressed doubt about the value and credibility of politically-motivated analysis of recent wars. On the other hand, he certainly numbered among the officers who used as source material

101 Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 249–50; Part II: 42–44.
102 For example Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 36.
103 Ibid., Part I: 145–46.
104 Ibid., Part I: 198.
105 Ibid., Part I: 253.
106 Ibid., Part II: 43–46.

newspapers and other products of the political press.[107] Yet in doing so he displayed considerable historiographic sophistication. He knew that it was not just newspaper printers who could display bias and realized that those authors who purported to write history at times did so as well. He was willing and able to compare multiple accounts, both French and British, of the various seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century campaigns he analyzed.[108] Molyneux made explicit what he saw as a further advantage of the politicized writing on the failed attempt at Rochefort. At the very least it provided a sort of written record, and even created a kind of institutional memory, however imperfect that memory would be owing to the political partisanship of the authors. He recognized though, that that very partisanship also had a hidden advantage. What Molyneux called "a minute Detail of Pamphlet Altercation" was still minute detail that had potential uses later. It was a record made at a level of detail that otherwise might not have been generated and recorded in print. It had the beneficial side-effect of documenting for the Army many of its own experiences.[109]

Like Conway, Molyneux recognized that a political commentator on war might cite the same sources as those familiar to army officers, but that an officer might not agree with the political commentator's interpretation. For example, he noticed how the author of *Candid Reflections* attempted to draw upon the intellectual heritage of the English and British experience in the wars of Louis XIV. *Candid Reflections's* author had cited an axiom of the Duke of Schomberg's to show that "the attacking Rochfort, or any part of France in France, was seizing a Bull by the horns, a Horse by the Hoof" Molyneux believed that the author of *Candid Reflections* understood Britain's problem that France enjoyed a relative advantage in any one theater, but believed the author also misunderstood the solution. Molyneux also believed the solution consisted of attacking the French where they were weakest relative to British strength. This meant attacking the French ports on the Channel or Biscay coasts. He thought that attacking there equated to attacking weak points, not attacking strong points like *Candid Reflections*' author believed. Molyneux contended, therefore,

---

[107] Gruber, *Books*, 102 points out that Molyneux used pamphlets as source material for recent operations.

[108] Molyneux was less willing and perhaps less able to compare multiple sources in his accounts of sixteenth-century and earlier amphibious operations; perhaps a modern analyst can excuse him a little more in this case because his contemporaries had fewer source materials available on the ancient and medieval worlds than modern scholars do.

[109] Molyneux, *Conjunct Expeditions*, Part I: 202, 211.

that the very authority *Candid Reflections* cited demonstrated the opposite of what the author hoped it would. Indeed, Lediard, Dumont, and other writers on the War of the Spanish Succession had cited the Schomberg quote, but in a different sense than the author of *Candid Reflections* and in a sense closer to Molyneux's. A shared intellectual heritage of sources for strategic thought, therefore, did not always result in the same conclusions.[110]

Molyneux's questioning of *Candid Reflections* constituted only a small part of a much larger project, but it gave him something in common with his fellow officers like Henry Seymour Conway and Joseph Yorke. Although the British political press during the Seven Years' War treated some of the same subjects that the books on war important to British army officers treated, the ideas behind those treatments were not always the same. Newspapers and political pamphleteers had different ideas than those found in contemporary military history and classics about balancing the demands of one theater against those of another, about the potential value of a single victory in the field, and about how uncertain intelligence and the chaos inherent to all combat affected amphibious operations. Debate about strategy, regardless among whom it takes place, requires a common understanding of complex terms. Agreement upon that understanding is not always explicit, yet it is crucial because strategic debate requires comprehending abstractions as well as the concrete effects of war. To some extent eighteenth-century Europeans who wrote and talked about war did indeed enjoy a "common vocabulary of war"[111] but adoption of the same vocabulary does not necessarily mean adoption of the same meanings.

---

[110] Ibid., Part I: 206; Molyneux cited *Candid Reflections*, but slightly misquoted it as *Candid Reflections*, p. 22 reads "The saying of Schomberg, who had no sort of reason to love the French, and was one of king William's best generals, is well known, viz. 'That attacking France in France, was taking a bull by the horns;' alluding to the excellent fortifications with which it is every where provided…"; the axiom however phrased was that of Frederick Herman, Duke of Schomberg (1615–1690) and apparently well-known and repeated in both military and political literature, although also misquoted or altered perhaps by the author of *Candid Reflections*. Schomberg's modern biographer, Matthew Glozier, attributes the quote to a recollection of the Earl of Rochester's during the Parliamentary inquiry of the 1707 campaign in Iberia, Matthew Glozier, *Marshal Schomberg 1615–1690 'The Ablest Soldier of His Age': International Soldiering and the Formation of State Armies in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), 164, n27; Lediard, *Marlborough*, 2: 227 and Dumont, *Military History*, Part II: 334 both repeated the quote when recording Rochester's recollection, and Swift cited it, Swift, *Conduct of the Allies*, 58.

[111] John Lynn raised this concept in comments at a panel at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the Society for Military History in Charleston, South Carolina, USA.

If one accepts the concept of "print culture", perhaps the political press together with its readers, and the body of literature important to British officers (whether recent military history or eighteenth-century editions of the Classics) along with its officer-readers each constitutes what one might call a "print subculture". These print subcultures overlapped, but not completely. Political pundits sought to ground their arguments in many of the same sources as those that British army officers preferred. Among the most important of the sources were the texts that constituted Britain's historical memory of the wars of Louis XIV, especially the War of the Spanish Succession. Meanwhile, British army officers themselves read, thought about, and sometimes even contributed to the output of the political press and yet might still sometimes criticize its aims, its methodology and the value of its content. Some, like Conway, sought to defend their public reputations as soldiers while others like Molyneux at once both scorned the output of the political press and valued it as source material. And all along the way sharing a common body of sources did not always mean drawing the same conclusions.

Perhaps the fact that the "print subcultures" in which army officers operated overlapped only partially underscores just how wide the range of public discussion could become in eighteenth-century Britain. As British officers sought to define themselves as a profession, they also continued to live their public lives in an intellectual milieu in which contentious debate was the expected norm. The intellectual world of the British statesmen and generals who directed and fought the Seven Years' War was full of texts whose authors had something to say about the wide-ranging world war in which they were engaged. But different constituencies interacted to debate the meanings of those texts and their implications for the real battlefields and seas on which Britons, their allies, and enemies fought and died. The fact that this was even possible underscores just how ingrained the idea of contentious debate was in the political culture of the state which came out with the clearest gains in 1763. Whatever historians' ultimate explanation for Britain's victory in the Seven Years' War, they must account for contemporary military thought as well as the pronouncements on strategy by political pundits. These two strands of ideas about war and strategy overlapped in no simple way, and yet were both part of the intellectual world of Britain's leaders.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE WAR IN BENGAL[1]

G.J. Bryant

Bengal had been a strategic backwater during the previous Anglo-French war in India (1744–48) because the local Mughal nawab (governor), Alivardi Khan, unlike his colleague in the Carnatic, had been strong enough to enforce neutrality on both sides in his dominions. Following the end of the war in 1748, when the respective royal forces had returned to Europe from the Carnatic, the French and British East India trading companies had continued their struggle for political dominance in the province by engaging as mercenaries on opposite sides in the struggle between rival Indian protagonists to become the local nawab. By the time the Seven Years' War broke out, the British protégé (Muhammad Ali Khan) had won, gaining them a shaky pre-eminence there and financial support for the growing army controlled by the Company at their fortified coastal base of Madras. But French forces, led with remarkable political and military skill by the Marquis de Bussy, had balanced this by successfully sponsoring a claimant (Salabat Jang) to the superior Mughal post of Subadar (Viceroy) of the Deccan adjoining the Carnatic to the north, securing for his company revenue collecting rights on some coastal districts in the Northern Circars that could be valuable in financing future operations in the new looming war. The only drawback for the French was that the British sphere of influence in the Carnatic encompassed their capital, the fortified coastal settlement of Pondicherry, while this new source of power and money at Aurangabad in the Deccan, lay 800 miles to the north and

[1] The reading recommendations for the chapter on the Seven Years' War in the Carnatic will also serve for this chapter. Two additions might be made, specific to Bengal: firstly, the estimable collection of primary documents from British, French and Indian sources contained in the three volume work edited by S C Hill, *Indian Records Series: Bengal 1756–1757* (London: J. Murray, 1905); and secondly, P M Marshall's modern, balanced analysis of the general situation in Bengal in the later 18th Century (especially the Indian political, economic, political and anthropological context), contained in *The New Cambridge History of India: The British Bridgehead in Eastern India* (Cambridge, 1987).

400 miles inland where naval support could not be effective and Bussy had to remain with his force to maintain the connection.[2]

In 1756, with Britain and France once again on opposite sides in a European war, everyone assumed that hostilities between them would again break out in the Indian Ocean where European naval power was unchallenged and where there were considerable opportunities for commerce warfare. The conflict would also probably again be extended to the Indian mainland, regardless of any objections from the local Indian powers. And this time, it could well include Bengal for in that year the eighty-two year old Nawab, Alivardi Khan, had died, but not before appointing as his successor, his grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah, a debauched, irresolute and allegedly cowardly young man of twenty-four who had neither the political nor military skills to deal with the challenges that would immediately confront him.[3] These included family members and powerful local magnates who opposed his appointment. And he might also feel impelled, like his grandfather in the last European war, to try to prevent the British and French East India trading companies from fighting each other in his province as they had, and would again this time, in the Carnatic. Alivardi Khan had been alarmed after 1748 at the way his brother Mughal governors in the south had become reliant upon European military power to support their positions and ambitions. He had advised his grandson, when he became Nawab of Bengal, to keep a tight grip on the pretensions and actions of the European companies for fear of a similar fate overtaking him.[4] It was good advice; unfortunately, the way Siraj-ud-daulah went about it precipitated the outcome it was intended to avoid – an even more rapid and complete assumption of power by the English East India Company in Bengal than in the Carnatic. And, along the way, the French were eliminated from playing any further part in Bengali politics and, eventually, in Indian politics as a whole as the

---

[2] Salabat Jang had told Bussy: "You know that the state of my affairs necessarily requires the support of a European power; on this condition I am able to govern; either you must remain here, or I must enlist the English in my interest." G B Malleson, *A History of the French in India, from the Founding of Pondicherry in 1674 to the Capture of that Place in 1761*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1909), 479.

[3] A contemporary Indian writer said of Siraj-ud-daulah: His "head was so much disordered by the fumes of pride and ignorance as to commit an infinity of errors…." Syed Gholam Hossein Khan, *Seir Mutaqherim*, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1902), 2: 188.

[4] Dr. Forth (at Chinsura, the Dutch factory, a mile from Chandanagore) to Roger Drake (Governor, Fort William, Calcutta), 16 Dec, 1756, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757*, ed. Samuel Charles Hill, 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1905), 2: 64–67.

British later used the abundant and unassailable resources of Bengal to finance the extension of their domination over much of the rest of the subcontinent.

But initially, in 1756, neither the French nor the British were interested in fighting in Bengal and would probably have observed their traditional neutrality in the Ganges valley had the Nawab demanded it of them, and left them alone. Half the British company's profits came from the Bengal trade, which would be disrupted by war. The French had few troops and little money to support a war there and, moreover, Calcutta, the British base, lay below the French commercial headquarters at Chandernagore on the river Hugli (a branch of the Ganges in the delta) and so was in a position to impede the dispatch of reinforcements by sea from Pondicherry. The previous year (1755), in anticipation of renewed war, the French company (at the instigation of its government) had rejected the provisional peace treaty with the British, signed by their representatives at Pondicherry in 1754, requiring both companies to withdraw their forces from intrusion into 'country' politics. Paris wanted to retain the influential position Bussy had won for them in the Deccan. In response, the British Government and the Company sent out a substantial naval force under Admiral Watson carrying troops and, the following year, the star of the previous conflict, Robert Clive, armed with a Royal commission as colonel and a Company appointment as Deputy Governor at Madras. Their orders, in the absence of a European war, were to resume the competition with the French for influence in 'country' politics, by manipulating disputes between Indian powers or by participating in succession contests. The British at Madras, at the invitation of the disillusioned Subadar, Salabat Jang, aimed to supplant French influence in the Deccan and to deprive them of the army-financing revenue grants they had been given in the Northern Circars and to eliminate the opportunity these gave them to attack the northern flank of the Carnatic. The French, for the opposite reasons, wished to consolidate their position there. The fact that whoever dominated the Deccan and the Northern Circars would also be in a strong position to interfere, by land or sea, in the affairs of Bengal was not considered as significant by either of them at this time because they both believed that the 'country' government in Bengal and the forces it could mobilise were far too strong to manipulate or undermine. A year later (1757), with Siraj-ud-daulah facing overthrow by the British and their local 'country' allies, the possibility of a French force coming north to his aid from the Deccan became a significant factor in the grand strategic calculations of all the players in Bengal.

The year 1756–57 was a time of great uncertainty in Bengal for the companies and the new Nawab. The former (especially the French) were apprehensive that the next Europe ship might pitchfork them into war against each other, though it might also bring them military succor to prosecute it. Siraj-ud-daulah was assailed by fears of plots by his domestic enemies and also by the possibility that Ahmad Shah, leading the latest Afghan plundering incursion into northwest India might penetrate further east this time, towards Bengal. And there was also the possibility that the Marathas, institutional predators in India, might resume the highly damaging raids they had made on Bengal from the south in the 1740s. The attitudes and likely actions of Siraj-ud-daulah were difficult for the Europeans to 'read', both because he was new, but also because he came from a very different political and religious culture to the French and British. Unlike the collegiate nature of decision taking amongst the Europeans, the Nawab was an autocrat, so his personality was important in predicting how he might react to unfolding events. Only a few company servants were fluent in Indian languages and had access to the Nawab's court at Murshidabad (100 miles further up the Hugli from Chandanagore). One such was Jean Law de Lauriston,[5] the French Chief (and Deputy Governor in Bengal) of his company's 'factory'[6] at Cossimbazar near Murshidabad. Law, before Alivardi Khan's impending death, had cultivated Siraj-ud-daulah as his likely successor. The British had, unwisely as matters turned out, discounted this possibility and neglected him, patronizing other members of his family (offering them and their treasure sanctuary at Calcutta), as also the powerful Seth family of Hindu bankers (who had helped Alivardi Khan seize power in 1742), all of who were opposed to Siraj-ud-daulah's succession. This naturally predisposed the young man to rank the British among his enemies when he became nawab.[7]

Both European camps during 1756 received intelligence of rival expeditionary forces being fitted out for service in the East before they knew that war had broken out in Europe in May (the French in Bengal learned of it in December, a month before the British, but did not think that the latter would think of fighting them in Bengal until they had settled with

[5] Law's account of the events that ensued in Bengal is available, in an English translation. Ibid., 3: 160–215.

[6] Factory: the contemporary term for European trading bases in India – residences of the companies' 'factors' or agents.

[7] Councillor J Z Holwell to the Court of Directors, London, 30 Nov. 1756, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757,* 2: 4–5.

Siraj-ud-daulah).[8] Pondicherry, the seat of the French government in the East would be the most likely destination of any French troops, but their possession of a naval base and staging post at the Ĭsle de France (Mauritius) off Madagascar, nonetheless gave them the option of launching a direct surprise attack on any of the widely scattered British bases on the coasts of India. If they did not target Fort St. George, Madras, on the Coromandel Coast as in the last war, Bombay and Calcutta were alternatives.[9] Commercially, Bombay was the least important to the East India Company, but as a sovereign territory and island, it was probably the most secure from attack by the local 'country' power, the Marathas. It also had a fine harbor and the only British yards in the East where the Royal Navy could shelter and refit during the monsoon (October-January) on the Coromandel Coast.

The structure of government and decision-making procedures in the two companies in Bengal also had to be taken into account by their opposite numbers. The French system was far more centralized. The Chandanagore council could not make any political decision in relation to the British without reference to Pondicherry where the Governor General resided – the round trip could take several months depending on the state of the monsoons. Unbeknown to Calcutta, Chandanagore had been ordered in advance that, in the event of war, they were not to fight the British unless they struck the first blow. The Calcutta authorities were beholden to no one but the distant Court of Directors in London and might, in the absence of contrary orders, attack the French as soon as news of a new war reached them. The only constitutional restraint on them, as also at Madras and Bombay, was that they were enjoined to consider the strategic needs of the sister Presidencies and to co-operate with them when and where necessary; such co-operation and support was not always rendered to the satisfaction of all.[10] The relationship between the company councils of both nations in India with the commanders of any royal forces that came to their aid in the East was always fraught due to disputes over the extent of the latter's independent authority (there was even friction between the admirals and the generals), especially as it related to grand strategy, which concerned them all, but over which they might have different priorities. The company men were often more

[8] Council at Chandanagore to Ĭsle de France, Mauritius, 16 December 1756, Ibid., 2: 58.
[9] Admiral Pocock (Fort William, Calcutta) to Fort St George, 29 Sept 1757, The British Library, London, (hereafter BL), Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC), p. 59, P/C/51.
[10] Fort St George, Madras to Bombay, 26 Jan 1757, BL: OIOC, P/C/52.

cautious about provoking conflict because it would disrupt trade, their own as well as the companies'. Whereas, the Royal generals and admirals were keen to carry out their orders from their King against the national enemy energetically and to the full, as well as seizing opportunities to gain prize money from the capture of forts and ships, and to win glory and esteem for themselves. The brake the civilians had on military pugnacity was that they controlled the purse strings and supervised logistics. All in all, however, the British achieved a higher degree of harmony in India amongst the various authorities on grand strategic decisions and the conduct of operations than did the French, and this had a significant impact on the outcome of the war in the East.

There were also contrasts between their respective masters back in Europe, which were reflected in the degree of support each gave to their companies in the East. For the French Government, the European and Western Hemisphere theatres were much more important than the Indian,[11] whereas the British, while accepting this order of priority, nonetheless gave Britain's position in the East greater support. Both governments could pay less attention than the companies to immediate war finance, simply expanding their National Debts when the cash ran out. The British Directors, in particular, were more subject than the French to the demands of its shareholders to maintain dividends and to be more responsive to financial markets in Britain. Both companies gave high priority in India to securing land revenue grants from Indian allies to finance their military forces and operations and this could skew their grand strategy. The British could raise more money on the Indian money market than the French, because their credit was stronger due to their more extensive trading activities, but this also made them more anxious to get the war over with as quickly as possible in order to resume normal business.

It was Siraj-ud-daulah who, inadvertently, extended the Anglo-French conflict to Bengal when, in June 1756, (still six months before the arrival of news of the war in Europe, declared the previous month) he decided to enforce greater humility on the European companies and to extract contributions from them – he seems to have had an exaggerated idea of their local wealth. In anticipation of war and on the orders of their directors in Europe, the British and the French had been making modest repairs to the ramshackle defenses around their presidency settlements at Calcutta and

[11] Court of Directors (Court) to Fort William, 15 Feb 1760, in R R Sethi, ed., *Indian Records Series: Fort William-India House Correspondence*, 3 vols. (New Delhi: National Archives of India, 1968), 3: xxxv.

Chandanagore.[12] The insecure Nawab chose to see these works as assertions of independence and determined to bring the Europeans (especially the British, who often brandished their imperial *farman* (grant) of 1717, which had always rankled with the nawabs because it allowed their company duty-free trade in Bengal for a small annual payment to Delhi) into line as supplicant merchant guests in his dominions.[13] Siraj-ud-daulah ordered both of them not only to stop what they were doing, but also to demolish all their existing fortifications as unnecessary since he would defend them against each other. Law persuaded the Nawab to see the French repairs as unthreatening and Siraj-ud-daulah, perhaps not wanting to provoke the Europeans to form a united front against him, let it go so that he could concentrate on the British. Roger Drake, the British Governor of Fort William, Calcutta, had ineptly replied to the Nawab's demand in such a manner that deeply offended him, as well as still reportedly protecting his domestic enemies. The enraged Siraj-ud-daulah brushed aside later British attempts through intermediaries to conciliate him and intemperately declared he would expel the arrogant British company from Bengal.[14]

On the 5th June 1756, only two months after becoming Nawab, Siraj-ud-daulah through a subterfuge, got control of the fortified but only lightly garrisoned British factory at Cosimbazar (leading the lieutenant in command to shoot himself at the dishonour of it), seized its cannon for his army and set off with 30,000 to 50,000 men[15] on the 130 mile march to Calcutta, which he had been wrongly told was strong, had a garrison of 4,000 men and contained a large treasure.[16] On the way, he demanded assistance from the French and Dutch factories (especially with their armed ships) promising both to give them Calcutta when he took it, but their governors declared it would be illegal for them to help as they were at peace with Britain. Law claimed in his account, probably truthfully, that at this time he and the other Europeans hoped that the British would succeed in rebuffing the Nawab as the other European companies would

---

[12] Fort William Proceedings, 4 Aug 1755, BL: OIOC, p. 310, P/1/28.

[13] The Nawab was particularly concerned at the degree of control the Europeans had generally established over Bengal's trade. See, Peter James Marshall, *The New Cambridge History of India: Bengal: The British Bridgehead in Eastern India, 1740–1828* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 80.

[14] Siraj-ud-daulah to Khwaja Wajid (an Armenian merchant and go-between with the Europeans), 28 May and 1 June 1756, Hill, op cit, I, 3–5.

[15] According to Law, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757*, 3: 168.

[16] Ibid, 3: 167.

probably be next on his list if they succumbed.[17] It has been alleged that the French did give the Nawab some artillery ammunition, but if true maybe it was to buy him off.[18] The Nawab's artillery was actually commanded and manned by French deserters, while the ranks of the British garrison at Calcutta contained a lot of French and Dutch soldiers, an act of desperation by the company council there because Madras during its long struggle with the French in the Carnatic had been in the habit of detaining recruits from Britain destined for Bengal. There were many itinerant European soldiers of fortune serving in Indian armies at this time. The British at Calcutta also asked the other European companies for help, but were refused – they obviously did not want to provoke the Nawab. Despite having a garrison of approximately only 500 men (including 167 militia) many of who had never seen a shot fired in anger and led by an incompetent and timorous commanding officer and manning a dilapidated fort, the hubristic Fort William Council was confident it could fend off the Nawab's host and force him to compromise.

The Nawab arrived at Calcutta on the 15th June; his generals drove the garrison's outposts into the fort over the next two days capturing their heavy guns, which on the 18th they then turned on the garrison to some effect. That night chaotic council meetings decided to transfer the European women to Company and private ships in the river – an operation that was carried out in such confusion that several senior councilors including the Governor, Roger Drake, and the commandant ended up on board the ships, which then dropped down the river abandoning an attenuated European command and militia, with the regular troops roaring drunk. The hopeless defense lasted only one more day, but the garrison inflicted and took heavy casualties before the enemy burst in and sacked the fort. The refugees on the ships found their way thirty odd miles down to the sea where they arrived at a pestilential settlement called Fulta. Siraj-ud-daulah did not trouble them there – perhaps he had repented on his declaration to extirpate the British presence in Bengal, recognizing that they were a major economic asset and might be allowed back submissive and shorn of any special privileges.[19] He apparently never considered that

[17] Law' Account, Ibid., 3: 177.

[18] J Z Holwell (Fort William Councillor) to Court of Directors (Court), 30 Nov 1756, Ibid., 2: 17.

[19] A doctor at the Dutch factory of Chinsura claimed this view was generally accepted opinion amongst Indians: Dr W Forth 16 Dec. 1756, Ibid., 2: 62; Marshall, *The New Cambridge History of India*, 67.

they might return in force to retrieve their position and make it even stronger and so critically failed to strengthen the forts and their garrisons on the river below Calcutta to block any recovery mission from Madras.

Instead, the Nawab withdrew the bulk of his forces back to Murshidabad to deal with a revolt in upper Bengal, but not before on the way extorting substantial 'contributions' from the Dutch and French factories; this almost cleaned out the latter's reserves and they were already finding it difficult to get credit from local Indian bankers.[20] Jean Law later recorded that there were already stirrings of revolt against Siraj-ud-daulah in immediate court circles where he had insulted dignitaries from Alivardi's regime, as well as out in the country. His rapacious behavior and the possibility that the British might not manage to re-establish themselves to force moderation on him, led Law to regret that the French did not support the 'pretender' to the nawabship, Shaukat Jang, the Nawab's cousin and the governor of Purnea (a district north of Murshidabad) who had the backing of a senior and powerful imperial ruler – the Wasir of neighboring Oudh. Unfortunately for the rebels, Shaukat Jang was killed fighting Siraj-ud-daulah's army, which then went on to establish a degree of peace on the country.[21]

As recounted in chapter 2, the authorities at Madras faced an agonizing grand strategic decision when, in July/August, they received news of the disaster and appeals for help from their colleagues at Fulta. For, at the same time, they were expecting notification any day of renewed war in Europe, possibly followed by a substantial French force to challenge the British company's dominance in the Carnatic – only ten years earlier, the French had easily taken Fort St. George, Madras after only a brief siege. Nonetheless, the Bengal trade was so crucial to the survival of the Company, that an attempt to regain the British position there was deemed essential. The Madras Council's immediate response was to cancel the projected expedition that, at the behest of Salabat Jang, they had planned to displace French influence in the Deccan, and to send a small detachment of 200 European troops under Major Kilpatrick to defend Fulta. A bigger expedition would have to wait until the monsoon had abated – Admiral Watson said it would have significantly increased the sickness rate on his ships if he had left immediately.[22]

---

[20] M. Fournier (French Councillor, Chandanagore) to M. Dupleix, 18 Jan 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757*, 2: 120–21.

[21] Law's Account, Ibid., 3: 73–74.

[22] George Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive*, 2 vols. (London: Cassell, 1918), 1: 272.

Fortunately for the British, the French expeditionary force had not yet arrived in Eastern waters (indeed, its full strength was not completed until April 1758) and with the local monsoon closing down the Coromandel Coast until February the following year (1757), it was reasonably safe until then for Watson and Clive to take a substantial force up to Bengal to restore the British position there; if it could be done quickly. The Bengal Council's evident incompetent defense of Calcutta and the discord amongst the surviving councilors led Madras to give Clive independent operational powers and the control of the war chest they sent with him. They also retained the right to recall him and his force, if necessary, to repel a French attack in the Carnatic. Inevitably, this would and did lead to vehement protests from the reconstituted Bengal Council at Fulta, but these could be ignored because they were rife with dissension, their reputation was in tatters and they were dependent on the Madras expedition to recover the Company's position and their own private fortunes.[23] Clive and Watson tried to make it easier for them by joining their grand strategic committee, but insisted on continuing to exercise their independent powers as they saw fit.

Clive's orders from Madras were for him to retake Calcutta and to persuade (or compel) the Nawab to reaffirm the Company's ancient trading rights, to reimburse it for all the losses it and its servants had suffered as a result of his aggression, and to get back to Madras as soon as possible. The expedition sailed in October with five Royal warships and three armed Company ships used as troop transports and for carrying war stores, and arrived in mid December after a longer than normal voyage that distressed those on board because the water and food had begun to run out. Clive had under his command around 1,000 European Company and Royal troops (which could be augmented in certain circumstances by sailors from Watson's ships) and a thousand sepoys. This was a modest number to confront the tens of thousands that the Nawab could muster, even given the great difference in fighting quality between the two. What made all the difference in the first stage of the campaign that ensued was that all the key strategic targets lay on the river and were accessible to Watson's ships (three, with a collective firepower of 170guns, actually went up river with the troops when they set off on 27th December to recapture Calcutta). Two forts below Calcutta, and Calcutta itself (2 January 1757), were easily subdued by this ship borne artillery; Clive's troops, marching arduously

[23] Clive in a private letter (8 Jan. 1757) to his friend, Governor Pigot of Madras, confirmed that they were obsessed by this and that they were "bad subjects and rotten at heart." *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757*, 2: 95–98.

through swampy ground parallel to the ships, actually had little more to do than occupy them, as the Nawab's garrisons ran off after only a short exchange of artillery fire.[24]

The Fort William Council, now back in Calcutta, and Admiral Watson, on behalf of the King, formally declared war on Siraj-ud-daulah on 3rd January 1757. Anticipating a riposte from the humiliated and enraged Nawab, Clive and Watson acted with a purpose and celerity that showed up the ineptness of the Drake Council six months earlier. Works were immediately put in hand to make Fort William able to withstand a full-scale attack from the Nawab's army (achieved to their satisfaction within a month). And to delay his progress and perhaps to shock Siraj-ud-daulah into genuine negotiation, on the 8th January a detachment was sent 30 miles further up river to destroy Hugli, the most important fortified Mughal town in the area, which was expected to serve as an arsenal and grain store for the enemy. This successful strike had to pass by Chandanagore but no opposition was offered to it even though both sides now knew that Britain and France were at war; the British at the same time were allowing French ships to pass Calcutta without molesting them, so a *de facto* neutrality existed between them, which would not enamor the French to the Nawab. The British did not want to provoke the French to join the Nawab in his threatened attack on Calcutta.

The French at Chandanagore were in a cruel dilemma. They had a puny garrison and little or no naval power to face the superior British, and no money to do much about it. They could throw in their lot with Siraj-ud-daulah in the hope of extirpating the British from Bengal or at least forcibly neutralizing their threat, but they could neither trust that the timorous nawab would prevail against them even with their help, nor, if he succeeded, that with his known record of treachery that he would reward his European allies.[25] If he did fail, the British might insist that they be allowed a free hand to deal with the French. The Chief, M. Renault de St Germain, was cautious and apparently unwilling (unlike his more dynamic subordinate Jean Law at Cosimbazar), to exceed his restrictive orders from Pondicherry to avoid getting involved in any war on any side in Bengal.[26] His only hope was that Bussy, in the Deccan would, with the agreement of the Governor General in the south, march in response to his appeals for

---

[24] Fort William Council to Court, 31 Jan 1757 and Admiral Watson to John Cleveland (at the Admiralty), 31 Jan 1757, accounts of the campaign to retake Calcutta, Ibid., 2: 186–93.

[25] Council at Chandanagore to Paris, 18 January, 1757, Ibid., 2: 113–20.

[26] Malleson, *A History of the French in India,* 467–68.

help.[27] But Bussy would be unable to do this without sacrificing the French position in the Deccan, and Pondicherry (unlike Madras) gave the Deccan priority over Bengal and, indeed, eventually gave the Carnatic priority over the Deccan. Renault decided to try to get the British to formalize the traditional neutrality between them in Bengal that had been enforced by the nawabs in the past when their countries were at war with one another. This would either stabilize the situation in Bengal between the two countries for the rest of the war, or give time for Pondicherry to rethink its policy and for Bussy to arrive with a force to balance British power.

Law later believed that the British entertained the French neutrality proposal to stall them from joining Siraj-ud-daulah until they had defeated him and then treacherously turn on them.[28] Obviously, this was a possibility, and it is what eventually happened but in the absence of a neutrality agreement. However, at the time, the British reciprocated Law's fear, that the French wanted to stall the British until they received reinforcements by sea from Pondicherry, or overland from Bussy.[29] And with the Nawab bearing down on them, they were by no means confident that they could dictate terms to him by force. The British needed a quick solution because paramount in British minds was the fear that Watson and Clive would be compelled to return to Madras if the threatened superior French expeditionary force arrived in the Carnatic before the British position in Bengal was securely restored.[30] So they entered genuine negotiations for a neutrality agreement with the French and also kept a diplomatic line open to Cosimbazar[31] to facilitate a negotiated settlement with the Nawab when he found he could not entice the French in on his side. Watson offered to accept the French proposal but only on the bizarre condition (later dropped by Clive) that they join with their enemy, the British, against the Nawab. Renault rejected this because, he later told his Directors in Paris, he did not trust the British; and also, because he did not believe the British could win; so, inferentially, why antagonize the likely victor. When peace overtures to the Nawab failed, Clive concluded that for lack of

---

[27] M. Renault to M. Marquis Dupleix, 4 Sept 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757*, 3: 243.

[28] Jean Law, Ibid., 3: 178.

[29] Clive to Madras, 29 Jan 1757, Ibid., 2: 178–79.

[30] Clive to Governor Pigot at Madras, 25 Jan. 1757 and Fort William Council to the Secret Committee of the Court, 26 Jan. 1757, Ibid., 2: 132, 167–70.

[31] Clive to mediators (Khwaja Wajid, Seth Mahtab Rai and Maharaja Swarup Chand), 21 Jan 1757, Ibid., 2: 124–26.

enough troops he could not beat the Nawab in the field but could defend Calcutta successfully though with the undesired prospect of a prolonged conflict.

Siraj-ud-daulah, having failed to enlist French help on his way down from Murshidabad, with an army the British estimated to be at least 40,000, arrived in the environs of Calcutta on 3 February 1757, but did not start immediate hostilities. Clive had set up a fortified camp a mile from the town to distract and divert this host for as long as possible and at the Nawab's invitation sent two peace emissaries to discuss terms. But they suspected treachery and escaped back to Clive. This determined him that very night to mount a daring exploit, in the manner of Pizarro, to march into the middle of Siraj-ud-daulah's straggling camp extending over four miles, seize him and carry him off. The attacking force consisted of 540 European troops, 800 sepoys, seven field guns and 600 seamen (off Watson's ships) to drag them. The aim was to hit the Nawab's camp at dawn, but in the event when they arrived, a thick fog covered the ground. Clive's guides lost their way, but the column pushed on through the camp, dealing out brisk, disciplined fire and receiving counter-fire and cavalry attacks in return. The British force passed close by the Nawab's tent but failed to identify it in the continuing murk, arriving around 11am under the safety of the walls of Fort William.[32] Though failing to secure its designated target, the attack more than served its purpose, for Siraj-ud-daulah revealed his pusillanimous character by reacting abjectly to what had been only a small set-back and conceded Clive's and Watson's key demands without further contest; his moral collapse may have been due to his exaggerated fears of Afghan incursions from the north west. A treaty was signed six days later in which the Nawab confirmed all the Company's rights of free trade under the imperial *farman* of 1717, promised restitution for all the losses it sustained in his attack on Calcutta seven months earlier, conferred an absolute right for it to fortify Calcutta as it wished, and gave it a new permission to coin rupees for circulation in Bengal (this promised not only profit but prestige amongst the European companies).[33] Even more ominously for the French, outside the treaty, Siraj-ud-daulah agreed to treat British enemies as his enemies. As Law had

[32] The British lost 57 killed and 127 wounded, the Nawab an alleged 1,300 casualties in an action that Clive described as "the warmest service I ever yet was engaged in." quoted in Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive,* 1: 355–60.

[33] Ibid, 1: 361.

warned Renault: "If [the Nawab] makes peace without having received any help from you, you cannot expect help from him should you be attacked."[34]

The unlikely opportunity for Clive and Watson to eliminate French power from Bengal altogether (or at least for the duration of the war) now seemed to have opened up before them. Though neither the British nor the French gave much credence to Siraj-ud-daulah's solemn word even on a treaty, his promise gave the former a legal angle to nag at the Nawab to permit them to take Chandanagore. As Clive later disingenuously wrote to him, if he allowed the British to eliminate the French from Bengal, there would be no more conflict in his province and he and Watson could withdraw much of their forces and leave him in peace.[35] But that of course would also leave him subject to the danger of hated British tutelage in the future (as was beginning to happen to his brother nawab, Muhammad Ali Khan, in the Carnatic) if they were not constrained by the French threat. Throughout the rest of February the Nawab secretly assured the French of his support and intention to defend them at Chandanagore if the British attacked and wrote himself to Bussy inviting his intervention [36] Clive now pursued a twin track to secure the British position in Bengal quickly: either to get the Nawab's specific permission to take Chandanagore (failing that, he thought, an attack might provoke him to join in active defense of the French and this could prove too great an challenge to overcome);[37] or, to revive the moribund neutrality proposal.[38] The first option was theoretically preferable because its outcome was more final and not dependent on the word of the French or the Nawab, but the latter was unlikely to agree. The second was consequently preferred because it would immediately release Clive and Watson to return to Madras to meet the expected expeditionary force from France. However, in early March it was revealed by the French at Chandanagore that they would have to get authorization from Pondicherry to sign a neutrality pact and that could take three months. This was too long for the impatient British, who also suspected

[34] Quoted in Henry H. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive: The Beginning of Empire* (London: Cass, 1967), 127.

[35] Clive to Siraj-ud-daulah, 29 and 30 March 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757*, 2: 304–5.

[36] Jean Law, Ibid., 3: 186–88; William Watts to John Walsh (Clive's secretary), 25 Feb. 1757, 2: 254–55; Siraj-ud-daulah to Bussy, March 1757, 2: 313.

[37] Clive to Fort William Select Committee, 4 March 1757, Ibid., 2: 270.

[38] Clive to Court and Clive to Watson 22 and 23 Feb 1757, Ibid. Clive at first anticipated that the neutrality agreement could be quickly accomplished.

the French might be stringing them along until Bussy or reinforcements from the south arrived.[39] Then the British had a stroke of luck. Siraj-ud-daulah in late February 1757 took fright at the rumors that the Afghan marauder, Ahmad Shah, who had seized control of Delhi, had his sights set on the riches of Bengal and was on his way.[40] The Nawab moved his army towards his northwestern frontier and wrote to Clive for military help, offering to pay for his services. Clive agreed, but argued he could not leave his French enemy in the rear and again asked permission to eradicate the threat. Siraj-ud-daulah gave an ambiguous reply, which Clive chose to interpret as assent and turned deaf ears to later retractions by the Nawab.[41]

Clive set off for Chandanagore, 21 miles upstream from Calcutta, with his army (700 Europeans, 1,600 sepoys and a train of light artillery[42]) on the 11th March; Watson was to follow later after Clive had softened up Fort d'Orléans at the heart of the town and the spring tides were right. The French garrison was not without hope; they believed they would get reinforcements from Pondicherry or Bussy and, more realistically, support from Siraj-ud-daulah (he had already given them R 100,000 to stock up the fort)[43] who promised to send troops if a British attack materialized. The French did not see the fort as particularly strong.[44] Sited on the bank of the river; it had a regular square structure, each side 185 meters long, with four bastions (each with 16 guns able to deliver flanking fire) with an outlying ravelin containing a battery on the river bank to give extra protection to the exposed curtain; the curtains were 4½ meters high. The fort was protected by a dry ditch and glacis on the non-river sides, but weakened by the proximity of other buildings outside that could provide cover for

---

39 Fort William to Court, 26 March 1757, BL: OIOC, E/4/23, para. 3.

40 It has been suggested that it was this news which decided the Nawab to make peace with the British after Clive's foray through his camp. See, Ram Gopal, *How the British Occupied Bengal: A Corrected Account of the 1756–1765 Events* (London: Asia Pub. House, 1963), 159.

41 Siraj-ud-daulah to Clive, 4 March 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756-1757*, 2: 270; Watts to Fort William,10 March 1757, 2: 277–78. Clive to Watson, 11 March 1757, Clive Ms. 198, pp. 66–68, National Library of Wales. Clive to Madras, 30 March 1757, Clive Ms. 198, pp. 73–79.

42 Watson to the Admiralty, 31 March 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756–1757*, 2: 310.

43 Renault to Dupleix, 4 Sept. 1757, Ibid., 3: 247; anonymous account by a Frenchman, probably Capt. De Vigne, off one of the French company's ships, the temporary military commandant, 3: 230.

44 Ibid., 3: 232.

attackers. The garrison was also too small (there are various tallies in the records; the greatest was 146 European regulars, 300 militia and 300 sepoys) to take casualties in a prolonged siege.[45]

Clive's force arrived on 14th March, drove in outlying French posts and opened up infantry fire on the battlements from nearby houses inflicting significant casualties on the garrison; the two batteries established by Clive three days later did little damage according to the temporary French military commandant.[46] However, the garrison was doomed when Watson, with three warships arrived on the 19th and on the 23rd to the dismay of the French, managed to pass the ships they had sunk in the channel to stop their progress. Arriving opposite the fort to within half-pistol range, a furious artillery exchange opened up. But the garrison had only fourteen guns to oppose Watson's combined artillery on the port side of around a hundred; nonetheless, the French inflicted severe casualties and damage on the British crews and ships. Within two hours, however, the fort's bastions were on the point of collapse, the greatly depleted French garrison was close to mutiny and the Clive was clearly preparing an infantry assault. A capitulation was agreed: the soldiers to become prisoners of war, the civilians to go where they would (this was later modified to require the councilors to reside at Calcutta to prevent them consorting with the Nawab). The British later demolished the fort as one less strong point to defend if Bussy arrived to retrieve the situation and to make it more difficult for the French to restore their power if they got the settlement back after the war. The loss of Chandanagore was not only a great blow to French prestige in India, but also a severe logistical embarrassment, for it was a major supplier of food for Pondicherry and the French naval base at Mauritius. During these events Law, at Murshidabad, had implored Siraj-ud-daulah to send help to the beleaguered garrison – he did, too little too late. Some hundred of the garrison managed to escape and joined Law's force at Cossimbazar, now around 200 Europeans, 100 sepoys and 6 field guns. The only hope left for the French was that Law could sustain a presence in Bengal to persuade Siraj-ud-daulah that once they had beaten the British in the Carnatic, they could come north to retrieve their position in Bengal.

---

[45] We have contemporary accounts from both sides of the ensuing ten day siege in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756-1757*, 2: 290–92, 298–304, 3: 47–48, 233–35; Malleson, *A History of the French in India*, 472.

[46] Clive to Secret Committee of the Company, London 16 April 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756-1757*, 2: 337–42; Law's Journal, 3: 233.

Convinced of Siraj-ud-daulah's pusillanimity, Clive now tried to bully him into giving up Law and his detachment and allowing the Company to take over all the outlying French stations. Siraj-ud-daulah equivocated; he formally ordered Law to leave his provinces, but actually paid him a subsidy to maintain his force and sent him up-country beyond Clive's reach.[47] Clive and Watson knew of this and became convinced that they could not trust the Nawab to stay true to his February treaty with the British and that he would strike at the Company as soon as they left for the Carnatic.[48] So they decided to lend their support to a plot they had become aware of, hatched by the Seths, the great Hindu bankers, and Mir Jafar, the former commander of Alivardi Khan's army, to overthrow Siraj-ud-daulah.[49] The pact Clive and Watson eventually concluded with Mir Jafar on 3rd of June 1757 was very advantageous to the Company. Aside from reaffirming its rights, acknowledged by Siraj-ud-daulah in February, it stipulated that Mir Jafar, when he became Nawab, would exclude the French from ever returning to trade in Bengal and would make land revenue grants to the Company that would enable Fort William to finance a force to keep them out if they tried. This force would also to be at Mir Jafar's disposal for the defense of his province – the same arrangement the British had with Muhammad Ali in the Carnatic. There would be no Mughal fortifications between Hugli and the sea and the British were to have a permanent resident at the Nawab's court with an automatic right of access to him. This was the first of the 'subsidiary treaties,' as they were later known, with autonomous Indian princes that became the norm when the Raj was founded in the next century.[50]

British relations with Sira-ud-dowla steadily deteriorated during April and May as each provoked the other and the Nawab, terrified of the power of Watson's ships after their success against Chandanagore, ensured they could not get to Murshidabad by partially diverting the river with sand banks above the city and blocking it below with tree trunks.[51] It was agreed

---

47 Siraj-ud-daulah to Clive, 4 April, 1757, Ibid., 2: 316; Clive to Nawab, 8 April 1757, 2: 318–19; Nawab to Clive, 14 April 1757, 2: 329; Nawab to Law, late April 1757, 2: 369–70.

48 Luke Scrafton (Company servant at Cosimbazar to John Walsh, Clive's secretary), 18 and 20 April 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756-1757*, 1: 342–43, 349–51.William Watts (Chief of Cossimbazar factory) to Clive,23 April 1757: "The Nabob is in heart our bitter enemy and will join with what French he can collect together and attack us…," 2: 353–54; Clive to Watson, 26 April 1757, 2: 361–62; Clive to Watts, 28 April 1757, 2: 366.

49 Luke Scrafton (at Cossimbazar) to John Walsh, 18 April 1757, Ibid., 2: 342–43; Law's Journal, III:185–87, 194, 211.

50 Clive to Watts, 2 May 1757, Ibid., 2: 372–73.

51 Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive*, 1: 408–9.

between the Indian conspirators and Clive that he would trigger a coup against Siraj-ud-daulah by marching on Murshidabad where Mir Jafar would join him outside the city walls with his 10,000 troops.[52] The approach of the monsoon provided Clive with an excuse not to return to the Carnatic, but also prompted him to force a confrontation on the Nawab as soon as possible. He set off, this time without naval backing, on the 13th June with an army of around 1,000 European infantry and artillery (with 10 light field pieces) and 2,200 sepoys. On paper, this was a derisory force to confront the Nawab's army (estimated size 50,000 – 35,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry and 53 guns, many of them heavy), should it come to a battle in the field.[53] But Clive had been told that three quarters of Siraj-ud-daulah's army were disaffected and since the Nawab was aware that this might be so, it would probably reinforce his ingrained paranoia and make him too timid to commit to a battle.[54] Siraj-ud-daulah had summoned Law and his detachment to join him, but he was still two days march away when the battle of Plassey was fought; but he had nonetheless recruited some fifty stray French artillerymen who had escaped from British clutches.

Clive sent an advanced guard to seize the strong fort of Cutwa some forty miles south of Murshidabad on the west bank of the river which was now swollen by monsoon rains. Siraj-ud-daulah was reported to have marched south from his capital with his army and was about two days march away on the opposite bank. Clive was concerned at the ambiguous messages he was getting from Mir Jafar about his intentions (there were rumors that he might even have been reconciled with the Nawab).[55] He feared that the best he could expect of Mir Jafar's force was that it would remain neutral in any battle. For a while, Clive was undecided whether to proceed to cross the river because if he were forced to make a hurried retreat there might be difficulties in getting his army back over again. His third in command, Major Coote (who four years later was to distinguish himself as Commander in Chief of the Madras Army by beating the French

---

[52] Scrafton to Clive, 24 April 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756-1757*, 2: 357–58.

[53] Forest, 1: 437, 451.

[54] William Watts to Clive, 28 April 1757, in Forrest, 1: 413; Clive to Fort William Select Committee, 21 June 1757, Ibid., 1: 446–47. Watts later assured Clive, "…I imagine the Nabob will be deserted by most of his people, and you will have little else to do than the trouble of a march." Watts to Clive, 11 June 1757, in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756-1757*, 2: 404.

[55] Forrest, 1: 442.

in the Carnatic and taking Pondicherry) was all for the bold course in the council of war Clive called to advise him. Coote pointed out that morale in their own army was high and that any delay might allow Law's detachment to join the enemy and this might steady Siraj-ud-daulah and also lead to many Frenchmen in their own ranks swapping sides.[56] An encouraging letter from Mir Jafar on the afternoon of the 22nd finally persuaded Clive to risk it. His army crossed over and in pouring rain advanced 15 miles towards the Nawab, arriving at midnight at a large mango grove (stretching about a half a mile along the river and 300 yards deep) ringed by an embankment and ditch near the village of Plassey. It was a fine defensive position anchored on the riverbank by one of Siraj-ud-daulah's hunting lodges (a brick built structure with a wall round it) where Clive established his headquarters. It was found that Siraj-ud-daulah's army was encamped just three miles to the north. The political uncertainties on both sides were such that neither commander particularly wished to test the other's strength and resolution in a battle. But both were ready to flourish their power; Clive to provoke his timid Indian allies to seize Siraj-ud-daulah, the Nawab to intimidate the British to withdraw or make peace.

At 8 am the next day (the 23rd June) the Nawab's army came out of its entrenched camp in full array, marching as if to surround the British position and formed up in four massive divisions up to a mile from Clive's line (about a thousand yards long) established outside the embankment around the grove, with the Europeans in the middle in three small divisions flanked by the artillery and sepoys. Mir Maden Khan, the Nawab's most loyal commander, with 5,000 foot and 7,000 horse, held the sector adjoining the river opposite Clive's HQ and the British left; he immediately sent two large detachments forward to occupy the banks around two small reservoirs (known as 'tankhs' in India), the nearest half a mile from the British line, on which he placed six guns manned by the fifty French troops under M. St Frais (a former councilor at Chandernagore) serving with the Nawab's army. Clive, in response, ordered a small party with four guns to some brick kilns 200 yards beyond his line to oppose them. The divisions of Rai Dulabh (Siraj-ud-daulah's finance minister), Yar Lulf Khan and Mir Jafar (all in the conspiracy and suspected of it, but not yet openly revealing their treachery) continued the Nawab's line from Mir Maden around to

[56] Ibid., 1: 444–47.

outflank the British position and to threaten Clive's communications back across the river; so Clive could not think of attacking while the intentions of the conspirators remained uncertain. The morning was spent in a prolonged artillery duel; this led Clive to withdraw his troops to shelter from the shot behind the embankment, which was then pierced to allow his few remaining guns to play upon the enemy. Around noon a heavy tropical downfall led the Indian fire to peter out as their powder got wet; and Mir Maden's cavalry, assuming the British artillery was similarly afflicted, made a spirited charge but took heavy casualties from Clive's guns that continued to fire (now grapeshot) into their massed ranks. Among the casualties was Mir Maden himself and several of his principle officers. Mir Maden died in Siraj-ud-daulah's tent, deeply affecting the Nawab with foreboding and made him susceptible to Rai Dulabh's treacherous recommendation to withdraw all his troops back into their fortified camp.

Clive's intention at this point had been to hold his position and to attack the enemy's camp that night, which he knew from his experience of operations in the Carnatic would probably lead to confusion among the less well disciplined Indian troops. However, Major Kilpatrick, temporally in command while Clive returned to his HQ to change out of his sodden clothes, at around 2 pm observed the withdrawal of the Nawab's troops. So, with a select detachment of troops, he seized the opportunity to launch an immediate assault on the now isolated French artillery battery 600 yards away, sending a note to Clive informing him of his action. Clive arrived, upbraided Kilpatrick for taking such a dangerous initiative without his authority but, recognizing the opportunity to exploit the momentum created by the assault, called up reinforcements from the grove, took the second tankh and moved up his guns to attack the main enemy camp. He was restrained for a while from summoning his whole force by an ambiguous move by Mir Jafar's troops, which Clive temporarily misinterpreted as a threat to his right flank when in fact it was his cautious Indian ally's decision to distance himself from the rest of Siraj-ud-daulah's army. Meanwhile, the Nawab's remaining troops streamed back out of their camp to confront the approaching British. The two lines were much nearer now and a sharp fire fight ensued in which the French contingent played a leading part, but it was terminated when a rumor spread amongst the Indians that Siraj-ud-daulah had fled – always a sign in Indian military tradition that the battle was lost. Their opposition collapsed and Clive's forces, around 5 pm, entered the enemy camp to find them in full flight, abandoning all their guns and baggage. A pursuit was mounted but without cavalry could

not be effective and the British army camped that night six miles from Plassey on the road to Murshidabad.[57]

The battle, though not a major conflict in military history (Clive lost only 72 killed and wounded, the enemy an estimated 500 killed), had immense political consequences. Mir Jafar came into Clive's camp the next day and greeted him as a hero. Clive urged him to set off immediately with his forces to seize Murshidabad and the treasury, which he did. Significantly, in view of what followed over the next three years when British power steadily encroached on Mughal authority, Mir Jafar waited for Clive to hand him on to the *masnad* – the imperial cushion, confirming his authority as the new nawab. His wretched predecessor, Siraj-ud-daulah, was caught trying to reach sanctuary in neighboring Oudh and was summarily killed by Mir Jafar's son. Clive was keener to seize hold of Law's detachment, similarly fleeing up the Ganges; but Law was more fortunate, crossing the border a few days ahead of Coote's pursuing force.[58]

Dreams that General Bussy would come north from the Deccan to save the situation in Bengal for the French were never realized as he could not leave without sacrificing his company's influence there. Ironically, a year later (June, 1758), he was forced to abandon it anyway when he was ordered south by the new Commander-in-Chief and Governor General, the Comte de Lally, to aid him in the abortive siege of Madras. Bussy persuaded Lally to leave some of the French troops in the Deccan to guard the Company's possessions in the Northern Circars, but their influence in the Deccan was significantly diminished because it was so dependent on the presence of Bussy himself. Bussy was desperately bitter to abandon seven years work in establishing the French position in the Deccan; he had recognized that it could have served as the fulcrum in a French grand strategic axis between the Carnatic and Bengal, threatening the British in either place. But only a much bigger French force in India could have exploited this and it would also have required a sustained command of the seas along the whole east coast, which the timid French Admiral D'Aché failed to achieve. In two battles with Admiral Pocock on 29 April and 3 August 1758, with roughly

---

[57] Accounts of the battle of Plassey can be found in: Clive to Fort William Secret Committee, 24 June 1757 in *Indian Records Series: Bengal in 1756-1757*, 2: 427–28; an unsigned account from Murshidabad, 29 June 1757, Ibid., 2: 433–36; Forrest, 1: 439–60.

[58] Law spent the next four years, essentially, as a *condottieri*, hiring his men out to any country power who would fund him. Major Carnac finally captured him in January 1761 in the service of the Shahzada (the heir to the Mughal throne), thus extinguishing the final flicker of French resistance to the British in Bengal.

equal forces to the British, d'Aché was fought to a draw and then infuriated Lally by abandoning the field to the British by withdrawing to Mauritius to lick his wounds. Lally was probably right that with their limited resources in men and money (all the income from their holdings in the Northern Circars were soaked up in defending their position in the Deccan), the best strategy for the French was to concentrate on displacing the British in the Carnatic and then move on to re-establishing themselves in the Deccan and Bengal.

Clive (now Governor at Calcutta and so shorn of his independent powers), recognizing the strategic significance of the Deccan and its coastal province, the Northern Circars, which had been assigned to the French by Salabat Jang, determined to exploit Bussy's absence in 1758 by sending an expeditionary force to pin down or destroy the remaining French forces there so that no further detachments or money could be sent to aid Lally's forthcoming siege of Fort St George.[59] He persuaded his Council to agree to half the Bengal Army being sent 300 miles down the coast to Vizagapatam, (a British factory captured by Bussy the previous year) at the northern end of the Northern Circars to the aid of a revolting local raja (Ananda Razu) to displace French power there. The dynamic and resourceful Colonel Forde was put in command of the small force (500 European infantry and artillery and 2,000 sepoys, with six field and six battering guns), which sailed down the coast and arrived on 20 October 1758 (the Company ships with his stores and heavy guns were to shadow Forde as he made progress down the coast). The French troops under an inept and cowardly commander, the Marquis de Conflans, numbered 500 Europeans, 6,000 sepoys, 500 country horse and 30 cannon; Conflans could also call upon the help of the Deccan Army and Pondicherry. The Fort St George Council would have preferred the detachment to have come all the way down to help in the defense of Madras (reciprocating the latter's help to Bengal in 1756), but Clive explained to Governor Pigot that the Fort William Council was so nervous, with their attenuated forces, of maintaining their dominance over Mir Jafar, that this was as far as they would let them go; and Forde was under orders to return immediately to Calcutta if the British lost command of the seas off the coast.[60]

---

[59] Fort William to Court, 31 Dec 1758, BL: OIOC, E/4/24, para. 4.

[60] The Fort William Council believed that the French would make a desperate attempt to get back into Bengal because without their trade they would perish: Fort William to Court, 23 Jan 1758, BL: OIOC, E/4/23, para. 1.

Throughout the ensuing campaign, Forde fretted at being held back by his dilatory Indian ally, Ananda Razu, first in getting bullocks for his guns and equipage, then in providing the promised money and supplies for his force. Throughout, the Raja's troops, who were undisciplined and mostly armed with pikes and bows and arrows, lagged behind Forde and were difficult to co-ordinate with his operations.[61] He was delayed from setting off until the 1st December. His eventual goal was to take the coastal fort at Masulipatam, 180 miles to the southwest, site of one of the earliest English settlements in the 17th Century, chief town in the Circars and the centre of French power in the area.

Forde's first target was Rajahmundry, 110 miles to the south and a barrier to his further advance. Conflans barred the way in a strongly fortified camp on the road forty miles to the north of the town. Arriving on the 7th December, Forde felt his force too weak to launch a direct assault on Conflan's position, so he sidestepped, threatening to by-pass him. This drew Conflans out and Forde awaited him outside a small village called Condore. Conflans approached with his superior numbers arrayed in a line with the Europeans and thirteen guns in the centre and sepoys on either wing; Forde's troops were similarly formed up, with only six guns, but the Europeans were concealed behind a tall stand of maize. As Forde had hoped, Conflans mistook the Bengal sepoys on the left of the British line for Europeans because they wore scarlet tunics, unlike the Madras sepoys he was used to seeing who were dressed all in white, and directed his main attack on them. A French volley at 200yards, despite doing little execution and despite all Forde's efforts to stop them, led to the British sepoys falling back. In the event, this was a lucky development for Forde because it encouraged Conflans to allow his troops to outdistance their guns and to fall into some disorder as they pursued, only to be suddenly confronted by the British company's Europeans filing out from their concealment in front of them in perfect order and delivering coordinated volleys by division at close range into the French mass. Taking heavy casualties, the French fled back half a mile to their own guns but could not rally effectively before the British were upon them, capturing their guns and turning their retreat into a rout as they also abandoned their camp. Conflans secured his military chest and remaining field guns, jumped on his horse and galloped off to Rajahmundry. He had lost 76 Europeans killed and many more wounded, and 56 captured. British losses amounted

[61] Forrest, 2: 80–81; John W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 12 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1899), 2: 442–453, for a competent account of the whole campaign.

to 40 European and around 200 sepoy casualties. Many more of the fleeing enemy forces would have been captured had the Raja's horse been more effective.

Forde followed up swiftly, sending two battalions of sepoys ahead to attack the fort at Rajahmundry, which was abandoned by the French without a fight three days later. Masulipatam now lay open to attack 80 miles away, but Forde was frustrated from moving on by a severe cash crisis. The Raja was suddenly shy of paying his dues, perhaps because he was awaiting the outcome of the French siege of Madras that was now in full swing.[62] The delay allowed Conflans at Masulipatam to recover his composure and to prepare for the British approach. He created what he called an 'army of observation' (200 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys and 4 field guns) under M. du Rocher, which in practice drifted to the west collecting revenue, then north to threaten Forde's communications and eventually returned southwest to link up with Salabat Jang's army of 40,000 that was making a leisurely progress towards the coast from Hyderabad. Conflans had built a strong position outside the town manned by 500 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys, but when Forde eventually appeared on the 7th March 1759, he lost his nerve and withdrew his men into Masulipatam fort. The fort, made in the form of a parallelogram 600 yards by 400, was sited in a naturally strong site on the coast with the seashore on the south side and swamps of variable depth on the other three, but proven to be passable at low tide; the main gate was reached by a causeway that could be swept with cannon fire from the citadel. The walls were made of mud, faced with brick, with a sharpened-stake palisade, fronted by a wet ditch. No less than eleven bastions studded the curtains and commanded the ground in front. Forde spent the next eighteen days landing his siege artillery from the ships and establishing batteries on some sand hills some 800 yards to the east. They focused their fire on several of the bastions, soon with noticeable effect.

By now, it was known that Lally had been forced to abandon his siege of Fort St George and had withdrawn towards Pondicherry, so that the initiative in the Carnatic had passed to the British, no doubt heartening to Forde who was now in a perilous position.[63] He could not think of sitting out a long siege because Salabat Jang's host and du Rocher's detachment were only 40 miles away, it was known the French were expecting reinforcements by sea from Pondicherry, and Forde was running out of ammunition. The choice before him was to withdraw to his ships or attempt an

[62] Forrest, 2: 104–5.
[63] Forde to Fort St George, camp before Masulipatam, 8 March 1759, in Forrest, 2: 106.

immediate coup de main. Fulfilling Clive's expectations of him, Forde chose the latter course. Three of the bastions were reckoned sufficiently damaged to be worthy of assault. It was still a formidable task since the garrison significantly outnumbered the attackers. Forde's plan was to try to persuade Conflans to divide up his men by mounting several simultaneous assaults and carrying them out at night to maximize confusion amongst the defenders. The Raja agreed to make a noisy demonstration on the causeway; another, more serious feint was to be launched by a party of 700 sepoys against the main gate and a mixed European and sepoy force of the same number was told off in three divisions to make the main attack, on the three most damaged bastions. Forde held back a reserve of 300 sepoys under his own command to reinforce success or cover retreat. The operation was launched at midnight on the 7th/8th April. As in all such operations, some things did not go according to plan, but surprise and confusion was achieved – the bastions were taken and the ramparts cleared by the impetus of the attack. Conflans had dithered, sending out contradictory orders and not detecting where the main danger was developing until it was too late. Abjectly, he surrendered the fort to Forde, and 500 Europeans and 2,000 French sepoys were made prisoners. Forde's loss was 86 Europeans and 200 sepoys killed and wounded. A week too late French reinforcements of 300 arrived off the coast and finding the British in control, sailed away again rather than joining du Rocher and Salabat Jang when they might still have made things uncomfortable for Forde. Salabat Jang was very impressed by Forde's feat, but he still hoped Bussy might return to aid him in defeating his rebellious brother Nizam Ali. However, a month later he gave up on him and signed a treaty with the British that allotted them Masulipatam and its surrounding country and committed himself to expel the French from his dominions, while the British simply agreed not to support Nizam Ali.

Forde returned to Bengal in October and almost immediately performed another service for Clive in dealing with a belated and misguided attempt of the Dutch, apparently with the complicity of Mir Jafar, to check British domination in Bengal, which was already affecting their trade. Barely concealing their intentions, the Dutch in the East Indies assembled an expeditionary force (comprising 500 European and 1,000 Malay troops) in 1759 and sent it to Bengal.[64] It arrived at the mouth of the Hugli early in

[64] The Fort William Council believed that by making things difficult for the Dutch in Bengal they could preserve the Company's trade in the East Indies: Fort William to Court, 31 Dec 1758, BL: OIOC, E/4/24, para 10.

October. Clive, already alerted to the threat got Mir Jafar, who was on a visit to Calcutta, to ban them from proceeding further. When the Dutch captured some small Company craft, it gave the British cause to attack and take the Dutch ships, while Forde routed a party of troops en route from Chinsura to join their 800 compatriots marching up from the coast, and then attacked the latter and totally defeated them. The Dutch authorities in Europe were greatly embarrassed by the affair since the two countries were not enemies in the war. In the event, they paid restitution to the British company and agreed to a strict limit on the number of troops they could station in Bengal.

The Company's Calcutta council had not recognized at first (though Clive himself had[65]) the magnitude of the political revolution that had been consummated in Bengal as a result of the Plassey victory and its consequences. The initial expectations of the Company's councilors at Calcutta were that relations with Mir Jafar would be much as they had been with previous Mughal governors, with the Nawab still the effective ruler of Bengal and the Company going about its business but now in a much more favored and secure commercial position.[66] But from 1758 Calcutta got increasingly embroiled in local 'country' politics and its army in pacification. The cost of the restitution of the losses of the Company, the presents Mir Jafar was prevailed on to make to the Calcutta Councilors, the donations to the Company's and King's armed forces, all served to drain his treasury and loaded him with debt. And this was not replenished so easily as in the past because the Nawab suffered reductions in his revenues as a result cessions of revenue collecting rights to the Company, the abuses by Company servants in their private trading activities of its right to free trade, and general unrest in the country and intrusions from aggressive neighbors over the next year or so. As a result, Mir Jafar could not pay his troops properly, so they became ineffective and he soon became almost totally dependent on the Company's army to establish his rule in Bengal and Bihar and to defend him from external enemies. These activities compelled Calcutta to expand their standing army, which put a strain on their finances despite having been given extra land revenues by Mir Jafar for

---

65 Clive wrote privately to the Directors two months after Plassey: The victory 'puts in your Power to be as great as You please in the Kingdom of Bengal', 22 Aug 1757, BL: OIOC, E/4/23, p. 571.

66 Marshall, *The New Cambridge History of India*, 80.

their support.[67] This was because the Directors in London, hearing of their gains under the treaty with Mir Jafar, expected them to self-finance more of their trade, while at the same time the Madras Council, now bearing the whole burden of carrying on the war against France but deprived of much of their revenues by the disruption in the countryside, expected Calcutta to subsidize them.[68] The outcome of all this in Bengal over the next few years was the steady emasculation of Mir Jafar's authority, Calcutta's enforced replacement of him in 1760 by his son-in-law Mir Qasim (who surrendered control of more territory to the Company) and then Mir Qasim's eventual overthrow at the hands of the Company's army when he made a bid for independence (1763); and, finally, in 1765, the ascendancy of the Company to effective power in Bengal consummated by being officially appointed the Diwan (Imperial revenue collector for the provinces) by the Emperor Shah Alam II. Though crucially funding the operations of the Madras army from its share of the Bengal revenues, Calcutta had from October 1758 became mainly engaged in local 'country' politics and merely a spectator in the Seven Years' War, which continued for another fifteen months a thousand miles to the south around Pondicherry until the French surrender in January 1761.

In the end, the British won the war in the East, despite having significantly inferior numbers of European troops (though they were probably more successful than the French in training up Indian mercenary soldiers) and only a rough equality in naval armament, because of better grand strategic management of their available resources, some luck in the timing of their operations, and better overall leadership. Lally's relationship with his civil and military subordinates was calamitous. Though Bussy's achievement in the Deccan was impressive, it could not be translated into military and financial resources that could be transferred to other, immediately more important theatres. So, for example, the impoverished Chandanagore Council was not able to exploit the disaster that struck the British in Bengal in 1756, though a bolder French leadership at Chandanagore might

---

[67] The Fort William Council instructed their Directors that: "They are now not only a Trading Company but [also] a Military Company…possessed of a Considerable landed property." Fort William to Court, 31 Dec 1758, BL: OIOC, E/4/24, para. 7.

[68] Fort William Secret Proceedings, 11 September 1760, BL: OIOC, P/A/3. Calcutta was even able to use its new influence over the Nawab to gain a monopoly over Bengal's saltpetre trade and to stop the Danes in Bengal continuing to supply it to the French for gunpowder manufacture: Fort William to Court, 31 Dec 1758, BL: OIOC, E/4/24, paras. 66–67.

have achieved more had they thrown in their lot with Siraj-ud-daulah from the beginning. Overall, Lally was probably right in arguing for a concentration of French resources in first recovering the domination of the Carnatic they had once held in the early 1750s. The British gamble in October 1756 in leaving Madras relatively undefended with supposed substantial French reinforcements expected soon in the Carnatic, in order to retrieve their position in Bengal, more than paid off. Clive's and Watson's exploitation of the political and military opportunities that opened up before them in March 1757 enabled them to lay their hands on surplus financial resources and food in Bengal that kept Madras afloat during the post-siege operations in 1759–60 and to deny them to the French. So the Madras Army was able to keep the field when the French were forced back into their garrisons and thereby unable to draw succor from the surrounding countryside. The British were never strong enough to take Pondicherry by storm, but were able to starve it out by blockade because they had shut off the food supply from Bengal and the French failed to challenge effectively for command of the waters off the Coromandel Coast.

As the military tide had turned in their favor, Madras and Calcutta had up-graded their grand strategic aims from simply surviving intact in India, to eradicating the French, certainly as a politico-military force and even (at least in Bengal) as an effective commercial competitor.[69] Clive developed even more expansive ambitions for Britain; in January 1759 he wrote to William Pitt, the Prime Minister, that the sovereignty of Bengal was within reach, but that this "may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company," going on to hint that the British Government should take the lead.[70] However, the approach of peace was not without its concerns for the Company's authorities in India. "The nearer We approach to a Peace in Europe the nearer We are to our Danger here," wrote the Calcutta Council 1760, since they feared concessions might be made to the French in the peace negotiations in Europe that would let them back into India under circumstances that would allow them to reactivate their political ambitions there.[71] In anticipation of such an event, the Madras and Calcutta councils had done their best to make an effective post-war resurgence of the French more difficult and expensive by destroying all French fortifications which came into their hands and sending back to Europe all

[69] Fort William to Court, 31 Dec 1758, BL: OIOC, E/4/24, paras. 70, 80, 122–23, 143, 146.

[70] Clive to William Pitt, 7 Jan 1759, in Thomas G.P. Spear, *Master of Bengal: Clive and his India* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 102–3.

[71] Fort William Secret Proceedings, 15 Jan 1759, BL: OIOC, P/A/2; 11 Sept 1760, P/A/3.

captured French officers. Quite a few of the rank and file liberated French p.o.w.s signed up in the British company's army, or joined 'country' armies as mercenaries.

In the peace treaty the French did have all their ancient factories returned, but none of the revenue-bearing territories they had acquired from 1749 onwards. They were prohibited from refortifying their factories in Bengal or stationing any soldiers there. Anyway, in the Carnatic although they regained Pondicherry, the French Company was never able to afford to restore its fortifications to their former strength. On the other hand, they had to recognize all the territorial, revenue-bearing gains the British had made and the legitimacy of Muhammad Ali's title of Nawab of the Carnatic (making it difficult for the French to exploit any dynastic contests there in the future). The French never did recover financially from the comprehensive military and political defeat they had suffered in the war. Their Company was wound up in 1769, the state taking over its assets, and the India-France trade was thrown open to private French merchants. While the French continued to hold Mauritius as a forward base (it was finally captured by the British in 1809), they could still dream of exploiting, in any further wars with Britain, the much reduced stake they had on the sub-continent to challenge growing British power there by linking up with Indian princes they had antagonized. Bussy came out again, with 3,000 troops, towards the end of the American Revolutionary War, to join forces with Haidar Ali Khan of Mysore but did not achieve much; and Napoleon fantasized about an invasion in 1799 and again (with the Russians) in 1808, but the French did not even get there.

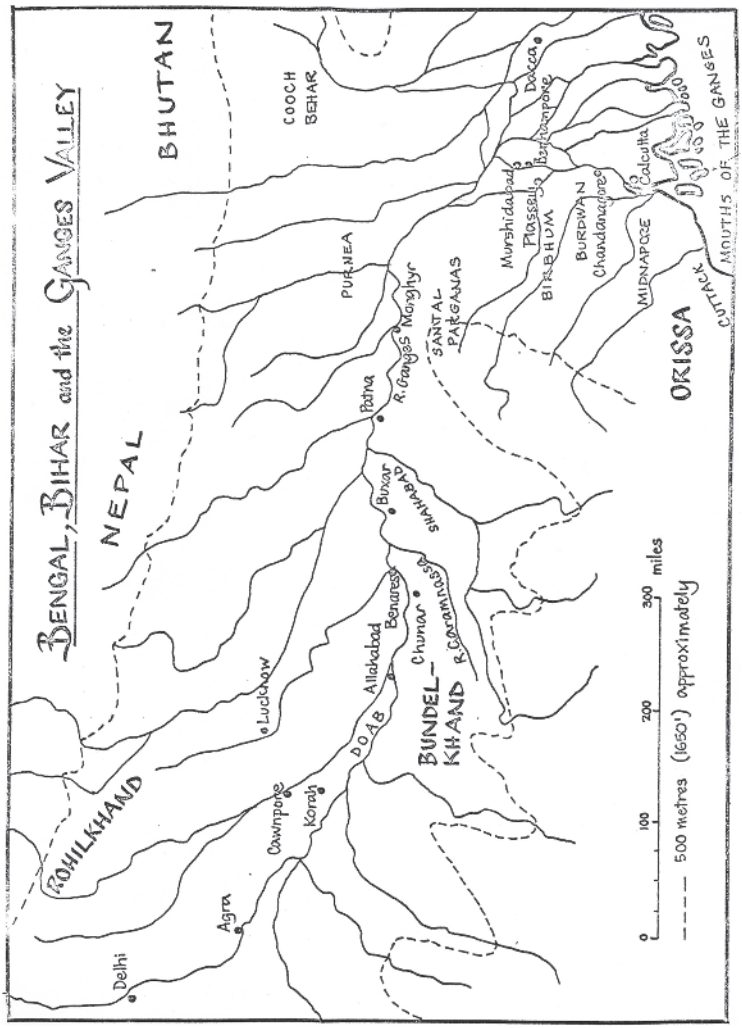


Figure 1. Bengal, Bihar and the Ganges Valley.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

STRATEGIC ILLUSIONS AND THE IBERIAN WAR OF 1762

Patrick J. Speelman

The Iberian war of 1762 is an anomaly within the Seven Years' War. Yet its less-than dramatic conduct should not overshadow its importance. As part of a larger campaign it was born of an illusion imagined by the Bourbon powers. At the ground level, illusions by both sides obscured the realities of combat in Portugal, as the great powers believed it could support modern military operations. These illusions, both strategic and otherwise, set the stage for the war's final Bourbon disaster. Simply, miscalculation had reshaped the strategic context, duration and significance of the larger war. This chapter will provide an overview of those illusions and attempt to explain the conduct and tragic nature of the campaign.[1]

First, war between Spain and Great Britain was not inevitable. Prior to 1759, Anglo-Spanish relations suggested reconciliation, not conflict. The Newcastle ministry deemed Spanish neutrality necessary to defeat French naval power, and it dangled intriguing prospects on many fronts.[2] King George II had hinted at support for then crown Prince Charles' transfer of Naples and Sicily to his son over his brother, who had married Louis XV's daughter. Britain also enticed Spain with the return of Gibraltar for help in recovering the more important naval base of Port Mahon captured by France at the outbreak of hostilities.[3] Ricardo Wall, the Irish-born Spanish

---

[1] Secondary accounts include, António Barrento, *Guerra Fantástica, 1762: Portugal, o Conde de Lippe e a Guerra dos Sete Anos* (Lisbon: Tribuna, 2006); Alan David Francis, "The Campaign in Portugal, 1762," *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research* 59, no. 237 (1981): 25–43; and Simâo Coelho Torrezâo, "Epilogo Historico da Guerra de Portugal com Castela no Anno de 1762," [nd], Lisbon, Portugal, Arquivo Histórico Militar, DIV/1/07/01/m001-0029 (hereafter AHM).

[2] Jeremy Black, "Anglo-Spanish Naval Relations in the Eighteenth Century," *The Mariner's Mirror* 77, no. 3 (August 1991): 253.

[3] In fact these rumors became more formal overtures in 1757. Britain hinted at the return of Gibraltar and even the end of the logwood disputes in Central America for Minorca, Oran, and Ceuta in North Africa. See the classic by Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson (Printers) Ltd., 1936),

state secretary, sympathized with the nascent pro-British sentiment, but colonial issues and French diplomacy doomed prospects for an Atlantic "Diplomatic Revolution."[4]

Old issues of English privateers, smuggling, and Honduran logwood settlements frustrated negotiations.[5] Neither side embraced concessions. The British government, for its part, did little to suppress 'piratical' activities in the Caribbean. In turn, Spanish demands for access to the Newfoundland fisheries, important training grounds for naval personnel, angered the maritime interests in London. Ships routinely violated the area whether or not they had the requisite passports. Even with the contentious logwood issue at the forefront of Spanish ire, diplomatic stalemate prevailed, and war appeared unlikely.[6]

The accession of Charles III in 1759 set in motion the march to war.[7] An Anglophobe, Charles and his chief ministers viewed Albion as a colonial menace.[8] Both he and Wall rightfully viewed British control of the French Caribbean colonies as a serious threat to Spanish interests. Unlike Wall, Charles believed Spanish economic and military pressure could preempt that threat. Their illusion, that militarily pressure could force Britain to compromise, was the chief flaw in Bourbon strategic planning. In fact, Charles went further: perhaps British trade rights and smuggling could be expunged altogether with joint Bourbon action. Irksome French trade privileges in Spain and the Caribbean threatened Spanish mercantile

556–63; Jean O. McLachlan, "The Seven Years' Peace, and the West Indian Policy of Carvajal and Wall," *The English Historical Review* 53, no. 211 (July 1938): 457–77.

[4] France was able to parry British overtures by dangling the prospects of giving Minorca to Spain and supporting the Infanté Felipe's candidacy to the crown of Poland. See John D. Bergamini, *The Spanish Bourbons: The History of a Tenacious Dynasty* (New York: G.P. Putnam Sons, 1974), 82.

[5] See Jean O. McLachlan, "The Uneasy Neutrality: A Study of Anglo-Spanish Disputes over Spanish Prizes, 1756–1759," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 6, no. 1 (1938): 55–77; Karl H. Offen, "British Logwood Extraction from the Mosquitia: The Origin of a Myth," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (2000): 113–35.

[6] Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies*, 565. See, Karl W. Schweizer, "William Pitt, Lord Bute, and the Peace Negotiations with France, May-September 1761," *Albion* 13, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 262–75.

[7] The domestic situation in Spain paralyzed foreign policy in the final two years of Ferdinand's reign and may help explain the 'neutral' stance prior to Charles III's accession to the throne. See, Charles C. Noel, "The Crisis of 1758–1759: Sovereignty and Power during a 'Species of Interregnum," in Robert Oresko, G.C. Gibbs and H.M. Scott, eds., *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnhild Hatton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 580–608.

[8] See Allan Christelow, "Economic Background of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1762," *The Journal of Modern History* 18, no. 1 (March 1946): 22–36.

interests as well, but they were at a much smaller scale.[9] Eliminating the British presence seemed a sound long-term plan, and perhaps can be viewed within Madrid's overall colonial reform policies. This stance, however logical, was the product of fear: fear that British smugglers would undermine colonial economic development; fear of imminent attacks on Spanish possessions such as Mexico and Florida; and fear that Britain planned to impoverish the Spanish empire in its totality.[10]

Louis XV's government believed a united Bourbon front could pressure Britain into submission and procure a more honorable peace: so it nurtured these illusions and inflamed those fears. Versailles warned the Spanish ambassador, Pablo Jeronimo, marquis de Grimaldi Palavicini y Spinola, of British intentions to monopolize trade in the West and East Indies. The French foreign minister Étienne-François, duc de Choiseul, and his ambassador in Madrid, Pierre Paul, marquis d'Ossun, argued that British victories had upset the American balance of power.[11] When the Spanish ambassador in London, Juan Joaquín Anastasio Pignatelli de Aragón y Moncayo, conde de Fuentes, pressed Whitehall for satisfaction on the contentious issues, he received evasive replies. The only alternative, argued Grimaldi, was to forge a French alliance, and quickly. As 1761 progressed it appeared that France, beaten on all fronts, would accommodate Britain and make peace. For his part Choiseul, in desperate need of leverage, increasingly viewed a Spanish alliance as a useful tool to pressure Britain at the peace table.

The Family Compact signed in August 1761 was an offensive alliance between Spain and France that planned to stem the British tide in the New World by attacking its colonial trade and merchant economy.[12] It assumed inevitable British aggression against Spanish colonies, British weakness after several years of global fighting, and the instigation of the London

---

[9] See Allan Christelow, "French Interest in the Spanish Empire during the Ministry of the Duc de Choiseul, 1759–1771," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 21, no. 4 (November 1941): 515–37.

[10] Christelow, "Economic Background of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1762," 25.

[11] Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies, 567.

[12] Charles Petrie, *King Charles III of Spain: An Enlightened Despot* (New York: The John Day Company, 1971), 103. The offensive military alliance was not signed until 4 February 1762. For the original texts see, "Family Compact or Treaty of Amity and Union between France and Spain, signed at Paris, 15 August 1761," 85–100, and "Particular Convention of Offensive and Defensive Alliance between France and Spain, signed at Versailles, 4 February 1762, 133–38, in vol. 42, *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, ed. Clive Perry (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1969).

merchants against Pitt's government.[13] Bourbon military strategy envisioned a dispersed attack on the focal points of the British colonial system in the Atlantic world: Jamaica (sugar trade), Honduras (logwood trade), and slave stations in West Africa. On the European front they intended to close the Atlantic ports through which British commerce pulsed. The Bourbons envisioned this 'continental system' not only to include France and Spain, but also the neutral Netherlands and Portugal.

The unveiling of the secret alliance in late 1761 set London on its head. Peace had appeared imminent and a Spanish war seemed nonsensical. Both King George III and the British ambassador to Madrid, George William Hervey, 2nd Earl of Bristol, had seen no *causus belli*. Neither Newcastle nor the rest of the cabinet supported war. So Pitt resigned in October prior to the compact's revelation, with John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, replacing him as de facto first minister.[14] After years of victory on a global scale the peace party had taken the reigns of government. In Spain the opposite was true. The safe arrival of the annual treasure fleet emboldened the war party. In early December 1761 Madrid embargoed British ships and cargos already in port, seized all goods inside Spain, and expelled all merchants, bankers and consuls. Clearly no peace would come. In late December, when details of the alliance became public Bute quickly shifted priorities from the German war to this new colonial struggle.[15] On 4 January 1762, Great Britain declared war on Spain and prepared to send regiments to a Portugal now faced with a Bourbon ultimatum to submit.[16] Spanish fears of a British 'hyper-power' were now self-fulfilled.

King José's Portugal was the key to the Bourbon embargo strategy because it was a conduit that linked Britain to lucrative Ibero-American trade. One of Britain's chief trade partners, it provided precious metals, in the form of Brazilian gold, as well as inexpensive wine from the merchants of Oporto. Its closure would be a serious provocation to British commercial interests (the ratio of British exports to Portuguese imports stood

---

[13] Christelow, "Economic Background of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1762," 26.

[14] See Karl Schweizer, "Lord Bute and William Pitt's Resignation in 1761," *Canadian Journal of History* 8, no. 2 (September 1973): 111–25.

[15] For a thorough analysis of this decision, see Karl Schweizer, "The Non-Renewal of the Anglo-Prussian Subsidy Treaty, 1761–1762: A Historical Revision," *Canadian Journal of History* 13, no. 3 (December 1976): 383–98; Idem., "Lord Bute, Newcastle, Prussia, and the Hague Overtures: A Re-Examination," *Albion* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1977): 72–97.

[16] Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 204–10.

at 6:1)[17] Portugal's compliance was necessary, whether it was voluntary or not. The French minister to Lisbon, Jacques O'Dunne, pressed the Portuguese first minister, Sebastiáo de Carvalho, conde de Oeyras, to join the Family Compact and fulfill its destiny.[18] He rejected the overture and had little choice but to embrace British military aid under the rubric of the 'Common Cause.'[19] A strong, independent Portugal could not join the blockade that would effectively make it an appendage of Spain. This decision pleased London. Like the Dutch Netherlands, Portugal was a natural ally of British imperial policy: it was not a continental power that sought territorial acquisition; therefore, it would not drag Britain into senseless conflict with Spain. As a colonial power, a friendly Portugal opened the doors to American commerce for British merchants and closed them to its enemies.[20] Their relationship forged by previous wars and trade treaties was strong despite divergent cultural and religious proclivities. Each side needed the other.

The British officer corps viewed the ensuing campaign as an opportunity for advancement, adventure, and glory. Requests to join the expeditionary force or to serve in the Portuguese army flooded the War Office in the spring 1762. Command of the British forces fell to James O'Hara, 2d Baron Tyrawley (Irish). One of the oldest ranking army officers, he had served with distinction under the Duke of Marlborough at the battle of Malplaquet (11 September 1709) where he received wounds in the thigh and leg that never properly healed. He knew Portugal and the Portuguese:

---

[17] Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Publishers, 1969), 181; Harold E.S. Fisher, "Anglo-Portuguese Trade, 1700–1770," *The Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 16, no. 2 (December 1963): 219–33; Ralph Davis, "English Foreign Trade, 1700–1774," *The Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 15, no. 2 (December 1962): 285–303.

[18] David Alan Francis, *Portugal, 1715–1808: Joanine, Pombaline and Rococo Portugal as Seen by British Diplomats and Traders* (London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1984), 146–47.

[19] The Anglo-Portuguese friendship originated from two treaties, one commercial (1654) and the other a dynastic marriage (1661). This amity was reaffirmed through the defensive alliance of 1703 triggered by the War of the Spanish Succession, and the commercial, or Methuen, treaty of 1705. See, "Treaty between England and Portugal, signed at Westminster, 10(20) July 1654," 281–302, in vol. 3; "Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, signed at Whitehall, 23 June 1661," 327–36, in vol. 6; "Defensive and Offensive Alliance between the Emperor and Portugal (and Spain), and Great Britain and the Netherlands, signed at Lisbon, 16 May 1703," 375–85, in vol. 24; and, "Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, signed at London, 20 February 1705," 229–34, in vol. 25, *The Consolidated Treaty Series*.

[20] See Jeremy Black, "Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Eighteenth Century: A Reassessment," *Journal of the British Historical Society of Portugal* 14 (1987): 125–42. He cautions not to over-emphasize trade in Britain's strategic decision-making.

he served as ambassador to Portugal between 1728–41 and 1752–55, and was one of the few British officers who actually spoke the language (in 1741 he had returned to England with three native 'wives' and fourteen children). When Oeyras requested as many British troops as could be spared along with officers of "experience and abilities," he personally requested Tyrawley lead them.[21] The aged commander-in-chief hastened to Lisbon in early March with a support staff dubbed his 'Family': two aide-de-camps, his quartermaster and Portuguese-born son, Lieutenant Colonel Charles O'Hara, and Lieutenant Colonel Charles Rainsford of the Coldstream Guards.[22] This cadre would lay the groundwork for a joint Anglo-Portuguese military campaign[23]

The illusion that Portugal could play the role of a modern battlefield was quickly dispelled: materially and politically it was a ruined nation. By 1762, it was not the same country Tyrawley had known. The great Lisbon earthquake of 1755 had decimated the capitol and its surrounding environs. Over 90,000 died in the tragedy (mostly by the ensuing fire) and rubble still cluttered its streets late in 1761.[24] Luckily, the royal family had been at nearby Belém and remained personally untouched by the destruction.[25] Oeyras viewed it as a 'crisis opportunity' and used it as a pretext to create a ministerial dictatorship under the king's authority.[26] Historians call this the Pombaline System (Oeyras later became the Marquis of Pombal), which envisioned the gradual exclusion of foreign trade companies in favor of state monopolies, the centralization of power in the "Rock" of

---

[21] Edward Hay to Charles Wyndham, 2d Earl Egremont, Lisbon, 17 Jan. 1762, The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) SP 89/55, ff. 23–4. Tyrawley was appointed on 2 Feb. 1762 and would serve in that capacity until July. Egremont to Hay, London, 9 Feb. 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/55, f. 37.

[22] Hay to Egremont, Lisbon, 3/12/62, TNA: PRO SP 89/55, f. 119. He arrived on the night of 11 March; Charles Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Lisbon, 3 March 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23644, ff. 4–6.

[23] Instructions for Lord Tyrawley, TNA: PRO SP 89/55, ff. 82–86.

[24] Christopher Hervey, *Letters from Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Germany, in the Years 1759, 1760, and 1761*, 3 vols. (London: Printed for J. Davis, R. Foulder, 1785), 1: 24; Jeremy Black, ed., "Portugal in 1760: The Journal of a British Tourist," *Journal of the British Historical Society in Portugal* 15 (1988): 96–97.

[25] Letter XX, Lisbon, 2 September 1760, in Joseph Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa through England, Portugal, Spain, and France*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for T. Davies and L. Davies, 1770), 1: 96–104. The quake struck in the morning when the population had their kitchen fires burning. Most died from the conflagration.

[26] Letter VIII, Jurumenha, 1778, in Arthur William Costigan, *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal, in a Series of Letters from Arthur William Costigan to His Brother in London*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for T. Vernon, 1787), 1: 138. See also, Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Lisbon, and the rebuilding of that devastated city. But the effort denuded the countryside of resources and hard-pressed an already beleaguered peasantry. When the nobility, or fidalgos, attempted to undermine him, he effectively gutted it after an aborted assassination attempt against the king through imprisonment and judicial murder; thereby alienating the army's high command in particular and its officer corps in general.[27] The foreign merchants, especially the English wine merchants in Oporto, proved a tougher foe to tame.[28]

Portugal depended on the British consumer to a high degree. It produced little of value apart from fresh produce like lemons, oranges, and of course, red wine. English merchants readily bought up the surplus and shipped it to England. But it was Brazilian trade that mattered most. The Portuguese bought nearly all their goods from the English and they paid in gold mined in the New World. The outflow of specie was egregious in Oeyras's mercantilist eyes, though he had no way of knowing the scale of the unlicensed transfer of wealth. Informed observers estimated that each weekly packet ship not only returned to London with mail, but also upwards of £30–50,000 in gold. It was stashed in a secret 'hole' in each ship's great cabin. The weight taxed the vessels so much that they were noted for incredible slowness on the return voyage. London dockyards worked tirelessly to remedy that problem and cleaned them more than any other vessels "so they [could] swim like dolphins."[29] All told one half to three quarters of Brazilian gold that entered the Tagus was siphoned to England.[30] In this context, Brazil was Britain's most lucrative 'colony.' Attempts to curb this outflow and regulate the English merchants had

---

[27] Hervey, *Letters from Portugal*, 1: 47. One newsletter from Lisbon explained that Oeyras had filled the jails with nobles. "Extract of a Letter dated, Lisbon, 17 September 1762, The British Library (BL): Add. MS. 35597, f. 196.

[28] These wine merchants lobbied Pitt relentlessly prior to outbreak of hostilities. Numerous memorials are found throughout the PRO and British Library holdings. See, "Memorial of A Committee of the British Merchants at Oporto on behalf of themselves and others concern'd in the Portuguese Trade," LO Box 52 (5), Loudoun Papers (Scottish), Huntington Library (HL), Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California.

[29] Letter XVI, King George-Packet, 29 August 1760, in Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa*, 1: 67–68. See Allan Christelow, "Great Britain and the Trades from Cadiz and Lisbon to Spanish America and Brazil, 1759–1783," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 27, no. 1 (February 1947): 2–29; L. Stuart Sutherland, "The Accounts of an Eighteenth-Century Merchant: The Portuguese Ventures of William Braund," *The Economic History Review* 3, no. 3 (April 1932): 367–87. Braund established himself in the lucrative unlicensed bullion trade via his woolen exports to Portugal.

[30] A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415–1808* (New York: St. Martin's press, 1992), 144.

elicited strong protests to British officials back home. Within the overall context of rebuilding and burgeoning absolutism, the Spanish war came as an unwelcome distraction. Oeyras now had to rely on the country he viewed as the chief impediment to Portuguese economic self-determination. Albion had come home to roost.

Six years of the Pombaline System failed to stimulate the material well-being of the kingdom. Government regulations and high taxation induced rampant inflation and widespread scarcity. For instance, Oeyras passed laws that outlawed private horse ownership in order to conserve the country's limited grain and fodder supplies. A horse smuggling black market with Spain resulted. Outside of Lisbon there was little money; and what did exist quickly went into the hands of English merchants or the central government. The army was in no better shape. Only 8,000 effective soldiers stood in the face of the coming Spanish onslaught. They wore 'rags and patches' and begged in the streets, as they received little or no pay from the central government.[31] Overall, if one figures in the absence of well-maintained roads, the lack of food, fodder, and basic supplies, Portugal in 1762 is better characterized as a colonial war-zone, rather than a continental theater; a reality that would perplex both the Bourbon and British expeditionary forces.

Pressing issues soon strained the Common Cause. Tyrawley quickly grew tired of Oeyras's diplomatic minuet with Spain. He did not wish to incite a Spanish attack; so he compelled Tyrawley to assume the persona of a private traveler with Rainsford as his private secretary. These circumstances lowered a veil of secrecy on all preparations, angering the impatient commander-in-chief. Next Oeyras had been less-than realistic as to Portugal's ability to 'feed' the war. Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl Egremont, and John Louis Ligonier, the Secretary of State of the Southern Department and the Commander-in-Chief in Britain respectively, assumed the expedition would be supplied locally: so when the troops arrived they could take the field and parry the Bourbon invasion. The conditions in Portugal undermined those presumptions. Oeyras hesitated to mobilize Portugal's forces or to provide food, fodder, and transportation for the expected British troops. To be fair, Oeyras could not give what he did not possess.

The Anglo-Portuguese 'Common Cause' also eroded at the personal level. On 12 March King José enraged Tyrawley by refusing to receive him as commander-in-chief of allied forces in Portugal.[32] Insulting the old

[31] Letter XXXVII, Elvas, 22 September, 1760, in Baretti, 1: 234.
[32] Tyrawley to Egremont, Lisbon, 12 March 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/55, f. 129.

soldier's prickly pride was deemed a necessary evil, if war could be averted. Nonetheless, his ensuing letter-writing campaign condemned the Portuguese for intransigence and affronts to his honor. Ironically, when the king officially appointed him allied commander-in-chief he steadfastly refused it as a trick to keep him in Lisbon and out of the field.[33] His paranoia turned into outright rancor. Charging Oeyras with "duplicity of behavior" he discovered that Duke August Wilhelm of Brunswick-Bevern had been offered the position as well.[34] Furthermore, Portugal still was not ready to receive the British forces. There was no food, fodder, or transportation available for the campaign. Portugal seemed open to invasion and Tyrawley a convenient scapegoat.

O'Hara had expected (and been promised) an army of 40,000 soldiers.[35] By June the Portuguese army barely reached 9,000 men. John Crawfurd of the 85th Regiment of Foot, or "Royal Volunteers," serving as a major general in the Portuguese army, reported they had no pay, supplies, hospitals, nor leadership. He regarded the soldiers highly (they were the "most patient, submissive animals that God ever made"), but mounting pessimism about their state of readiness reached Tyrawley.[36] Other British officers shared Crawfurd's analysis. Charles O'Hara reconnoitered the Portuguese frontier to make ready the forward defenses and reported the kingdom unready for invasion. Almeida, a key frontier town whose possession could open up the route to Lisbon, was in chaos. Its fortifications were second rate and its inhabitants terrified of Spanish aggression.[37] At the Portuguese HQ in Abrantes he encountered the vexing Portuguese high command. The commander-in-chief, Baron Fernando Lobo Alvito, conde d'Oriolo (styled the "Conde Baron"), made a poor impression. Nothing was being done: no patrols, no planning, no preparation. O'Hara reported that when asked what he would do if the Spanish attacked at this moment the Conde Baron replied, "I don't know."[38] Furthermore the Portuguese

---

[33] Tyrawley to Egremont, Lisbon, 6 May 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 19.

[34] Tyrawley to Egremont, Lisbon, 6 May 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 178: Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Lisbon, 7 May 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23644, f. 12.

[35] The paper strength of the Portuguese army was 36,960 infantry, 5,040 cavalry and 4,620 in the artillery. Hay to Egremont, Lisbon, 29 March 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/55, f. 157; Tyrawley to Loudoun, Lisbon, 24 July 1762, HL: Loudoun Papers (Scottish) LO 10212.

[36] John Crawfurd to Tyrawley, Thomar, 14 June 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23635, ff. 225–28

[37] Charles O'Hara to Tyrawley, Villa Nova de Lozcoa, 15 May 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23635, f. 136.

[38] O'Hara to Tyrawley, Abrantes, 2 May 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23635, ff. 101–02. Tyrawley duly sent word of this to Egremont in London. Tyrawley to Egremont, Lisbon, 6 May 1762, TNA:

generals refused to disperse and join their brigades as it was against their customs.[39] Additional reports from his son confirmed Crawfurd's earlier assessment. On the frontier 'soldiers' were no more than hastily recruited peasants, many of whom were children armed with rusty pikes, halberds, scythes, and other assorted farm implements. The younger O'Hara, Crawfurd, and Rainsford assumed the defense of Portugal, while Tyrawley unraveled in Lisbon.

Meanwhile on the frontier Spain concentrated its forces. The Spanish army numbered 42,000 men and 93 artillery pieces.[40] Its ultimate destinations were Oporto and Lisbon, the first steps in the 'continental system.' Madrid believed a show of force on the border might compel Oeyras to cave to Bourbon demands; so the army was given light provisions to hasten its arrival.[41] It was a futile gesture. In May the under-supplied expeditionary army invaded and advanced towards Oporto. A column of 22,000 men under commander-in-chief Nicolás de Carvajal y Lancaster, marquis de Sarriá, crossed into northeast Portugal as 'friends'[42] and quickly laid siege to nearby Miranda. As the Spanish began to entrench and prepare batteries, the Portuguese opened fire. An accidental powder explosion (killing 60 defenders) caused a breach in the ramparts large enough for the besieging Spanish to exploit on 5 May. They captured the place without firing a shot.[43] From hence they moved on to Bragança and Torre de Mancorvo, which capitulated ten days later. On 24 May, General Alessandro O'Reilly led a detachment against Chaves and took that place

---

PRO SP 89/56, ff. 20–21; Charles François du Périer Dumouriez, *An Account of Portugal as it Appeared in 1766* (London: C. Law, 1797), 116.

39 As late as September, Loudoun, Tyrawley's replacement, privately wrote Bute of the Fidalgo's "discontent." Loudoun to Earl of Bute, Venda Nova, 12 September 1762, HL: Loudoun Papers (Scottish) LO 10644.

40 Lippe, "Mémoire de la Campagne de Portugal en 1762," in Curd Ochwadt, ed., *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1977), 2: 34.

41 TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 73.

42 Ibid., f. 36.

43 See, "Operations de l'Armée Espagne selon Mr. de la Haye," AHM/DIV/1/07//1/1/ m0001-10; Durval Pires de Lima, "Notícias para a História da "Guerra Phantastica," *Nação Portuguesa: Revista de Cultura Nacionalista* IX (1934): 234–85; António Maria Mourinho, "Guerra dos Sete Anos ou Guerra do Mirandum: Invasão de Trás-os-Montes, em 1762, através da Correspondência Oficial dos Marquês de Sarriá—Catastrofe de Miranda do Douro," *Ethnos: Revista do Instituto Portuges de Arquelogia, Historia e Ethnografia* 5 (1966): 343–64; idem., "Invasão de Trás-os-Montes e das Beira na Guerra dos Sete Anos pelos Exércitos Bourbónicos, em 1762, através da Correspondência official dos Comandantes Chefes Marquês de Sarriá e Conde de Aranda," *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2d ser. 31 (1986): 377–442.

without incident. Spain now controlled the entire province of Tras-os-Montes. Word soon arrived that the French expeditionary force was massing at Bourdeaux.[44] The way to Oporto lay open and a general alarm engulfed Portugal. The governor of Oporto, Don John de Almada, received orders to retreat towards Lisbon if the Spanish advanced. English merchants there began to evacuate their 30,000 pipes of wine valued at £500,000.[45]

All that was left for the Spanish was to cross the Douro River. Lack of supplies slowed and then distracted them. Wishing to win over popular sentiment, Sarriá at first paid the Portuguese double for provisions. He had assumed wrongly that Portugal could provide all that was required, thus allowing war to feed war. When the necessary supplies did not materialize he exacted forced contributions from the countryside, and this, along with a native hatred of the Spanish, triggered a general peasant uprising. The Portuguese governor of Tras-os-Montes, Major General Francisco Joseph Sarmento, issued a declaration urging the people to resist the Spanish or be branded rebels.[46] Charles O'Hara led a rag-tag peasant band of 1,500 angry peasants, most of who wielded farm implements, and repulsed the 5,000-strong Spanish force. This action upset the Spanish plan to cross the Douro.[47] Similar partisan activity repulsed a Spanish advance on Almeida on 25 May. The rest of the Portuguese population simply deserted their villages and fled to the mountains. Tyrawley's morbid assessments to the contrary, the Spanish thrust had been parried. Sarriá's offensive grounded to a halt. 'Small war' had trumped the big battalions.

Meanwhile from Lisbon, Tyrawley complained of "rheumatick pains" shooting through his shrapnel-filled leg and thigh. He suffered through "sharp piercing nights" and begged to be relieved of command.[48] The cautious Oeyras urged the appointment of Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst, Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe, an English-born German noble, as overall

---

44 TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 94.

45 This totaled approximately 3.78 million gallons (1 pipe=2 hogsheads=126 gallons). William Babington, Consul of Viana to Henry Frankland, Oporto, 23 May 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 144; Francis, *Portugal, 1715–1808*, 151.

46 TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 82.

47 Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Lisbon, 9 June 1762, BL: Add MS. 23644, f. 14; TNA: PRO SP89/56, f. 177; fol. 208; Edward Cust, *Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century*, 3d ed. (London: John Murray, 1869), 3: 88. The Annual Register reported atrocities committed by the Portuguese against Spanish prisoners, which led to retaliations. *Annual Register of the Year 1762* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1763): 30.

48 Tyrawley to Egremont, Lisbon, 19 May 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/56, ff. 92–3.

commander-in-chief.[49] Disgusted with Oeyras and exhausted by his own failure he decided to resign.[50] When his appeals to Egremont's pity failed he began to condemn the Portuguese and Oeyras without discretion. He claimed the nobility was in the pay of the Spanish government and the Portuguese army was a bunch of "rabble."[51] He wanted nothing to do with them. Throughout June, Tyrawley languished, inactive and in pain, until relieved of his command on 17 July.[52] His second, Lieutenant General John Campbell, 4th Earl Loudoun, replaced him as British commander-in-chief. By mid-July the main expeditionary force (the 3rd, 67th, 75th, and 85th Regiments of Foot along with two Royal Artillery companies) arrived from Belle-Îsle.[53] The remainder, the 83rd and 91st regiments, along with a major portion of the 16th Light Dragoons had arrived in May under Major General George Townshend, 4th Viscount Townshend.[54] All told the British forces in Portugal numbered roughly 7,000 men. The problem for the new commander-in-chief, as it had been for his octogenarian predecessor, was that Portugal promised food, fodder, and supplies but could deliver very little. By the beginning of the rainy season most troops were still on half rations and succumbing to a multitude of illnesses and maladies. To make matters worse serious issues within his own officer corps nearly overwhelmed him.

British officers were allowed to receive commissions in the Portuguese army. They found that service fashionable and many possessed romantic

---

[49] John Campbell, 4th Earl Loudoun to Tyrawley, London, 18 May 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23635, f. 143. Craufurd thought Lippe a strange choice as he did not look like a general and treated his soldiers with more discretion than his officers. Craufurd to Townsend, Abrantes, 29 July 1762, George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/3, National Army Museum (NAM), Dept. of Archives, Photographs, Film and Sound, London. Martinho de Mello e Castro had offered Lippe the job on 30 April. Lippe to Martinho de Mello e Castro, Buckbourg, 8 May 1762, in *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe*, 3: 192–93.

[50] Loudoun to Egremont, Lisbon, 26 July 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/57, f. 10. Thomas Woods Knollis to Mary Knollis, On transport *Duke* off Belle-Isle/in the Tagus, 20 July 1762, 1M44/40/4, Knollis Family [Earls of Banbury] Papers, Hampshire Record Office (HANTS), Winchester, England.

[51] Extract of a Letter dated Lisbon, 17 Sept. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 35597, f. 196; Tyrawley to Egremont, Lisbon, 29 May 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 147.

[52] Thomas Woods Knollis to Mary Knollis, On transport *Duke* off Belle-Isle/in the Tagus, 20 July 1762, HANTS: Knollis Family Papers: 1M44/40/4.

[53] King George initially considered raising Dutch troops for the expeditionary force. Lord Bute to Edward Weston, London, 25 December 1761, Edward Weston Papers, vol. 5, f. 30, Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, CT.

[54] Townshend was re-assigned from Germany to Portugal because he and the allied commander-in-chief Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick detested one another. John Calcraft to Tyrawley, London, 30 March 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23635, f. 37.

notions of the great adventure that awaited them.[55] Initially, this policy was designed to satisfy Oeyras's want of experienced and able officers. He rightly feared the quality and loyalty of the fidalgos. The War Office instructed that British officers could take a Portuguese commission at King José's discretion so long as it did not promote them to the 'prejudice' of senior British officers in Portugal.[56] Thus, if a British colonel accepted a Portuguese commission of brigadier general, he could only do so if there were no other British colonels in Portugal with higher seniority. The fact that all colonels in Portugal received brevet commissions of brigadier general further complicated matters. Additionally, all officers at or below the rank of lieutenant colonel received a bump in rank while in Portugal along with double pay.[57] But violations of seniority quickly surfaced that threatened the unity of command within the expeditionary force.

Troubles initially emerged in June when several British officers sent Tyrawley an official complaint. They protested officers of lower brevet rank in the expeditionary force being given commissions of higher rank in the Portuguese service.[58] Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Sommerville of the 16th Light Dragoons appealed to Brevet Brigadier General John Burgoyne to intercede on his behalf. Burgoyne demanded Sommerville be immediately promoted[59] and later conveyed his personal displeasure for not having been promoted outright to colonel himself.[60] Little was done at the time as British operations began in earnest. More flagrant violations surfaced. Brigadier Generals Bigoe Armstrong and Hamilton Lambert along with Major Henry Lawes Lutterell, the Deputy Adjutant-general of the British staff, issued a formal complaint about flagrant seniority violations. Loudoun compiled a list and sent them to the War Office. There were many. Both Lord George Lennox and Simon Fraser, a well-known Jacobite,[61] had jumped over four seniors when they were commissioned

---

[55] Loudoun to Tyrawley, London, 20 April 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23635, f. 75.

[56] Charles Townshend, Sec. at War, to Loudoun, War Office, 12 June 1762, TNA: PRO WO 165, f. 605.

[57] Loudoun to William Wildman Barrington-Shute, 2nd Viscount Barrington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 27 April 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44068, f. 130.

[58] Henry Reddish, Henry St. John, Tonson William Hull, and William Dalrymple to Tyrawley, 22 June 1762, TNA: PRO WO 165, f. 677.

[59] John Burgoyne to Charles Townshend, Lisbon, 26 June 1762, TNA: PRO WO 165, f. 693.

[60] Burgoyne to Charles Townshend, Sardoval, 10 July 1762, TNA: PRO WO 165, f. 701. Burgoyne's crusade lasted into the fall until after his own success at Valencia d'Alcantara led to his official promotion. Charles Townshend to Egremont, War Office, 18 Oct. 1762, TNA: PRO SP 41/24.

[61] Duke of Richmond to George Lennox, Whitehall, 12 February 1757, BL: Loan 57, 105–06.

brigadier generals in the Portuguese army. Oblivious to his own circumstances Fraser bitterly complained about a former British Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clerk, who obtained a Portuguese brigadier general commission. More glaring was the promotion of Captain Hugh Beaty to major, which entailed jumping over 133 senior captains![62] Violations also encouraged officers to request promotions for vacant commissions out of fear that other less-senior officers might do the same. Loudoun became so swamped by requests for promotion and the sale of commissions that his official correspondence from February to April 1763 contained little else. Things went from the sublime to the absurd when Adjutant-general John Cosnan discovered that Loudoun had unwittingly awarded ensign commissions in the 91st Regiment to children ages two and six![63]

Loudoun deserves criticism for the irregular nature of promotion in Portugal. But his subsequent actions worsened the situation. New orders arrived from London that under no circumstance should an officer accept a Portuguese commission if it would give him authority over a senior British officer. To placate his brigadiers, however, Loudoun attempted to shift the blame onto the Allied commander-in-chief Lippe, which soured relations between the two men for the rest of the war. On 3 December, he accused Lippe of violating established British rules of promotion. Lippe responded that the king, not he, had authority over promotions; and furthermore the issue was trivial compared to the military operations of the war. He instructed Loudoun not to burden him with these claims.[64] Their feud erupted after the campaign was all but over, but it resurfaced at a delicate time when tenuous peace negotiations depended on vigilance in the field. In January, Loudoun pleaded for and received permission to recall the British detachments scattered across the Portuguese frontier. He sincerely worried for the health and safety of his men. But he also recalled the engineers working on fortifications at the key towns of Elvas, Castel

---

62 Loudoun to Charles Townshend, Portalegre, 11 Dec. 1762, TNA: PRO WO 165, ff. 777–96: Jeremy Black, "The British Expeditionary Force to Portugal in 1762," *Journal of the British Historical Society of Portugal* 16 (1989): 73.

63 John Cosnan to William Dalrymple, Palhaven, 15 March 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44082, f. 137; Dalrymple to Loudoun, f. 197; and "Return of Age of Ensigns in the 91st Regiment," f. 199. The fathers of John Savage, age 2, and George Tomkins, age 6, hoped to get a head start on their military careers and accumulate the "interest" on commissions that would only increase in value over time.

64 Loudoun to Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst, Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe, Portalegre, 3 Dec. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 177; Lippe to Loudoun, Monforte, 4 Dec. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 180.

d'Avide, and Campo Mayor. Lippe chastised him for exceeding the letter of his orders. As the war was not officially ended, the fortifications were essential if the Spanish decided to renew their advance. Loudoun, humiliated and sullen, chose to rebuke his superior for not addressing him as the British commander-in-chief in their correspondence![65] These problems, in themselves detrimental to army cohesion, should be understood as a symptom within a much larger crisis in the defense of Portugal. Loudoun, like Tyrawley before him, found provisioning his army a nearly impossible task. An army cannot fight on empty stomachs.

From the outset the British government believed that Portugal would furnish everything but the troops' pay. The expeditionary force lacked transports, but all mules and horses would be awaiting the contractors in Lisbon. By mid-April the terms of the "Common Cause" began to change. Loudoun learned that Portugal could provide neither the wheat nor corn forage for the troops and their steeds, but would bake the bread and transport it to the troops in the field as well as provide straw and wood for the army. He raised the wheat shipment at Lynn, but due to the winds it could not leave for Lisbon as planned.[66] By the time Loudoun arrived in Lisbon Oeyras had changed the terms again. He sent word to Lippe that Portugal could supply only the wood for the bakery ovens and the straw for the cavalry.[67] This precipitated Loudoun's wrath as he reiterated the agreement that all straw and all wood would be provided from Portuguese stores.[68] For the next four weeks Oeyras and Loudoun engaged in intense negotiation over supply responsibility, while John Calcraft, the army's chief contractor, worked tirelessly in London to accrue necessary resources from Bute and the War Office.[69] This proved ruinous since delays in wheat shipments led to the rotting of the grain: it was full of weevils and other

---

[65] Lippe to Loudoun, Villa Vicosa, 12 Jan. 1763, BL: Add. MS. 44067, ff. 234–35; Loudoun to Lippe, Lisbon, 23 Jan. 1763, BL: Add. MS. 44067, ff. 241–2. Lippe left Portugal on 18 March with only a passing notice to Loudoun that he was going. Compare this to Lippe's relationship with George Townsend. Upon returning to England Lippe wished him "Health, Happyness, Satisfaction and a good Passage." Lippe to Townsend, Mansato, 11 December 1762, NAM: George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/6.

[66] Loudoun to Tyrawley, London, 16 March 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23635, f. 30; same to same, London, 30 March 1762, fol. 40; same to same, London, 13 April 1762, f. 63; and same to same, London, 9 May 1762, f. 126.

[67] Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Conde de Oeyras to Lippe, Palace, 14 July 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 9.

[68] Loudoun to Lippe, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 11.

[69] Loudoun and Calcraft's correspondence to this effect is found in LO 52 Box 52 (2), Loudoun Papers (Scottish), HL.

vermin by the time it reached Belle-Îsle in early July.[70] A new agreement called for the British to make bread with their own grain and provide their own straw. The Portuguese would transport the food and provide all necessary firewood and forage for the cavalry.[71] More logistical strains emerged. Colonel James Pattison, commander of the two companies of Royal Artillery in Portugal, informed Lippe the gun carriages and transport equipment arriving from Belle-Îsle were "much out of repair."[72] This forced Loudoun to issue stringent orders to leave behind unnecessary baggage and regimental wives.[73] All officers had to warehouse their baggage for the duration of the campaign due to lack of transport and unknown road conditions. Furthermore, forage, a scarce commodity, could be obtained only through the Quartermaster-general O'Hara or his staff.[74] Oeyras promised more than he could deliver in a reasonable amount of time. By mid-August Loudoun and Pattison repeatedly petitioned Lippe for food, forage, or mules.[75] Oeyras, he complained, was terrible to deal with and that he would get "no quiet 'till it is finished."[76] Food increasingly became scarce. Lambert sent word to Townsend that his regiment required 1,000 loaves/day, but had only 300.[77] As late as November, when operations had ceased Lord Lennox complained he could provide only half-rations to his men.[78] Lippe explained that he too had similar difficulties and that they simply had to try to solve the problems as best as they could.[79]

---

[70] Hamilton Lambert to Loudoun, Belle-Isle, 3 July 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44070, f. 25. By September the British were looking to purchase corn from Algiers in order to feed the troops. Hay to Loudoun, Lisbon, 5 Sept. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44072, f. 92.

[71] Oeyras to Loudoun, Belém, 25 July 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/57, ff. 35–36; Same to same, Lisbon, 1 Aug. 1762, ff. 66–67.

[72] Pattison to Lippe, Lisbon, 24 July 1762, RA 57/2/10, James Pattison Correspondence and Papers, James Clavell Library, Firepower: The Royal Artillery Museum, London (hereafter Firepower).

[73] The numerous officers who volunteered for Portugal brought their wives. See, Horace Walpole to Montagu, 14 May 1762, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu,* pt. 3, eds. W.S. Lewis and Ralph S. Brown, Jr., *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), 10: 29.

[74] Loudoun's Orderly Book, Lisbon, 17 July 62, 18 July 1762, 6 Aug. 1762, Miranda de Corvo, 6 Sept. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44064.

[75] Loudoun to General Cornwallis, Lisbon, 13 August 1762, HL: Loudoun Papers (Scottish) LO 10721; Pattison to Lippe, Lisbon, 20 August 1762, RA 57/2/16-17, Firepower.

[76] Loudoun to Lippe, Lisbon, 9 August 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, fol. 29; same to same, Lisbon, 15 Aug. 1762, f. 31; same to same, 24 Aug. 1762, fol. 41.

[77] Lambert to Townsend, Ponte de Marcello, 31 August 1762, NAM: George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/4.

[78] Lennox to Townsend, Salvaterra, 10 November 1762, NAM: George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/5.

[79] Lippe to Loudoun, Abrantes, 19 Aug. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 39.

For Loudoun this meant pressing Oeyras on all fronts. He complained that he could not take the field due to lack of provisions. Furthermore he explained that their agreement was not being fulfilled and that Oeyras should do more to make sure the Portuguese provided the necessary supplies. Oeyras pleaded Loudoun understand "we have little here." Loudoun compounded his insult by abandoning French and writing in English, a language Oeyras could not read.[80] He then found a convenient scapegoat in his commissary William Warde, whom he blamed for not transporting the bread in a timely manner, and duly fired.[81]

As Loudoun began to confront the realities of Portugal, Lippe took over as commander-in-chief of allied forces.[82] He wisely adopted Tyrawley's "Family" and immediately developed his plan of operations.[83] John Crauford began to organize a Portuguese 'Company of Guides.'[84] Rainsford surveyed the frontier and reported that the peasants near the key town of Villa Velha could be used against the advancing Spanish if well armed and properly led.[85] From this and O'Hara's earlier foray Lippe devised a forward cordon defense strategy to block the expected Spanish advance

---

[80] Loudoun to Oeyras, Lisbon, 14 Aug. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44071, f. 123; same to same, Lisbon, 16 Aug. 1762, f. 131; and Oeyras to Loudoun, Belém, 17 Aug. 1762, f. 146.

[81] Loudoun to Hay, Palhaven, 20 Aug. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44071, f. 188. He accused Warde of "indolence and pursuit of his pleasure." Hay persuaded Loudoun to re-employ Warde since they desperately needed a commissary, even if incompetent.

[82] The difference between he and Tyrawley was stark. Lippe was relieved to find the state of affairs in better shape than expected. Lippe to William Petty, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, Pedrouços near Belém, 10 July 1762, *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe*, 3: 198–99; Lippe to Bute, Pedrouços, 10 July 1762, 3: 199.

[83] Lippe was considered the greatest artillery officer of the era, and won acclaim in the defense of western Germany prior to 1762. The chief works on Lippe include, Hans H. Klein, *Wilhelm zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Klassiker der Abschreckungstheorie und Lehrer Scharnhorsts* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1982), Christa Banaschik-Ehl, *Scharnhorsts Lehrer, Graf Wilhelm von Schaumburg-Lippe, in Portugal: Die Heeresreform, 1761–1777* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1974); Rudolf Müller, "Graf Wilhelm von Schaumburge-Lippe in Portugal," *Wehrwissenschaftlichen Rundschau* (April 1963): 230–38; and, Ernesto Augusto Pereira Sales, *O Conde Lippe em Portugal* (Vila Nova de Famalicão: G. Pinto de Sousa & irmão, 1936). There is a general lack of appreciation and knowledge in the English-speaking world of this important figure.

[84] "Scheme Propos'd for the Forming a Company of Guides, Abrantes, 5 May 1762," AHM/DIV/1/08/4/02/m0001-0013.

[85] Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Lisbon, 8 July 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23644, f. 16; Lippe to Rainsford, 13 July 1762, f. 17–18; Rainsford to Lippe, Castel Branco, 25 July 1762, f. 19–21; Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Abrantes, 6 August 1762, f. 22. His survey had been published as, "Remarques Topographiques et Militaires sur les Provinces de la Basse Beira et de l'Alentejo d'aprés la Reconnaissance Faite dans la Campagne de 1762 par ordre du Comte Règnent de Schaumbourg Lippe, Maréchal Genèral des Armées Combinnées de Portugal et d'Angleterre dans la Campagne de 1762 por Colonel Rainsford," *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar* 41 (1971): 85–89.

towards Lisbon via the Alemtejo region.[86] Outnumbered, he planned to attack where opportunities arose and to harass the Spanish on the flanks and rear, while avoiding a general engagement against superior forces.

With allied logistics in shambles, the Spanish recommenced the campaign in August after two months of delay: a delay that cost Sarriá his command. A column of 8,000 men under Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, conde d'Aranda,[87] the new commander-in-chief, invaded the province of Beira at the villages of Val de Mula and Val de Cunha. It united with Sarriá's bruised northern force and laid siege to Almeida. Two regular infantry and three militia regiments defended the place against 24,000 Spanish and 8,000 French under the Comte de Beauvais. Its hexagonal fortifications afforded good protection, and it was believed it could hold out for some time.[88] Preoccupied with his own position, Lippe sent detachments forward to hinder any progress across the Douro toward Abrantes, his headquarters and the "key" to a descent on Lisbon. No relief came for the besieged Portuguese at Almeida, who lost heart, and surrendered on 25 August (Alexander Palhares, the governor, would later be arrested and confined in Coimbra due to his alleged dereliction).[89] This unexpected blow compelled Lippe's main force to retreat. The Spanish now controlled the province of Beira, the important town of Castel Branco and the St. Simon Pass situated near the Tagus River.

The loss of Almeida nearly upset Lippe's ambitious plan to invade Spain. Pressured by King José to go on the offensive, Lippe designed an excursion to cut off the besieging army at Almeida from its base at Badajoz. To that effect he sent a small force under Burgoyne consisting of the 16th Light Dragoons and seventeen companies of grenadiers to seize the border town of Valencia d'Alcántara. Almeida's capitulation upset Lippe's plan; but a commando-style attack on the border town went forward. On the morning of 27 August Burgoyne led a three-pronged assault 'sword in hand' against the Spanish occupants. Burgoyne's light dragoons and Lieutenant Colonel Viscount William Pulteney's grenadiers distinguished themselves in the engagement, one of the few direct clashes of the war. As

---

[86] "Plan of defense proposed to the Kingdom of Portugal, Lisbon, 5 May 1762, BL: Add MS. 23635, ff. 51–57.

[87] Aranda, an Aragonese noble, was considered cosmopolitan and enlightened, and served as Grandmaster of the Spanish Freemasons. Bergamini, *The Spanish Bourbons*, 90.

[88] Lippe, "Mémoire de la Campagne de Portugal en 1762," *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe*, 2: 35.

[89] The Spanish batteries were at least 700 yards from the town when it surrendered. It was generally believed had it put up a fight the Spanish would not have taken it. Letter XIV, Porto, 1778, in Costigan, *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal*, 272.

enemy fire poured forth from the town's windows Burgoyne ordered no quarter and warned the local priests he would torch everything and everyone if all doors and windows were not opened immediately. The town complied. Burgoyne lost five killed and twenty one wounded.[90] His forces rounded up many prisoners, standards, and supplies. He even took hostages to insure the safe delivery of his wounded men and demanded a year's king's revenue for sparing the town's convents. More importantly this action disrupted the concentration of the third Spanish column that was to launch itself from Valencia into the Alemtejo, and therefore stalled the threat of a general engagement that Lippe so feared.[91]

From Castel Branco, Aranda decided to cross the Tagus at the village of Vila Velha in late September in order to force Lippe into that general engagement. Indeed, Rainsford confessed to his father that Lippe had "a difficult game to play."[92] He dispatched Burgoyne and Lourenço António de Sousa da Silva e Meneses, conde de Santiago de Beduído, to thwart the operation. Aranda advanced and repulsed Santiago at the pass of Alvite, therefore securing Vila Velha. Burgoyne thereafter unleashed Colonel Charles Lee of the Volunteer Hunters (103rd Regiment) in a surprise joint night attack at Vila Velha on 6 October. The Spanish occupied two small hills near the Morrish castle. Lee, with one hundred grenadiers and fifty light dragoons, forded the Tagus and took the Spanish off-guard at 2 am. The grenadiers and Royal Volunteers, bayonets fixed, attacked without firing a shot.[93] A Spanish general died trying to rally his troops. By daybreak the Spanish lay slain or captured. Lee's men spiked four cannon, destroyed some magazines, and captured sixty mules and nineteen enemy soldiers in what Loudoun proclaimed a "very gallant action."[94]

---

[90] "Successo de Valenço d'Alcantara," AHM/DIV/1/07/3/10/m0001; Lippe to Egremont, Nisa, 30 August 1762 (no, 250), *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe,* 3: 205; TNA: PRO SP 89/57, ff. 144–48; George Grenville to Edward Weston, Windsor, 22 September 1762, Edward Weston Papers, vol. 6, f. 49, Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, CT.

[91] Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, *Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century Derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1876), 39–45.

[92] Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Elvas, 5 October 1762, BL: Add MS. 23644, ff. 53–55.

[93] Cust, *Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth* Century, 3: 90; TNA: PRO SP 89/57, ff. 189–95.

[94] Lippe publicly thanked Lee for his victory and gave him a colonel's commission in the Portuguese army. Jared Sparks, "Life of Charles Lee, Major-General in the Army of the Revolution," in *Collections of the New York Historical Society* 7 (1874): 212–13; John Richard Alden, *General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot?* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 20–23.

Even though Aranda planned an imminent advance on Lippe's camp at Abrantes, the fall rains made large-scale maneuvers nearly impossible as rivers swelled and roads became either impassable or unrecognizable. By November the Bourbon army began withdrawing back into Spain via Valencia, even though rearguard detachments harassed the advancing allied units.[95] Lippe, ever vigilant, feared one last Spanish push, so he pressed Bute for more troops.[96] The Spanish obliged and attempted a breakthrough into Alemtejo, but to no effect. The army of Charles III was in a "most ruinous shattered condition."[97] With peace preliminaries signed at Fountainebleau, on 24 November all hostilities ceased. Lippe welcomed the respite.[98] His forces were stretched thin. With his HQ at Montforte and the bulk of Loudoun's British troops at Portalegre, the allies formed a 'chain' on the frontier from Castel de Vide to Elvas.[99] In early December, Aranda arranged a truce with Lippe, which required either side to give the other six days advance notice before resuming hostilities.[100] By January 1763, the Spanish troops had retired to Spain as British detachments closely followed them to the frontier.[101]

The war in Portugal came at a high price. Both the British and Spanish leaders failed to appreciate that it lay impoverished and could barely supply its own forces.[102] Their respective expeditionary forces subsisted on the bare minimum in horrid conditions. British casualties were light overall—there were fourteen combat deaths compared to 804 from other means—but they left a bitter taste. As early as July Major Gore, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Mecklenburg, declared "at present Lucifer's legions

---

95 Capt. Browne to Rainsford, Marvaõ, 9 November 1762, BL: Add MS. 23644, f. 73.

96 Lippe to Bute, Nisa, 6 November 1762 (no. 257), *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe* 3: 212.

97 SP 98/57, f. 236; John Hamilton to Townsend, Alpedrinha, 24 October 1762, NAM: George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/9.

98 He feared if the campaign ensued the Spanish would be in Lisbon by spring. Lippe to Shelburne, Portalegre, 18 November 1762 (no. 260), *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe*, 3: 215.

99 Pattison to Ligonier, 22 November 1762, Grato, RA 57/2/40, Pattison Papers, Firepower.

100 "Orders Regarding a truce arranged with the Count de Aranda, C-in-C, Spanish army, Portalegre, 2 December 1762," Firepower: MD 910, no. 435; Lippe, "Mémoire de la Campagne de Portugal en 1762," *Wilhelm Graf zu Schaumburg-Lippe: Schriften und Briefe*, 2: 56.

101 Captain John Fenton of the Buffs led a detachment that overtook the Spanish rearguard, whereupon he captured 200 goats and seized control of the Portuguese border town of Salvaterra. John Fenton to John Cosnan, Castel Branco, 1 January 1763, NAM: George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/10.

102 Hay to Egremont, Lisbon, 4 Sept. 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/57, f. 149.

could scarce keep the field."[103] Apparent heat stroke plagued the soldiers on the march as many collapsed alongside roads. Regimental surgeons did all they could, including bleeding and giving volatile spirits to the fatigued, but those cures were no doubt worse than the heat stroke itself. In late July, Lieutenant Thomas Woods Knollis of the 3rd Regiment, or "Buffs," reported that on the march ten men, three children and one woman fell dead by heat and fatigue and lay in the hedges and on the road, while another eighteen went missing.[104] According to Major John Biddulph so many men fell sick on the march the regiment ran out of men to attend to them.[105] The fortunate survivors were then sent to the military hospital in Lisbon. Many were later discharged and sent back to London as they suffered from 'dropsy,' 'atrophy,' and the 'fits.'[106] The Buffs and the Irish regiments at Santarem suffered from sickness and a general lack of supplies and medical care throughout the summer.[107]

That the British regiments were fed and supplied at all should be credited to Loudoun and his Deputy Quartermaster-general Joseph Joshua Allen, 5th Viscount Allen (Irish). The latter scouted ahead of the army and procured forage and supplies from the Portuguese people throughout the fall and winter.[108] All told they delivered 786,000 rations of bread to the soldiers and over four million pounds of hay and straw to the horses and mules.[109] But that was not enough to feed both man and beast. Scarcity and expense forced most soldiers on a subsistence diet. Pack animals starved as winter approached. In Lisbon, the wives and children of the expeditionary force's officers began to beg in the streets for food to

---

[103] Maj. Gore to Henry Erskine, Tanqueira by Belém, 23 July 1762, BL: Add. MS. 38199, f. 77.

[104] Thomas Woods-Knollis to Mary Knollis, Pombalo, 28 July 1762, HANTS: Knollis Family Papers, 1M44/40/5.

[105] Peter Bernard, Surgeon, 3rd Regiment, to Lord Loudoun, Asinhage, 31 July 1762, 1/55, Loudoun Papers (Medical) British Expedition to Portugal, 1762–1763, The Hunter-Ballie Collection, Royal College of Surgeons Library (RCS), London; Major Biddulph to Loudon, Aviniaga, 31 July 1762, 1/56.

[106] "Return of the men in the British Hospital at Lisbon," RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 1/73.

[107] George Townshend to Loudoun, Santarem, 30 July 1762, NAM: George Townsend MSS 9504-108/1; William Young, Director of the British hospital, reported 694 sick in September, with 25 deaths in the past twelve days. He considered this "Distemper in general are not very bad." An Account of the Sick in the Hospital at Santarem, 8 September 1762, RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 1: 89.

[108] Joséph Joshua Allen, 5th Viscount Allen to Loudoun, Punhete, 10 Aug. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44071, f. 81. This was an especially difficult task as he did not speak Portuguese.

[109] BL: Add. MS. 44083, f. 64.

the embarrassment of the high command.[110] Knollis wrote his wife that he had lost much weight and his horses would probably die from lack of forage.[111] As the weather turned stormy and the heavy rains fell on the encampments, malnourishment no doubt compounded the misery of pestilence and disease. Sickness, referred to as either fever or the flux, ravaged the men and accounts for nearly all eight hundred deaths incurred by the British.[112] The Buffs, along with the 75th Regiment, was especially hard hit with one in four men dying from disease. The 3rd succumbed to illness by the end of August and increasingly felt the debilitating effects of various afflictions that probably included dysentery.[113] The march from Abrantes to Miranda de Corvo is instructive as to the severe operational strains sickness placed on the expeditionary force. The 3rd left Abrantes (along with the 75th, 83rd and 91st regiments) on 2 September with 509 fit for service and 222 sick. It reached Thomar the next day with only 307 fit and 316 sick. When the entire force reached the camp at Cabaocos it numbered but 1,101 out of the original 3,500. By the time it arrived at Miranda de Corvo it numbered but 737. The rest had been left behind at various posts and were forced to catch up when capable of doing so. On 7 September, Loudoun could report that he had 1,159 fit but 863 sick.[114] Many others, both officers and men, petitioned superiors for a return home to England.[115] Dr. William Cadogan in graphic terms detailed his own stomach and bowel problems in order to secure leave

---

[110] "Lieutenant General Townsend's Orders, 30 June 1762," HL: Loudoun Papers (Scottish) LO 10250.

[111] Thomas Woods Knollis to Mary Knollis, St. Domingo Camp, 25 Oct. 1762, HANTS: Knollis Family of Papers, 1M44/40/12; Same to same, Attalaya, 30 Jan. 1763, 1M44/41/3. Many officers brought their wives to Portugal, but Mary Knollis was pregnant and remained in England.

[112] Return of the Sick of the 83rd regiment, Abrantes Camp, 1 Sept. 1762, RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 1: 82.

[113] Thomas Woods Knollis to Mary Knollis, Punhette Camp, 20 Aug. 1762, HANTS: Knollis Family Papers, 1M44/40/7.

[114] Morning Reports, Abrantes, 2 Sept. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44072, f. 64; Thomar 3 Sept. 1762, f. 71; Cabaocos, 4 Sept. 1762, f. 87; Miranda de Corvo, 5 Sept., 6 Sept., 7 Sept. 1762, ff. 106, 129.

[115] Lt. Carmichael of the Buffs suffered from "consumption" and applied for return as he believed "his native air will be of service to him." Michael Morris to Loudon, Santarem, 23 September 1762, RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 1: 104. Loudoun consented, but Carmichael died at Santarem on 24 October. Biddulph to Loudoun, Camp of St. Domingo, 25 October 1762, 2: 146. Discharges only encouraged more applicants. In October Lt. Alexander Paterson of the Buffs asked for a return to English air to help his "violent cough and other complaints." Michael Morris to Loudoun, Santarem, 14 October 1762, 2: 124.

for England.[116] Such a haggard force could hardly be expected to wage an effective campaign.

In October the beleaguered British troops faced smallpox outbreaks along marching routes near the camps of Carvalhal and Couta. Loudoun warned Lambert's regiment to steer clear because many of its soldiers lacked immunity.[117] His own forces suffered greatly from fever and pestilence in any case. Nearly 850 lay in hospital in Santarem with nearly thirty-three dying between 30 September and 9 October.[118] To Lippe he exclaimed that his "men continue to fall down in camp" while outposts sent word that sickness and starvation plagued them.[119] Charles Rainsford reported from Elvas that everyone there seemed to be effected by the "Ague."[120] John Hunter, a volunteer surgeon, pressed Loudoun to establish a temporary or "flying" hospital at Maçoa because so many had fallen sick due to fatigue and lack of provisions.[121] Other high-ranking officers succumbed to various afflictions. Cadwallader Blayney, 9th Baron Blayney (Irish) suffered from fever and repeatedly asked Loudoun for permission to return to England.[122] King George's brother-in-law, Duke Charles Louis Frederick of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, lingered with a fever and "disorders of the bowels" the entire campaign.[123] The highly regarded Viscount Pulteney of the Royal Volunteers escaped disease in Portugal but later succumbed to fever in Madrid in February 1763.[124] November through January proved to be the most deadly period as nearly 400 soldiers died from sickness (about half of all deaths). In particular, Santarem averaged thirty dead per week,

---

[116] William Cadogan to Loudoun, Lisbon, 21 Oct. 1762, RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 2: 137. Loudoun gave his leave and placed John Hunter as his replacement in the hospital in Lisbon. Loudoun to Cadogan, St. Domingos, 28 Oct. 1762, 2: 154; John Hunter to Loudoun, St. Domingo, 28 Oct. 1762, 2: 153.

[117] Loudoun to Lippe, St. Domingos, 28 Oct. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 106; Same to same, St. Domingos, 29 Oct. 1762, f. 110.

[118] "An Account of the Sick in the Hospital at Santarem between 30 Sept. and 9 Oct. 1762," RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 2: 118.

[119] Loudoun to Lippe, St. Domingo, 30 Oct. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 112. William Pulteney, Viscount Pulteney to Loudoun, Nisa, 20 Oct. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44073, f. 87.

[120] Charles Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Elvas, 5 Oct, 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23644, f. 54.

[121] John Hunter to Loudoun, Maçoas, 7 Oct. 1762, RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 2: 114. See, Fenwick Beekman, "John Hunter in Portugal (Two Letters Written by Him, Recently Discovered,)" *Annals of Medical History*, new ser. 7, no. 4 (1936): 288–96; and, George E. Gask, "John Hunter in the Campaign in Portugal, 1762–63," *British Journal of Surgery* 24, no. 96 (1937): 640–68.

[122] John Howells to Loudoun, Abrantes, 29 Oct. 1762, RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 2: 155; Cadwallader Blayney, 9th Baron Blayney (Irish) to Loudoun, Santarem, 4 Nov. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44074, f. 183.

[123] Hay to Egremont, Lisbon, 9 Nov. 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/57, f. 240.

[124] Charles O'Hara to Loudoun, Villa Vicosa, 25 Feb. 1763, BL: Add. MS. 44081, f. 103.

no doubt complicated by lack of stores and money for the hospital.[125] A shortage of surgeons compounded the problems.[126] Loudoun informed Egremont that the troops fell down very fast from a "malignant fever" that raged there and at Portalegre and Abrantes.[127]

The British could take some comfort that the Spanish suffered even more. Sickness had ravaged the Bourbon army in October leaving it in "a most ruinous and shattered condition."[128] A reported 4,000 Spanish troops died in the hospital at Bragança, and it was estimated that of the 40,000 who invaded Portugal in May 1762 only 25,000 returned the following spring. In September, 3,000 French soldiers lay sick at Salamanca.[129] Bourbon casualties mounted because the Portuguese peasantry waged a relentless war of revenge against deserters and retreating soldiers whom they captured and massacred in large numbers.[130] In reprisal, the Spanish forcibly seized supplies from villages and torched those who offered resistance. The frontier filled with Spanish deserters eager to be captured by the British and offer information.

Another serious problem, Anglo-Portuguese tension, plagued the campaign. British officers generally displayed acrimony toward their Portuguese counterparts. Loudoun often disparaged the Portuguese army and its leadership. He confided to Egremont that "success in the War here must depend upon the British troops entirely,"[131] and requested additional regiments if the campaign resumed in 1763. But he was not alone in his contemptuous attitude. Knollis was pessimistic about allied relations. The English had to be on their guard against these "treacherous people," as he doubted the two would get along.[132] His fears were soon realized after a march to Pombalo, which convinced him that they "hate us greatly and shew us but little civility." The Portuguese had shot to death two sentries from the Irish regiments.[133] Portuguese suspicion and dislike of foreigners

---

[125] William Young to Cosnan, Santarem, 6 Nov.1762, RCS: Loudoun Papers (Medical), 2: 166.

[126] Loudoun to Townsend, Sandoal, 5 Nov. 1762, HL: Loudoun Papers (Scottish) LO Box 52 (1).

[127] Loudoun to Egremont, Portalegre, 11 Dec. 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/57, ff. 279–80.

[128] William Hull to Loudoun, Cordegos, 28 Oct. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44074, f. 107; Hay to Egremont, Lisbon, 8 Nov. 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/57, f. 236.

[129] Carey to Townsend, Villa Real, 19 Sept. 1762, NAM: George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/2.

[130] Dumouriez, *An Account of Portugal as it Appeared in 1766*, 18, 254.

[131] Loudoun to Egremont, Portalegre, 28 Nov. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44077, f. 50.

[132] Thomas Woods Knollis to Mary Knollis, On board *Duke of York* transport in the Tagus, 20 July 1762, HANTS: Knollis Family Papers, 1M44/40/4.

[133] Thomas Woods Knollis to Mary Knollis, Pombalo, 28 July 1762, HANTS: 1M44/40/5.

was a well-known stereotype, but soldiers in the two Irish regiments were especially despised, though the Portuguese disliked the British less than they hated the marauding Spanish.[134]

The language barrier, in particular, was a root cause of this tension. Few if any British officers spoke Portuguese. Tyrawley, his son, and Rainsford comprised nearly the entire translation corps.[135] Captain Peter Preston became Portuguese Adjutant-general merely because he spoke both Spanish and Portuguese.[136] Lippe appointed Rainsford his second in command in part so he could communicate with the *Fidalgo* officers. Crawfurd, assigned against his will to the Portuguese staff, complained that the nobles simply ignored anyone who spoke in a foreign tongue.[137] Lippe was so vexed by their propensity to reject foreign leadership that he made an example out of Lieutenant General Don Rodrigo de Naranha by throwing him in prison for impertinence.[138] The young Viscount Pulteney caned a Portuguese general who joined his men in plundering the Spanish camp at Valencia d'Alcantara while nearby British forces engaged the enemy.[139]

Sectarian religious attitudes may have factored into the bad feelings. Recognizing potential problems, King George had sent one all-Catholic battalion into the Irish regiments.[140] But Knollis considered the Portuguese "too bigoted to their superstitions of their religion to be fit for anything;" especially having witnessed a 2 am Christmas service complete with a figure of the baby Jesus made of wax.[141] Many British disdained Portugal's Counter-Reformation era Catholicism. Well before the war Sir Charles Henry Frankland warned that the Jesuits would not support King José or the secularist Oeyras since he had recently persecuted them.[142] Earlier the Vatican had publicly exhorted the Spanish people to eat meat during Lent so flour and grain supplies could be gathered and sent to the

---

134 Dumouriez, *An Account of Portugal*, 155, 245; Sir Charles Henry Frankland, Diary, 20 July 1763, Boston, Massachusetts, Massachusetts Historical Society.

135 Rainsford set to learn the language once he arrived in March, and could now speak Portuguese "tolerably." Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Lisbon, 13 April 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23644, f. 7.

136 Tyrawley to Charles Townshend, Lisbon, 22 June 1762, TNA: PRO WO 165, f. 673.

137 Hay to Egremont, Lisbon, 26 June 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/56, f. 209; Charles Rainsford to Francis Rainsford, Lisbon, 29 June 1762, BL: Add. MS. 23644, f. 15.

138 Hay to Egremont, Lisbon, 8 Nov. 1762, TNA: PRO SP 89/57, f. 239.

139 Extract of a Letter dated Lisbon 17 Sept., 1762, BL: Add. MS. 35597, f. 197.

140 Lawrence Gipson, *The Culmination, 1760–1763,* vol. 8 of *The Great War for Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 258–59.

141 Thomas Woods Knollis to Mary Knollis, Portalegre, 29 Dec. 1762, HANTS: 1M44/40/18.

142 Sir Charles Henry Frankland to Egremont, 5 Jan. 1762, Lisbon, TNA: PRO SP 89/55, ff. 1–2.

army.[143] Clearly the 'Papists' would be a threat. Many British officers distrusted their Catholic hosts and accused them of hiding provisions from the famished allied army. Colonel Pattison of the Royal Artillery accused the Jesuits of withholding their best mules. "I am afraid," he wrote Maj. Forbes MacBean, "I shall not have the satisfaction of hanging a Portuguese priest."[144] For their part the Portuguese did not hide their contempt for Protestants. An official complaint was lodged against Captain Wager Russell of the 83rd Regiment for conduct unbecoming an officer after a Portuguese regiment condemned the English as "devils."[145] Whether or not such animosity depended on the harsh conditions is debatable, but compared to the enlisted soldiers the officers' aforementioned contempt of their Portuguese allies appears remarkably restrained.

The ill will between the British rank-and-file and the Portuguese resulted in a sporadic, but widespread, breakdown of discipline and eruption of violence. By mid-July Loudoun lamented upon "the greatest irregularities committed in the upper country by one of the regiments there."[146] Desertion often preceded the cycle of violence. Nearly 120 soldiers, largely from the heavily 'draughted' Irish regiments (83rd & 91st), deserted during the campaign.[147] Court-martial proceedings reveal their motives. Most deserters were searching for food, wine or forage for their horses.[148] Such marauding did nothing to ingratiate the allies and Loudoun took great pains to keep control of his unruly soldiery. He restricted them to within one mile of their camp. When that order failed to stem the tide of pillaging, he set up guards to protect the Portuguese villages.[149] This only refocused the abuses. Many indulged in Portuguese wine at the allied

---

[143] Horace Mann to Horace Walpole, Florence, 6 Feb. 1762, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann,* pt. 6, eds. W.S. Lewis, Warren Hunting Smith, and George L. Lam, *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 22: 5.

[144] James Pattison to Forbes MacBean, Punhette Camp, 20 Oct. 1762, Firepower: RA 57/2/36.

[145] Wager Russell to Loudoun, Sardoval Camp, 28 Sept. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44073, f. 231.

[146] Loudoun to Townsend, Lisbon, 19 July 1762, HL: *Loudoun Papers* (Scottish) LO Box 52 (1).

[147] "Draught" in this sense meant that volunteers (850 from twenty-one regiments) filled the depleted expeditionary units. Upon examination many were ill or physically disabled. The obvious complications plagued Loudoun throughout the campaign. Loudoun to Lord Barrington, War Office, 27 April 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44068, f. 128; Loudoun to Townshend, London, 8 May 1762, NAM: Townshend MSS 6806-41/6/7. See Alan J. Guy, "Drafts for Portugal, 1762: Recruiting for Rank at the End of the Seven Years' War," *National Army Museum Annual Report* (1977–78): 29–34.

[148] Loudoun's Orderly Book is replete with examples of this kind, which were punished with the lash and on some occasions with death. See, BL: Add. MS. 44064.

[149] Loudoun's Orderly Book, Sept. 1762 [various dates], BL: Add. MS. 44064, ff. 31–41.

headquarters in Abrantes and even pillaged their own supply wagons and commissaries. Loudoun offered monetary rewards for information about criminal activities, which he lamented as the "shame of the army and the nation to which they belong."[150] By mid-November, he ordered public hangings to punish all marauding and robbing of the people.[151] No doubt the paucity of provisions contributed to this behavior. For instance, John Nichols was arrested and confined in Lisbon for stealing and selling cartridges as well as his uniform.[152]

The Portuguese often responded to these injuries, real and perceived, with reprisals. An uprising against the British expeditionary force occurred at Santarem in early July. Portuguese authorities accused the Irish regiments of quartering themselves forcibly in private houses, disorderly conduct, and assaults upon married women and their daughters.[153] Crawfurd investigated the disturbance and concluded the catalyst was the local Justice of the Peace's failure to provide quarters in the Jesuit College and local convents as instructed.[154] Santarem increasingly became an unsafe place for British soldiers. In early December several soldiers from the 91st Regiment were stabbed to death. An unfortunate corporal fell from a halberd blow to the stomach just outside the city after he coming across a Portuguese recruiting party. Another soldier from the 75th Regiment was accosted, thrown into the dirt and then stabbed in the back with a broadsword by a disgruntled resident just after Christmas. Another was beaten senseless outside the city and never recovered from his wounds.[155] Rumors spread in February of inebriated British soldiers searching the town for Portuguese women, though nothing of the sort was substantiated.[156]

Portuguese resistance, not confined to Santarem, spread throughout the country in response perceived depredations by British forces.

---

150 Loudoun's Orderly Book, Cardogas, 4 Oct. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44064, f. 57.

151 "19 November 1762," in General and regimental Order Book, Portugal, 1762–63, Firepower: RA 40.

152 "Report of the Hospital Guard at Lisbon," 19 Sept. 1762, RCS: Loudon Papers (Medical), 1: 96.

153 Manuel Ignacio de Mello to Don Rodrigo de Naranha, Santarem, 15 July 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44070, f. 141.

154 Crawfurd to Loudoun, Abrantes, 30 July 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44070, f. 232; George Townsend to Loudoun, Santarem, 21 July 1762, HL: Loudoun Papers (Scottish) LO 10248; Townsend to Loudoun, 3 August 1762, LO 10249.

155 Thomas McManus to Loudoun, Santarem, 6 Dec. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44077, f. 184; Bigoe Armstrong to John Cosnan, Santarem, 25 Dec. 1762, Add. MS. 44078, f. 147; and Armstrong to Loudoun, Santarem, 1 Jan. 1763, Add. MS. 44079, f. 1.

156 Armstrong to Loudoun, Santarem, 14 Feb. 1763, BL: Add. MS. 44080, f. 200; Robert Hind to Loudoun, Golgõa, 27 Jan. 1763, f. 29.

At Aviniaga, a "Black" peasant threatened a group of soldiers because he believed they were there to plunder food.[157] In Portalegre, soldiers committed "several irregularities…forcing into houses, and terrifying the inhabitants as well as using them ill."[158] This had been preceded by several attacks on the expeditionary forces, including the murder of a miner in Abrantes and four Royal Volunteers at Pavão.[159] These acts in turn were possible reprisals for an English attack on a local woman and a general uprising in Miranda. At this town, a group of soldiers had attacked and killed a shepherd and took his sheep. The townspeople assembled armed with clubs and firearms. After the reprisal one Portuguese resident lay dead.[160]

Faced with these conditions, most British soldiers simply wanted to return home. In November fifty soldiers in the 75th Regiment demanded they be discharged to England because their tenure of service had expired.[161] Loudoun rejected all such requests as they were in the middle of the campaign, but it was clear that much of the expeditionary force had no desire to remain in Portugal. "Irregularities" as Loudoun referred to them continued unabated throughout the spring of 1763 until nearly the day of embarkation: for instance Oeyras sent him an official complaint that a British lieutenant colonel had tried to carry off a Nun from Santarem.[162] That the allies cooperated to the extent that they did is a testament to the professionalism and dedication of Loudoun's lieutenants. Caught between the Spaniards, who torched villages that did not contribute supplies, and the unruly and at times predatory British, the notion of an age of limited warfare would have been lost on the Portuguese.

What lessons can be drawn from the campaign? The effectiveness of the Portuguese forces was in large part due to Lippe's basic plan bolstered by the nascent hatred and ineptitude of the Spanish invader. By remaining on the strategic defensive and occupying the important towns and passes that guarded the advance on Lisbon, the allies were able to frustrate and upset Spanish advances time and again. It was his appreciation of the little war that mattered, not the war of big battalions.

---

157 Biddulph to Townsend, Aviniaga, 27 July 1762, NAM: George Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/10.

158 Loudoun's Orderly Book, Portalegre, 26 Dec. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44064, f. 103.

159 Loudoun to Lippe, Portalegre, 21 Nov. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44067, f. 153; same to same, Portalegre, 2 Jan. 1763, f. 224.

160 William Dundas to Loudoun, 15 Sept. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44072, f. 219; John Arkle to Loudoun, Espinhall, 22 Sept. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44073, f. 100.

161 Corbett Parry to Loudoun, Abrantes, 7 Nov. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 44074, f. 259.

162 Loudoun to Armstrong, Palhaven, 7 April 1763, BL: Add. MS. 44084, f. 4.

That he accomplished his task with such a rag-tag force is a testament to his capabilities as commander in chief. He understood how to use the scant Portuguese resources to their fullest. "I think it very necessary frequently to engage the Portuguese," he wrote Lord Townsend, "with the enemy by small detachments in order to use them to serious duty."[163] Thereby, he turned a liability into an asset. When he did venture forth boldly, he wisely utilized the light dragoons and grenadiers of the British expeditionary force with great effect. If one factors in the supply difficulties and the generally hostile Portuguese environment, Lippe deserves far more than the eight miniature gold cannon mounted on silver carriages, 80,000 gold *moidares*, and numerous diamonds given to him by the Portuguese King upon his departure.[164]

So impressed was Oeyras that he retained Lippe's service so he could reform the Portuguese army and modernize the kingdom's defenses. Numerous British officers, cognizant of the possible career opportunities, remained to help in the effort, especially since most of the regiments in the expeditionary force were disbanded immediately after the war.[165] When Lippe retired to his capital Bückeburg in 1764, he had achieved widespread acclaim throughout Europe. The benefits did not last. The state of the Portuguese military declined rapidly by the 1770s. Oeyras lacked the fortitude to follow up the reforms and failed to devote the necessary resources to the army or any other grand project (instead he focused on eliminating British commerce disparities and subsidizing domestic industries, which steadily diminished trade between the two countries).[166] A later visitor, William Dalrymple, believed Lippe's postwar reforms were no more than "a patched up business" designed to deceive casual onlookers.[167] Apart from the famous Fort la Lippe, there was little to celebrate

---

[163] Lippe to Townsend, Maçaõ, 22 Oct. 1762, NAM: Townsend MSS 6806-41/6/6. Lippe did not hold the troops in high regard, but believed if they were mixed with British forces and ably led by British officers, they could be useful. Interestingly, both he and Loudoun viewed the Spanish rank and file similarly. Loudoun to Bute, Maçao, 15 Oct. 1762, HL: Loudoun Papers (Scottish) LO 10645.

[164] Cust, *Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century*, 3: 90.

[165] Disbanded expeditionary force regiments included the 67th, 83rd, 85th, 91st, and Volunteer Hunters (103rd).

[166] For the diminished post-war Anglo-Portuguese trade see, *Occasional Thoughts on the Portuguese Trade* (London: S. Bladen, 1767).

[167] William Dalrymple, *Travels through Spain and Portugal in 1774; with a Short Account of the Spanish Expedition against Algiers in 1775* (London: printed for J. Almon, 1777), 147; J. Teixeira Botelho, "Notes on Some British Officers Who Served in the Portuguese Artillery (1762–80)," *The Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research* IV, no. 17 (July-September 1925): 97–99.

in the Portuguese army. The English officers, with little pay or chance of advancement, tried in vain to rejoin Albion's service. When Pombal fell from power after the king's death, only the unlucky remained to languish in Portugal.

Lippe's legacy is his post-Portuguese endeavors. First he created one of the first 'modern' officer academy's at Wilhelmstein that blended the appreciation of the classical tradition with those of the Enlightenment. There cadets from around Europe would study the technical branches as well as military philosophy: much of it written by Lippe himself. The unpublished *Mémoires pour servir à l'Art Militaire Défensif* was a key text and dealt with the issue of the morality of war and the difficulties of smaller states defending themselves from larger enemies. Second, he implemented (in 1753) a 'modern' universal compulsory military service or conscription system called the *Landmiliz* in his small county. The concepts of the 'people's army' and the 'people's war' as the beginnings of a new age in warfare stand out as one of his most progressive ideas. To what degree his experiences in Portugal played in these later developments is difficult to measure. Although Lippe died relatively young in 1777, it should be noted that his most renowned student, David Gerhard von Scharnhorst, would carry them through the later revolutionary era and impart them to his own pupil, Karl von Clausewitz.

Although many officers remained to serve in the revamped Portuguese army, few people apart from John Burgoyne and Charles Lee emerged with enhanced reputations. Both would lose their hard-fought prestige, albeit in different ways, during the American Revolution. The institutional memory of the campaign quickly faded. Perhaps this overall experience left a bad taste in the mouths of the high command: more British died at the hands of their Portuguese hosts (23) than by the Spanish (14)! Loudoun retired from military life and Townsend, whom the Portuguese called the 'Farmer General' returned to his estates.[168] When the army searched for information on Portugal during the Napoleonic invasion, the War Office possessed just a few notes and letters left there by Townsend. It seemed destined to be a war that Albion forgot.

---

[168] Townshend had commanded allied forces in Alta Beira, which protected the approach to Oporto. *Noticias dos successos da Guerra de Hispanha e Francia contra Portugal no anno de 1762*, no. 2058, f. 22, Library, Academia Militar, Lisbon. See also, Charles V.F. Townshend, *The Military Life of Field Marshal George, First Marquess Townshend, 1724–1807* (London: J. Murray, 1901), 317–18.

In conclusion, Bourbon inability to achieve military victory in Portugal ended any realization of the Family Compact's 'continental system.' The Spanish operational plan had paid no heed to the actual conditions in Portugal.[169] Exasperated commentators explained they "go on clumsily" and "slow & as cautious as one could wish them," and seemed content with occupying and ravaging towns abandoned by the Portuguese.[170] Furthermore, Spanish and French inability to project force throughout the Atlantic world enabled Britain to seize the initiative and initiate another round of conquests. Havana fell in July to Vice-Admiral George Pocock and Lieutenant General George Keppel, 3rd Earl of Albemarle's, invasion force. In October, Rear Admiral Samuel Cornish and Brigadier General William Draper's attack on and capture of Manila further complicated Spanish leverage at the peace table. The only Bourbon successes occurred in South America. Spanish forces captured the Portuguese colony of Sacramento along with 26 English ships and £4 million. On 1 January 1763, Buenos Ares repulsed a joint Anglo-Portuguese maritime assault of three frigates. During the attack the allied flagship caught fire, killing the commander and three-quarters of the crew.[171] But Charles III paid a high price for such moral victories. He ceded Florida to Britain in return for Cuba, and restored Sacramento to Portugal. France compensated his losses by giving him Louisiana. Britain returned Manila (they never held effective control anywhere else in the Philippines) in 1764. Clearly, the Peace of Paris was not one that the Bourbon alliance envisioned in 1761. The realities of British global power and the stark landscape of Portugal dispelled the strategic illusions that had guided their folly.

---

169 Dumouriez, *An Account of Portugal as it Appeared in 1766*, 4.

170 Joseph Yorke to Lt. Gen. George Howard, The Hague, 15 June 1762, D/HV/B/3/2; Same to Same, The Hague, 5 July 1762, D/HV/B/3/4, Buckinghamshire Records and Local Studies Service, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, England, Howard-Vyse Collection.

171 Cust, *Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century*, 3: 110.

Figure 1. The Portuguese Campaign of 1762.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE BRITISH EXPEDITION TO MANILA[1]

Nicholas Tracy

It is impossible to disagree with the comment written by Captain Horne of the Honourable East India Company army:

> So much for the Manilla expedition, which … has been Attended with numberless fatall Consequences without being attended with any One good … Except the Adm[ira]l and Gen[eral] and a few Cap[tai]ns of men of war, I don't know a person but what are Considerable Sufferers, indeed chiefly oweing to the misconduct of our chiefs (who if they have their deserts all deserve the gallows).[2]

British interest in the Philippines was a result of the frustrations associated with the development of trade with China. The East India Company was only permitted to deal with the Hong merchants at Canton, and was only permitted to pay for China goods with silver obtained from Spain, or from the Spanish colony at Manila, which received an annual subsidy in silver from New Spain to support its role as the centre of Christian missionary effort in Asia. The Spanish law of the Indies did not permit British merchants to deal directly with Manila, so an indirect trade had grown up using Indian middlemen, who sold Indian commodities to the Chinese colony outside Manila. Spanish dependence on the Chinese colony, which they feared and despised, restricted the potential of their trade to such an extent that it amounted to the cargo carried onboard a single annual galleon to Acapulco. Nonetheless, despite its moribund nature, Manila was an important part of the British trading system in Asia. To the British it was a matter of concern that the Spaniards were able to cream off a significant part of the profits. The British Navy already had some experience of

---

[1] This chapter is extracted from my *Manila Ransomed: The British Expedition to the Philippines in the Seven Years' War* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1995). I am grateful for the assistance of Dr. José Barco Ortega for reading this chapter. His own doctoral thesis, "El Gobierno de Manuel Antonio Rojo Filipinas, 1761–1764", was presented at the University of Navarra in 2002.

[2] Horne to [Richard Smith?], 20 October 1764, Orme Collection of Manuscripts, vol. 27, pp. 131–143, India Office Records, British Library, London. (Hereafter cited as BL: Orme MS).

the Philippines and the Manila trade because in 1742 Captain George Anson had captured one of the galleons on his voyage around the world.

In 1759 Alexander Dalrymple had undertaken to improve the profits of the East India Company by establishing commercial relations with the Sultanate of Sulu in the Borneo archipelago, sandwiched between the Spaniards in the Philippines and the Dutch who claimed control of Malaya and the Indonesian islands. In the seventeenth century there had been several English posts in Indonesia, but the Dutch had forced the English from them all, except for a small station at Bencoolen on the south side of Sumatra where it was ill placed to participate in a trade with China. Dalrymple hoped to establish an *entrepôt* in Sulu where northern Chinese merchants could bring their silks and chinaware, thereby circumventing the restrictions on foreign trade at Canton, and replacing Spanish silver with English manufactures as the means of financing the trade. A colony of Chinese would also be planted to produce Suluan goods for the English market.

In January 1761 Dalrymple had actually succeeded in concluding a provisional treaty with the Sultan of Sulu.[3] He had then visited Manila where the treaty was countersigned by the old Sultan, Alimud Din I, who was a prisoner of the Spaniards. He also made a survey of Manila Bay which persuaded some Spaniards, too late, that he had been on a covert operation preparing the way for the invasion. It was Dalrymple's practice, however, to make surveys wherever he went. In later years he was to become Britain's first official hydrographer.

Dalrymple was not directly involved in the planning of the British expedition to Manila. With the help of his patron George Pigot, who was governor of the East India Company's Fort St. George at Madras, he had obtained the approval of the Council there for taking a cargo to Sulu, and had actually sailed on 10 June 1762 to set in train the commercial venture before news of war with Spain had been received in India. All the same, Dalrymple's ideas had played their part in setting the Manila expedition into motion.

When leaving Madras on his 1759 reconnaissance expedition Dalrymple had travelled as far as the Dutch post at Malacca onboard the East India Company ship *Winchelsea*, on which was also traveling on sick leave Colonel William Draper. Draper was a career soldier who had fought at the

[3] See, Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple and the Expansion of British Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); and Serafin D. Quaison, "The Early Trade of the English East India Company with Manila," *Philippine Historical Review* 1, no. 1 (1965): 272.

battle of Culloden in 1745 and served in Flanders in the Duke of Cumberland's own regiment, the First Foot Guards. Somewhat unusually for a man of action, however, Draper had had a classical education at King's College, Cambridge, where he had read for Holy Orders, which he did not take, and earned a bachelor's degree in 1744. In 1756 he married Caroline, daughter of Lord William Beauclerk, and niece of his first commanding officer, and almost immediately afterwards he had been given a commission to raise a regiment of 1000 foot for service in the East Indies, the 79th. With it he arrived at Madras in September 1758 in time to take part in its defense.

Onboard the *Winchelsea*, Draper had obviously been impressed by Dalrymple's enthusiastic arguments, and he may have learned something about the fortress of Manila from the *Winchelsea*'s captain the Honorable Thomas Howe, who was brother of General Lord Howe, and of 'Black Dick' Howe who was then one of Admiral Anson's captains. Thomas Howe was an experienced East India Company captain and it is known that he made extracts from Dalrymple's copy of the *Crónica de la provicia de San Gregorio Magno de religiosos descalzos de N.S.P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón, etc*,[4] which were later used in planning the Manila expedition.

Spain was drawn into the Seven Years' War, the first global war, by the success of Britain in the conquest of New France, and the victory at Quiberon Bay in November 1759. Charles III, who had succeeded to the throne of Spain the previous August, was concerned that if Britain emerged from the war with an undefeated navy it was bound to be used to make incursions into the Spanish empire. On 15 August 1761 he entered into the treaty known as the Family Compact with Louis XV of France, and by a secret convention undertook to make preparations for war. It was ironical, but in conformity with French hopes, that the first effect of the Spanish belligerency should be the diversion of British military effort to the rich harvest that could be reaped in the Spanish empire.

It is not surprising that Draper's arguments for an expedition to Manila should have echoed Dalrymple's for the establishment of a post in Sulu. In a memorandum which is unsigned and undated but written personally by Draper the conquest of Manila was made to stand upon a commercial footing. Rather than simply finding a means of dispensing with the commercial service of the Spaniards at Manila by establishing a rival British

[4] Francisco de Santa Inés, *Crónica de la provicia de San Gregorio Magno de religiosos descalzos de N.S.P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón, etc*., modern edition by Nabu Press, 27 February 2010.

post, Draper urged the value of taking control of Manila itself as an entrepôt for British trade. There is no doubt, however, that the consideration that really excited Draper, and everyone else involved in the operation, was Manila's "Known Wealth & Opulency." That made it "a Proper Object of the War", especially "if the Expedition be properly Timed" so that the silver galleon had already arrived from Acapulco.[5]

He backed this argument up with the specious idea that the security of British shipping in the China Seas required that positive steps be taken. "The Spaniards," he wrote, "from their Possession of Manila are Enabled to Fit out large Galleons to Cruize upon our China Trade." In reality, however, there was no need to attack Manila to prevent the Spaniards spoiling the ships of the East India Company. The Acapulco galleon posed no threat, and the Indiamen could look after themselves if attacked by small craft. The operation made even less sense in wider military terms. Even Draper acknowledged that the seizure of Manila could not fulfill the strategic purpose normally associated with eccentric attack, that of drawing off the home forces of the enemy. Manila was too distant from Spain. Draper himself wrote, "if the Expedition is Carryd on Briskly [Manila] can hardly be Reinforced from America, from whence alone It can receive Succours."[6]

British forces were able to contemplate operations against Manila because, although the fortress city was one of the great bastions of the Spanish Empire, it was really an ageing and ill-kept one. The successful outcome of the British attack was the result of Spanish disarray as much as it was of British military virtuosity. The defeat of an outpost of empire, which had not even been informed that a state of war existed, and which was at the time under ecclesiastical rule, is perhaps understandable. Draper believed the fortifications had been little altered since their erection in the 1580s. The magazines were not proof against bombs; he knew of no glacis; and on the side of the city towards Manila Bay there was not even a ditch "so that a person may walk close to the Foot of the Walls, which are said to be 18 to 20 Feet high." Within half a mile of the shore he

[5] "Reasons & Considerations upon the Enterprise against the Philippine Islands" in Draper's hand, n.d., and a fragment, n.d., beginning: "I shall now beg leave," The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) PRO 30/47/20, no. 3. There is also a third military appreciation, "Plan for an Expedition against the Philippines" n.d. but docketed 23 Nov. 1762 perhaps referring to the date of its receipt in London, Add. MSS 19298 (Plut. CL II E Jure Empt), British Library. There is no evidence that it influenced the expedition but it could have been prepared for Draper, possibly by Alexander Dalrymple, either before Draper left India or after his return there.

[6] Ibid.

believed there were four fathoms of water, with a beach beneath the walls 40 yards wide. South west winds, he wrote, occasioned heavy surf, but in all weather shallow draft vessels could cross the bar, where there was reported to be two to two and a half fathoms on the flood tide, and enter the river Pasig in the acute angle of which lay the citadel. Across the river there was little fortification, and it was narrow enough for batteries placed on the north bank to breach the walls on the south. A creek, flowing into the river, guarded the east and part of the south side of the city, as the river and bay did the north and west sides, but between the creek and the bay was about a quarter of a mile of dry land. Part way along the bay between Manila and the Royal dockyard at the smaller fortress town of Cavite was the "polvorista," the small fort of San Anton with ten or 12 guns where the powder was stored, also with four fathoms of water within half a mile, and a good road into Manila. Cavite he reported to be so weak and the water so deep close in that "they could make but a very short Resistance against a Ships Fire."[7]

Draper estimated the garrison at three or four hundred Mexicans without much military ability, supported by Filipinos, then referred to by Spaniards and British alike as "Indians." Of them he wrote, "there are great numbers tho much disaffected to the Spaniards."[8] This was to prove a serious miscalculation. The government was not in the hands of a soldier because the Royal Governor of the Philippines, Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia, had died in 1759. Juan Manuel Gómez de la Torre was dispatched to replace Arandia, but had died in the Mariana Islands. The soldier then sent by Madrid, Brigadier Don Francisco de la Torre, was delayed at Havana by the British attack on that place, and the Real Audiencia of Manila gave the office accordingly to Archbishop Rojo. Even before the arrival of Francisco de la Torre, however, such good use was made of Filipino forces to organize a resistance, that the British were glad when the terms of the Peace of Paris reached them, and enabled them to abandon their conquest.

What made the British expedition to Manila a significant event in military, and especially naval history, was the logistical challenges of conducting operations half way round the world from London, and in virtually uncharted waters. Ships regularly took six months to make the passage out to India, and then on to Canton. To have attempted to send an army all

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.

that way onboard a fleet of warships and transports was out of the question. If anything was to be attempted against the Philippines, it would have to be by British forces already in India, and available for other purposes after their defeat of the French in India. These were available, but the Philippines campaign was nonetheless to be a major challenge. The East Indies squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Samuel Cornish was not in good condition following years of service in the tropics, and the navigational difficulties were formidable.[9] In 1745 D'Aprés de Mannevillette had published *Le Neptune Oriental*,[10] an atlas of small-scale charts of Asian waters, with sailing directions that were translated and published by William Herbert in 1759.[11] There was also *The English Pilot*,[12] first published in 1675, but William Nichelson who took part in the expedition as master of the *Elizabeth* declared it to be "so false and erroneous, that it ought not to be suffered to be published, it being nothing more nor less than a deceiver of mankind." Upon his return to England he published *Sundry remarks and observations made in a voyage to the East-Indies, on board His Majesty's Ship the Elizabeth,* which was subscribed by the officers of the expedition. In its preface he observed that "Manila Bay was not so much as mentioned in any of our directories."[13]

Draper's health had still been poor when he returned from Canton and he went home to England. According to the *Annual Register* for 1763, upon the first rumor of war with Spain Draper introduced the idea of an expedition against Manila to the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Lord Egremont, and to Admiral Anson, who had been made First Lord of

---

9 TNA: PRO ADM 1/162 (2), f. 25; *Documents Illustrating the British Conquest of Manila, 1762–1763*, ed. Nicholas P. Cushner, Camden 4th Series, vol. 8 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1930): no. 14. (hereafter cited as *Documents*).

10 Jean Baptiste Nicolas Dennis d'Après de Mannevillette, *Le Neptune Oriental* (Paris[?] J.F. Robustel[?], 1745).

11 William Herbert, *A New Directory for the East-Indies: with General and Particular Charts for the Navigation of Those Seas: wherein the French Neptune Oriental has been Chiefly Consider'd and Examined: with Additions, Corrections, and Explanatory Notes* (London: printed for the editor, 1758).

12 John Seller, *The English Pilot. The Third Book: Describing the Sea-Coasts…in the Oriental Navagation* (London: Printed by John Darby, for the Author, 1675 [probably 1677 or later]).

13 William Nichelson, *Sundry remarks and observations made in a voyage to the East-Indies, on board His Majesty's Ship the Elizabeth, From the Beginning of the Year 1758, to the latter End of the Year 1764. With the necessary directions for sailing to and from India. And into the several ports and harbours thereof. Being a proper supplement to the New directory for the East-Indies. By William Nichelson Master of the said ship*; Preface to vol. 1, p. 4. *See*: *The General Biographical Dictionary: A New Edition,* 1814, Vol. 17 p. 385 sv. Herbert: "About this time he, and a Mr. Nicholson, published a "New Director for the East Indies," 4to, to which Herbert supplied the greater part of the materials."

the Admiralty in William Pitt's administration and remained in that office after Pitt's resignation and the formation of the Earl of Bute's administration.[14] They asked Draper to submit his proposal in writing. Shortly before the declaration of war on 4 January 1762 the government began to consider the practicability of Draper's scheme, and Anson quickly lent it his support. On 30 December 1761 Laurance Sullivan, Chairman of the East India Company, informed a meeting of the Court of Directors that Anson had approached him to enquire whether the Company could take part in the expedition. In general the Court agreed, instructing its Committee of Secrecy to form a plan.[15] With this assurance the cabinet, according to the Duke of Newcastle who was First Lord of the Treasury, discussed on 6 January 1762 both Anson's own project of an attack upon Havana, which was agreed to, and Draper's "Scheme for taking Manila he with some Troops, which are already in the East Indies." Egremont introduced the plan and it "was also in a manner agreed to."[16]

No sooner had the Court of the East India Company given its assent than it began to have second thoughts. On 8 January Sullivan waited upon Egremont and insisted that no final decision be made until a council of war could be called by the men on the spot in India who could assess the dangers involved in denuding the defenses of Company forts. He also insisted that the commander have no authority to impress Company ships. Clearly the commercial prospects for the Company at Manila did not attract him, if for no other reason than that he took it as certain that Manila would have to be returned to Spain at a peace settlement. He warned Egremont that:

> Manilla being an object of infinite importance to Spain the Company cannot hope to hold it when Peace takes place and as great sums must be expended in outworks Fortifications & Garrison Charges and as Commerce must be Created & new Chanels opened the Company cannot expect to real[ize] any solid benefits from that settlement before it may be evacuated therefore to a Trading Company this was a very serious consideration.[17]

Egremont was able to convince Sullivan that Draper was a man of good sense who paid "more attention to the Company's Interests & Imbarasments

---

[14] Ibid., 4.

[15] B/77, f. 251, Court Books, BL: India Office Records, Court Minutes (*Documents*, no. 1).

[16] Draper to Lord Hardwick, 10 Jan. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 32933, ff. 179–82, Newcastle Papers. See also, King George to Bute, 6 Jan. 1762, in *Letters from George III to Lord Bute*, ed., Romney Sedgwick (London: Macmillan and Co., 1939), 78.

[17] Memorandum of the Committee of Correspondence, 8 Jan. 1762, BL: India Office Records, D110.

than co[ul]d be expected from a soldier."[18] In a draft plan worked out with Anson during the second week of January it was decided that a subsidiary conquest should be made of the Philippine island of Mindanao, which it was planned to retain permanently.[19] The Committee of Secrecy confirmed its support on the 14th, and agreed to provide a governor for the civil administration of the conquest, but begged to be "relieved in contributing to the charge of this expedition."[20] After Draper and Undersecretary Robert Wood called upon the Committee on the 16th, it recommended to the Court of Directors on the 19th that the Company cooperate. It is likely that the recommendation was based principally upon the consideration that it was useful to risk some financial loss if the gratitude of the ministry could be earned.

When two days later Draper's instructions were signed by King George III, the commercial objectives were given importance. By taking advantage "of an existing war with Spain" Britain might be able to ensure her post-war mercantile expansion.[21] There was also the expectation that the commerce of Spain would suffer a "crippling blow."[22] If it is considered that Manila was only kept afloat by a subsidy from Spain it may be asked whether the recently formed administration of the Earl of Bute were not simply trying to emulate Pitt's strategy, without possessing Pitt's sense of realities. If so, they were nonetheless determined to carry it through. Egremont assured the Directors that their expenses would be repaid if they were not covered by the immediate profits.[23] No doubt he wished to ensure the Company servants in India could not use financial arguments to block the operation, as they probably would have attempted to do. It is clear that nearly every one in the East India Company viewed the

---

[18] Ibid.

[19] "Rough Sketch of an Expedition to M[anil]a," draft plan discussed with Lord Anson on 8, 11 and 12 Jan. 1762, Brit. Emp, S.1, ff. 157–8, North Papers, Rhodes House Library, Oxford (*Documents*, no. 1).

[20] Minutes of Committee, 14 and 15 Jan. 1762, BL: India Office Records, D/110, and, East India Company to Egremont, 14 Jan. 1762, TNA: PRO CO 77/20 (*Documents*, no. 3).

[21] The final orders and instructions are: Instructions of George III to Draper, and Notification of disciplinary measures, 21 Jan. 1762, Egremont to Lawrence, 23 Jan., and, Egremont to Draper, 9 Feb., all in TNA: PRO CO 77/20 (*Documents,* nos. 5–7, 9); Admiralty Secret instructions to Steevens (whose death was unknown in London), 25 Jan., TNA: PRO ADM 2/1332; two letters from the Company to Pigot, 21 Jan. (abstracted in *Calendar Madras Dispatches, 1754–64*, ed. Henry Dodwell (Madras: Madras Record Office, 1930), 289), and a general letter from the Company to Fort St. George, 19 Feb., BL Add. MS. 37836, f. 217 (extract in *Documents*, no. 10).

[22] TNA: PRO CO 77/20.

[23] Egremont to the Committee of the East India Co., 23 Jan. 1762, TNA: PRO CO 77/20 (*Documents*, no. 8).

commercial prospects as specious, and that profit-taking was likely to be confined to looting. It obtained the government's agreement that the army and navy commanders, and the governor of Fort St. George at Madras, George Pigot, should determine the distribution of booty before the expedition sailed from India. Draper agreed that the Company should be entitled to a half share.

Arriving at Madras six months and one day later, he immediately sent the Admiralty's instructions to Rear-Admiral Cornish who was refitting the East Indies Squadron at Trincomalee. The council of war finally assembled on 10 July.[24] Bute's administration had decided on 29 March to bring onto an official level the peace negotiations, which had actually begun with France two months before Spain's declaration of war. By early September enough of the areas of dispute would be settled so that an British Peace Commission, led by the Duke of Bedford, could go to Paris. In India, however, nothing was known of that. Draper, whose brevet rank of Brigadier General now came into effect, quickly obtained the agreement of Cornish, Governor Pigot, and Commodore Richard Tiddeman who was Cornish's second in command, that the military situation justified detaching the 79th regiment, pioneers, artillery, Indian soldiers and French deserters, and the 2000 sepoys whom the Court of Directors had instructed Pigot to provide. Pigot's agreement, however, was seconded neither by his councilors, nor by Major General Stringer Lawrence who commanded the army in India. In a letter to Egremont, Draper disparagingly described Lawrence's attitude as urging "a private System in opposition to the National," and condemned the Company servants for being "most willing here to look upon themselves as quite unconnected with the General

[24] Details of the Council of War, and of the preparation of the British force are to be found in: Majority Report of the Council of War to the Council at Fort St. George, 10 July 1762, BL: India Office Records, HMS 77, 1–4; TNA: PRO CO 77/20, and ADM 1/162 (2), ff. 31–2 (*Documents,* no. 12); The Records of the Council of Fort St. George for 10, 13, 19, 26 and 31 July 1762, including instructions to the Deputy Governor and Council at Manila, Madras Military Consultations (hereafter MMC), India Office Records, vol. 48, 102–167 *passim*.; Return of Troops, July 1762, TNA: PRO HMS 77, 48–53 (pp. 48–9 in *Documents*, no. 28); A letter from the Council at Fort St. George to the Council of War, 10 July 1762, TNA: PRO ADM 1/162 (2), ff. 33–4 (*Documents,* no. 13); Cornish to Cleveland, 23 and 31 July 1762, ADM 1/162, ff. 25 and 48 (*Documents*, nos. 14 and 23); Cornish to Anson, 1 Nov. 1762, BL: Add. MS. 35898, ff. 278–79 (*The Philippine Islands*, p. 60); Draper to Secretary at War, 27 July and 2 Nov. 1762, TNA: PRO WO 1/319, ff. 353–9, 405–13 (*Documents*, nos. 16 and 70); Draper to Egremont, 27 July 1762, TNA: PRO CO 77/20; Lawrence to [Egremont?] 31 Oct. 1762, CO 77/20; Draper to [a Company official] 9 Feb. 1762, E 1/44, p. 57a, BL: India Office Records; Draper's Journal, CO 77/20, (printed in *The Gentelman's Magazine* for 1763, in other contemporary journals, and in *The Philippine Islands*, 81–193.

Plan of the War & have no Idea of any Enterprize that does not conduce to their immediate & pecular Advantage."

Draper was disappointed in the size of the army provided by the Company. Shortly after the fall of Manila he wrote to Egremont blaming the Council at Fort St. George:

> The Contingent of Sepoys which the Governor and Council at Madras promised to Assist me with, was 2,000. They gave me only 600, the Half Raw & new raised. It was not Difficult to Discern their motives for this Shameful Behaviour. They had sent a Ship to Manila to trade Clandestinely under Moorish Colours, the Cargo Valued at *L*70,000, most of it the Property of the Chief People at Madras & Bengal. They were Afraid their Ventures would suffer by the Loss of Manila & took every method in their Power to Discourage the attempt. I must Except Mr. Pigot, as a man of better & more Generous principles.[25]

During the feverish weeks of preparation at Madras he had been prepared to accept a more creditable explanation. He wrote on 27 July that

> The Company here has Stipulated to Furnish me with 2000 Sepoys; but their Averseness to a Sea Voyage, the Difference of Religion & Particular methods of Diet make me fear I shall not carry a fourth part of the number.[26]

The Madras Military Consultations book in which the minutes of the Military Committee of the Madras Council were recorded noted that, as a result of these difficulties, Draper, Cornish and Tiddeman had asked for a further 50 European soldiers in lieu of half the sepoys, and had eventually agreed to accept 50 of the local nawab's soldiers.[27] At any rate, the numbers available certainly were much below those envisaged during the planning in London.

The final complement of troops was the 79th Regiment of foot increased to 567 men and a company of the Royal Artillery. To these the East India Company added 29 of their own artillery, 610 sepoys, a collection of pioneers, south African blacks, Portuguese half-castes, and French deserters which totaled 314, and 51 of the nawab's irregulars. With about 100 lascars as a labor force this brought the army to approximately 1,738 men. The *Annual Register* described the 79th regiment as "by reputation, by service, and by being long inured to the climate, almost equal to an army."[28] Of the rest, however, Draper wrote:

---

25 Draper to Egremont, 2 Nov. 1762, TNA: PRO WO 1/319, ff. 405–13 (*Documents,* no. 70).
26 Same to Same, TNA: PRO WO 1/319, ff. 353–9 (*Documents,* no. 16).
27 MMC, vol. 48, 122.
28 *The Annual Register for the Year 1763*, vol. VI (London: J. Dodsley, 1764), 5.

> Exclusive of my own Battalion & the Artillery, the Rest are a Composition of Deserters of all nations, whom I take with me more to Ease the Fears & apprehensions of the People at Madrass, than from any Service I can Expect from them. But I have no choice: Those or none; such Banditti were never Assembled since the Time of Spartacus. Mr. Cornish has promised to Assist me to the Utmost with the Seamen & Marines & I confide that their Spirit & Activity will make amends for any Want of Regularity.[29]

Nevertheless he admitted:

> I have little to say in my Justification for Venturing on such a Slight Foundation but that the zeal & Ardour of all the Gentlemen of the navy & the Few under my Command bid me Hope for Success. We have Unanimity for our Base; I build much upon it.[30]

Draper felt considerably more confidence about his officers, including those of the Company's army. Colonel George Monson of the 79th Regiment had obtained leave from the Madras Presidency to accompany Draper as his second in command. Appreciating his quality, Draper made Monson quarter-master general, "in which capacity as in all others of his profession he exerts such great talents that I blush to give him orders."[31] Major Scot of the Highland regiment, stationed in India, acted as Adjutant General, and Major Robert Barker of the Company's army commanded the artillery. Both received his commendation. Also from the Company's army came Captain Stevenson, Captain Lieutenant Cotisford or Cotsford, both engineers, and Captain Fletcher, Major of Brigade, who had been granted sick leave, but nevertheless was determined to take a part.

Draper was particularly fortunate in his naval commander. John Charnock in his *Biographia Navalis* records the tradition that Samuel Cornish first went to sea on a collier, and served before the mast in East India Company ships, before he signed into the Royal Navy as an able seaman.[32] He cannot have been less than 30 years old when in 1739 he was made lieutenant, but within three more years of that date he was posted captain. Evidently both his professional competence and his personality

---

[29] Draper to Egremont, TNA: PRO WO 1/319, ff. 353–9 (*Documents,* no. 16).
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] John Charnock, *Biographia Navalis; or, Impartial Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of Officers of the Navy of Great Britain, From the Year 1660 to the Present Time…* (London: Printed for R. Faulder, Bond-Street, 1794), 5: 139–49.

earned him the regard of his superiors. After good service in two wars, he was promoted Rear-Admiral of the White in 1759.[33]

It had become a matter of formula to include in the instructions given to commanders the warning that "the Success of this Expedition will very much depend upon an Entire good Understanding between Our Land and Sea Officers."[34] Cornish was stating no more than the truth, however, when he reported to the Secretary of the Admiralty Board, "that throughout the whole Expedition the most perfect Harmony and Unanimity has subsisted between His Majesty's Land and Sea Forces."[35] Draper was a younger man than was Cornish, and he came from much more comfortable circumstances. His family and education did not distance him from Cornish, however, because Cornish was an intelligent man, if a self-taught one. In 1749 he had been elected to the Royal Society as "a gentleman well skilled in mathematicks and natural knowledge."[36]

The pretence of partnership with the East India Company did not last long. In the last week of July, harassed by the heat, Draper and Cornish rejected the Council's preliminary division of the possible booty. The Council had been informed of Draper's agreement in London to allow the Company a half share, but when they drew up an agreement to that effect with penal bonds as a guarantee Draper and Cornish stiffly refused to sign. Instead they decided that, because the Company had seized all the plunder taken at Pondicherry, the soldiers and sailors engaged on the Manila operations needed more encouragement. A one third share of any loot taken at Manila was all they would now agree to give the Company, and Cornish flatly declared that the law forbade the Company any claim to prizes taken at sea. Eventually the Council was obliged to agree to accept whatever was offered as a deposit pending legal proceedings, but to ensure that the Company should not be prevented from reaping the more mercantile fruits of the conquest, should there be any, the Company's governor elect for Manila, Dawson Drake, was instructed not to accept the

---

33 Lieutenant in *Litchfield*, 12 Nov. 1739, transferred with Capt. Knowles to *Weymouth*, 11 Nov. 1740, commanding officer of bomb ketch *Mortar*, posted flag-captain of *Namur* under Vice-Admiral Mathews, 12 Mar. 1742, captain of *Guernsey*, 12 Sept. 1742–48, *Stirling Castle*, 1755, and *Union*, 1758, rear-admiral of the white, 14 Feb. 1759, and ordered to East Indies, 30 March 1759. *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660–1815* 3 vols. (Admiralty, 1954), and N. Tracy, "Vice-Admiral Sir Samuel Cornish and the Conquest of Manila, 1762," (master's thesis, University of Southampton, 1967).

34 Instructions of George III to Draper, and Notification of disciplinary measures, 21 Jan. 1762, TNA: PRO CO 77/20 (*Documents,* no. 5).

35 Cornish to Cleveland, 31 Oct. 1762, TNA: PRO ADM 1/162 (2), f. 36.

36 Charnock, *Biographia Navalis,* 5: 139–49.

government of Manila until the military resigned all authority over it.[37] This was to prove disastrous.

Anson's draft plan, of which Cornish knew nothing, had only envisaged committing five ships of the line, one or two frigates, two sloops and some small craft. The Company refused to release any of their large Indiamen as transports, however, and Cornish needed to press into service all the ships of the line he could, taking the eight present at Madras and leaving only three others to defend trade. He had written during the planning for the intended expedition to Mauritius in 1761 that:

> The inconvenience attending small Vessels for Transports will be, in their Stowage of less Water and Provisions in the proportion to the number they carry, than larger Ships; in increasing the number of the Convoy which will not only retard the Passage, but may Subject us to a separation, especially if we meet with any rough weather; in being Unable to carry the Boats necessary for the Debarkation.[38]

He also disliked using ships of the line as transports, for fear their naval duties would conflict with the needs of landing the men. He had eventually agreed to transport soldiers in the fleet for the Mauritius operation, however, and the risk entailed in doing so on the Manila operation was considerably less because of the minimal naval resources of Spain in the Pacific. In 1761 he had warned against the "the great inconvenience of Crowding the ships with more than can be Sheltered from the Weather which may occasion Sickness."[39] Neither could the ships of the line carry enough water and provisions for a large number of men. In 1761 Cornish had reluctantly agreed to accommodate 1,100 soldiers in nine ships of the line.

There was not time to build flat boats, even could they have been transported, and embarkation was in itself difficult. The stores were loaded "tactically." Draper wrote:

> Major Barker of the Company's troops who commands our artillery has made such a judicious arrangement of the stores of his Department & distributed them aboard the different ships of the squadron in such just proportions that the loss or dispersion of any one vessel cannot retard or effect the proceedings of the rest. His activity & dispatch in the embarkation are

---

[37] Correspondence concerning the preliminary division of the booty, BL: India Office Records, HMS 77, 7–45 (pp 15–45 in *Documents,* nos. 15, 17–22).

[38] Cornish to Pigot, 29 May 1761, referring to: Monson, Caitland, and Scott to Pigot etc., 9 April, TNA: PRO ADM 1/162, ff. 144, 152.

[39] Ibid.

> almost incredible to those who are acquainted with the difficulties that are to be surmounted in shipping stores from the great & perpetual surf that rages against the shore. Everything is obliged to be carry'd in the boats of the country, without the assistance of wharfs, cranes and other conveniences made use of in England.[40]

The poor condition of the squadron and the small number of reliable soldiers made the enterprise exceedingly hazardous, as Draper admitted. He realized that a formal siege would no longer be possible, but he retained the hope that he could succeed by a coup de main or by a bombardment. The virtual impossibility of the Spaniards' threatening naval action would free Cornish to land guns from the ships' batteries. Draper decided that the initial assault should be made against the subsidiary fortress city of Cavite to secure the Royal dockyard there for the needs of the squadron. Because of the annual shift of the monsoon at the end of September or early October it was decided that the expedition could not leave later than 1 August.

On 19 July Cornish dispatched a frigate, *Seaford*, to cruise in the Singapore Straits to prevent word of the attack reaching Manila. The first section of the squadron sailed under Commodore Tiddeman on the 29th to take on water at Malacca in advance of the rest of the squadron, and on the 31st Cornish followed with the rest. More or less in company, the fleet sailed into Manila Bay on 24 September by the naval calendar, but the evening of the 23rd by the British civil calendars.

Consistent with the intention to commence with operations to seize Cavite, that evening the ships' masters were ordered to take boats inshore during the night to make soundings of the approach, and to choose a landing place clear of rocks and where the surf was not too great. Nichelson reported "that three Line of Battle ships could go in against Cavita, within a cable's length of their batteries, and would reduce them in a short time."[41] In the morning, however, a letter was delivered from Archbishop Rojo enquiring whether the squadron were in distress, and naively revealing the extent of the garrison's surprise.[42] The governors of Manila and Cavite

---

[40] Draper to Egremont, TNA: PRO WO 1/319, ff. 353–9 (*Documents,* no. 16).

[41] Cornish to Pigot, 29 May 1761, referring to: Monson, Caitland, and Scott to Pigot etc., 9 April, TNA: PRO ADM 1/162, f. 277.

[42] Rojo to the Commander of the British Squadron, 23 Sept. 1762, translated by Father Horacio de la Costa, "The Siege and Capture of Manila by the British, Sept.-Oct. 1762," *Philippine Studies*, 10, no. 4 (1962): 607–54. The correspondence between the British and Spaniards, the originals of which are preserved in the Jesuit archives of Tarragone, is printed in *Documents,* beginning with no. 29, and in *Philippine Studies* with translations. The reader's attention is

were summoned to surrender, but Rojo, calling a council of war, refused.[43] For the British, however, the time spent in the exchange of letters was not time lost. It would have taken two days to carry out an attack on Cavite, and the wind was foul for it.

By dispensing with an advance base Cornish and Draper were gambling heavily upon a successful assault on Manila, but, having made their decision, they lost no time in executing it. Even before the summons had been sent, Draper and Cornish, with the masters of four ships and Captain King of the frigate *Argo*, had reconnoitered the beach.[44] The eventual decision was to land opposite a church called the Malate about a mile to the southward of Manila.

Ashore, pandemonium reigned. Spanish accounts of the British attack reflect the horror and faction of a city thrown into war against an enemy who differed little in the eyes of most Spaniards from the pirates and Moros who had for centuries assailed them, but who were the first European army ever to threaten Spanish control of the Philippines.

On the evening of the British arrival Rojo ordered that the gunpowder be brought in from the polvorista near where eventually the British made their landing. Men were sent into the provinces to rally the people. Indicative of the unprepared state of Manila, work was only now begun on the construction of gun carriages. It was disputed whether the polvorista should be blown up, but instead it was decided to garrison it to obstruct the British landing. However, the operation was not completed in a professional manner.[45]

The landing instructions having been issued well in advance, no time was lost once Draper and Cornish had decided where to put the men ashore. At three in the afternoon the signal was made for the squadron to join the Admiral and to prepare to land the troops. The three frigates worked their way into shoal water while the line vessels came to anchor. "At 1/2 past 4 [according to *Falmouth*'s log] he [i.e. the Admiral] made the sig[na]l for the boats to repair on board the rendezvous ships, D[itt]o sent our Marines on board the *Elizabeth* and soon after the boats with all the

drawn to Father Cushner's introductory notes. Copies of some of the letters are in TNA: PRO CO 77/20.

43 Cornish and Draper to the Spanish Authorities in Manila, 24 Sept. 1762, and Rojo to the British Commanders, 24 and 25 Sept. 1762, (*Documents,* nos. 30–32). In fact, there was no governor of Cavita under Spanish rule.

44 TNA: PRO ADM 51/879.

45 *Documentos Indispensables para la Verdadera Historia de Filipinas*, ed. P. Eduardo Navarro Ordoñez (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de huérfanos del S.C. de Jesús, 1908), 332.

troops repaired to the Frigates that were in shore to cover the landing."[46] At five *Argo* anchored in 3 1/2 fathoms of water and half an hour later *Seaford* came to bower and spring within 600 yards of the shore. By attaching a "spring" rope part way along the anchor hawser and leading the spring aft, and by lying to only one heavy "bower" anchor, it was possible for an anchored ship to be swung broadside on to the wind. With an onshore wind this manoeuvre would allow the frigates' guns to bear on the shore. The boats were concentrated under their sterns to form three attacks. The left was commanded by Colonel Monson and was to make directly for the Malate. This was the main attack, and the centre, under General Draper, and the right commanded by Major More, were feints designed to confuse the Spaniards.

At seven the signal was made for the boats under the command of Captains Parker, Kempenfelt and Brereton to pull away. General Draper climbed down from the *Argo* and, under the fire of the frigates that quickly cleared the beaches of the feeble Spanish resistance, the sailors pulled for the shore. Four longboats had each been mounted with a six-pounder; these supplemented the frigates with inshore fire on the flanks. The centre and right soon fell in behind the left. Although several boats were filled or overturned in the violent surf, the assault force consisting of the 79th Regiment, the marines, and most of the artillerymen with two field pieces and a howitzer, were all placed safely ashore without opposition. "So Easy a landing was a considerable Point gained and gave us reason to believe that the Enemy knew but little of their Business," Captain Fletcher wrote in his journal. "Had they only, as we expected, used the simple means of placing a Field Piece or two on the Beach to our Right and left with Musquetry in Front behind the Hedges & Trees, they must undoubtedly have killed ma[n]y of our greatest dependence the 79th Regiment and Sustained no other loss themselves than that of their Guns."[47]

The landing continued throughout the night, and possession was taken of Malate Church for the first night's post. At daybreak the army took possession of the abandoned polvorista. Draper established it as a place of arms for covering the landing of stores and for securing communications with the sea. At eight in the morning the sepoys and lascars began to go ashore. Colonel Monson occupied the Hermita church 900 yards from the city, and the priests' house was made general headquarters. Captain

---

[46] Captain's Log, Falmouth, TNA: PRO ADM 51/409.
[47] Fletcher's Journal, BL: Orme MS. 27, no. 16.

Fletcher quickly appreciated that it was necessary to take normally impossible risks if the little British army was to get full advantage from surprise and from the momentum of their assault. He took possession of the church of San Diego which was near the sea and within 300 yards of the bastion of San Diego, at the point where any breach would have to be made, and overlooking the walls of Manila. Without the shelter of these buildings, the earthquake proof walls of which allowed the establishment of the troops within point-blank range of the guns of the fortress, the small army would probably have been defeated by exhaustion. The establishment of the advanced post at the spot where the British guns would have to be sited obviated the necessity, which the small British force could not have met, of constructing and manning extensive siege works. The shelter for the men was invaluable. On the very day that the post was taken, the monsoon broke with torrential rains that would have made encampment impossible.

Six-hundred seventy-nine seamen and 338 marines brought the army up to 1,960 Europeans, to which were added about 780 Asian and African soldiers and laborers.[48] Guns were brought ashore on catamarans contrived by lashing ship's boats to spars. A Spanish sortie was defeated, but the British forces were too few to be able to surround the city, which consequently could not be starved, and could be reinforced by drafts of Filipino warriors. Indeed Draper found he had too few men to make regular siege approaches, which in any case the sodden ground would have made impossible. He garrisoned the Church of Bagumbayan, which had been occupied to enfilade the sortie, despite its, and the Church of Santiago's, proximity to the walls:

> We were forced into these Measures, [Draper wrote in his Journal] rash as they seem and contrary to all Rules of our Profession, by Our Critical Situation. From the Top of this Post which We call'd No 2 We had a perfect view of the Enemys Works. The Front we were obliged to Attack was defended by the Bastions of St. Diego and St. Andrew with Orillons and retired Flanks, a Ravelin which covered the Royal Gate, a Wet Ditch, Cover'd Way and Glacis. The Bastions were in excellent order, lined with a great Number of fine Brass Cannon: but their Ravelin was not armed, the Cover'd Way out of repair, the Glacis by much too low, and the Ditch was not produced round the Capital of the Bastion of St. Diego [on the seaward

[48] Return of troops by Robert Fletcher, BL: India Office Records, HMS 77, p. 48 (*Documents,* no. 28), and "An account of the Number of Seamen and Marines Landed," TNA: PRO ADM 1/162 (2), f. 41 (*Documents,* no. 27).

> corner] which determined us to attack it, and make our dispositions accordingly.[49]

Captain Fletcher managed to sound the ditch, which he estimated could be filled by the rubble the siege guns would bring down in pounding the breach. Two 8-inch mortars were established in the evening of the 26th behind San Diego church. The entrenching tools were onboard the still missing store-ships, as were the fascines (stakes) and gabions. New ones had to be made with the assistance of the squadron smiths and carpenters.

By the 29th sufficient tools had been produced to enable the army to make a start on the main breaching battery. This consisted of eight 24-pounder naval cannon on land mountings with platforms, laid out on the left of the church of Santiago. A mat blind was erected to hide the work from snipers, but it was also imperative to silence the guns on the flanking bastions. Accordingly mortar bombs were fired continuously and marksmen were placed on the tower of the church, which made the Spanish works almost untenable. Since the point where it was intended to make the breach was close to the sea, it was hoped that naval gunfire could also assist the operation, not so much by direct action against the walls, as by distracting the Spanish gunners. Accordingly two ships, *Elizabeth* and *Falmouth*, were cleared for action, supplied with extra ground tackle, and manned fully with drafts of men from the other ship. They could not be brought near enough to the shore for their gunfire to be decisive, however, and they were in great danger when an onshore gale struck. The gale drove on shore a supply ship that had just arrived. This proved to be an advantage as it was unloaded directly onto the beach.

> At Daylight [Draper wrote on the 3rd October] the Battery was opened against the Left Face of the Bastion of St. Diego, towards the Saliant Angle. One Hundred Seamen were appointed to assist the Corps of Artillery in this Service. Our Cannon by the most excellent Skill and Management of Major Barker and the officers under him were served with such justness, quickness, and dexterity, that the Twelve Pieces on that Face of the Bastion were Silenced in a Few Hours, and the Spaniards drove from them.[50]

A second sortie was made from the city, using Pampangan Filipinos who had been brought into the city, but it was beaten off. "Had their Skill or

---

[49] *Loc. Cit.* See, A.E.W. Salt and H.O.S. Heistand, "Manila Walls and their Fortifications," *Philippine Historical Bulletin* VIII, no. 4 (December, 1964): 40.

[50] Draper's Journal, TNA: PRO CO 77/20 (Papers Relative to Manila and the East Indies).

Weapons been equal to their Strength and Ferocity," wrote Draper, "it might have cost us dear. Although Armed chiefly with Bows, Arrows, and Lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of our Pieces, repeated their Assaults, and died like wild Beasts, Knawing the Bayonets."[51] The Spaniards had shot their bolt. Discouraged by their losses, and by a report that the British had hanged the prisoners they had taken, the Filipinos began to leave the city and return to their homes.

Work on the remaining unfinished batteries was discontinued, and in the evening orders for the assault were given to the officers. It was a military anticlimax. The guns of the batteries, and the mortars, kept up a steady fire on the Spanish works right up to the last, and drove most of the enemy from their posts. Draper filtered his assault troops into the front lines at 4 a.m., and at daybreak the guns and mortars gave one simultaneous discharge. The troops marched for the breach under the pall of smoke. Sixty volunteers, with the engineers and the pioneers, went first to clear the breach. After them came two divisions of the 79th to push into the town. Hard on their heels came the seamen. They were supported by the rest of the 79th and followed by the Company's troops. In his journal of the siege he wrote of the assault that the pioneers, the men of the 79th regiment, and the seamen "all mounted the Breach with amazing Spirit and Rapidity. The few Spaniards upon the Bastion dispersed so suddenly, that it was thought They depended upon their mines.... We met with little Resistance except at the Royal Gate and the Gallerys of the Lofty Houses which surround the Grand Square. In the Guard House over the Royal Gate 100 of the Spaniards and Indians, who would not surrender, were put to the Sword. 300 more, according to the Enemy's Account, were drown'd in attempting to escape over the River."

British accounts give little detail of the events in the city subsequent to the assault, but it is apparent that resistance was only local. According to the account of the castellan of the citadel, Manuel Fernandez Toribio, when the sentinels reported that the British were assailing the breach, officers were sent with reinforcements. He was informed that Archbishop Rojo had retired into the citadel, and that Don Antonio Piñon had been left in charge of the defense.[52] Rojo, however, resolved to submit rather than allow unnecessary bloodshed. He insisted that a white flag be run up and that no shot be fired from the citadel at the British who were

[51] Ibid.

[52] Account of the Storming of Fort Santiago, 6 Oct. 1762, *Documents,* no. 46.

advancing from post to post along the walls. When they occupied the Archbishop's palace, and then drew up in battle formation in front of the citadel, Rojo ordered a second and larger white flag run up. Draper had complete freedom to impose the terms he wanted. When Rojo produced articles of capitulation Draper made it clear that he would only accept surrender at discretion. Rojo accepted a safe conduct and went to see Draper who had come in the second wave of the assault and established himself in the palace. In his apologia, Rojo wrote that he was greeted with great politeness, and that they conversed in a mixture of French and Latin while awaiting Cornish's arrival. After a while, Cornish not appearing, Draper pressed Rojo to surrender. He agreed. The citadel was occupied and at half past eleven an observer on *Norfolk* saw the British colors hoisted there.

Rojo apparently thought that Draper had granted his terms, but Draper was determined to grant them only in return for solid concessions. The city was in British possession before the Archbishop agreed to surrender, and when Spanish resistance was ended the soldiers turned to pillage. It is not clear exactly what happened. Captain Fletcher wrote that Draper's presence in the assault quelled the usual "insatiable desire in Soldiers to put to Death and Plunder every person without distinction." "It is remarkable," he added, "that altho some of them were shot & others Pierced with arrows in the Ranks after orders were issued on both sides to cease firing, not a man of them offer'd to quit his place or even to present his firelock."[53] Draper's later published statement, on the other hand, sounds more convincing:

> It is a known and universal rule of war, amongst the most civilized nations, that places, taken by storm, without any capitulation, are subject to all the miseries that the conquerors may chuse to inflict … Many of the Houses had been abandoned by the frightened Inhabitants, and were burst open by the Violence of Shot, or Explosion of Shells. Some of these were entered and pillaged. But all military Men know, how difficult it is to restrain the Impetuosity of Troops in the first Fury of an Assault, especially when composed of such a Variety and Confusion of People, who differed as much in Sentiments and Language, as in Dress and Complexion.

Whatever was Draper's intention, it is certain that the indiscipline was useful to him. When Cornish arrived in the city he and Draper set four conditions for the suspension of military action: the disarming of the Spanish troops, the surrender intact of the stores in Manila, and of Cavite

[53] Fletcher's Journal, BL: Orme MS 27, no. 16.

with its stores, and the payment of a ransom of $4 million, half to be paid immediately, for the property of the residents of Manila. In his published account he wrote: "As Conquerors, we took the Pen, and dictated those Terms of the Ransom which the *Spaniards* thought proper to submit to; for they had the Alternative, either to be passive under the Horrors of a Pillage, or compound for their Preservation: they accepted the latter." Rojo claimed that the threat of violence was turned against the councilors themselves. British diaries exhibit a general reluctance to dwell on these events, but Draper wrote: "who, in War, will submit to an inconvenient and prejudicial Compact, unless from Force?" The only concession allowed the Spanish community was that the cargo of the galleon *Filipina* from Acapulco should be counted in the ransom if she surrendered before being captured, and that any deficit in the payment of the ransom should be made up by the treasury at Madrid. This provision was to be the cause of later conflict, because Rojo as governor of the Philippines had no authority to draw on the royal treasury. Once the capitulation had been signed Cornish and Draper indicated their general agreement with Rojo's proposals, which secured private property, guaranteed the Roman Catholic religion and its episcopal government, and granted the citizens the rights of peaceful travel and of trade "as British subjects." Under superior British control, the city would continue to be governed by the Real Audiencia, the expenses of which were to be paid by Spain.[54]

On the 7th October the British army was settled into its new conquest. Guns and stores were brought in, and the citadel was made defensible. The magazines were secured, arms collected, and the Filipinos, when disarmed, sent to their hometowns. *America*'s log records that "the Admiral hoisted the Union at the foretop m[as]t head, the standard at the main & his proper flag at the mizzen topm'head. We fired 17 guns per order on account of the reduction of Manila."[55] Three days later a hundred marines with an equal number of sepoys went ashore from *Seaford* and *Norfolk* at Cavite. The commandant had considered resistance, but the garrison of 300 did not wait for either assault or surrender but mutinied, plundered

[54] Draper's Journal, *loc. cit*. Rojo's proposals, Draper's and Cornish's demands, and the English copy of Rojo's proposals with the British agreement came from the Jesuit archives, and the agreement to include the *Filipina* in the ransom or apply to the Spanish crown is found in Cornish's papers, TNAL PRO ADM 1/162 (2), f. 44. There are copies of the first three papers in *Philippine Studies* and in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1763 and other contemporary magazines, in Draper's and Cornish's pamphlets, and in ADM 1/162 (2), CO 77/20, HMS 76 and HMS 77, although not all are found in each.

[55] TNA: PRO ADM 51/4113, 7 October 1762.

some houses, and ran off with their arms.[56] Everything was found in the dockyard for a complete overhaul of the squadron.

The British occupied Manila and Cavite from October 1762 until April 1764.[57] The Conquest was then returned to Spain to comply with the terms of the Peace of Paris which the English peace commissioners, and the Earl of Bute, had been able to conclude before news of the surrender of Manila reached Europe. It was not this chance of timing alone which prevented the siege leading to the hoped-for commercial advantages. The objective of establishing a trading colony was incompatible with the more primitive objective of paying for the expedition by plundering the conquest of its portable wealth. This incompatibility was increased by the over-estimation of the wealth of Manila that could be collected in ransom. Furthermore, the siege had not secured the succession of the Philippines to the British. Draper's plans had dangerously exaggerated the co-operation to be expected of the Filipinos. The capture of the capital did not end Spanish resistance. The small size of the British force proved inadequate either to secure the stability necessary for the establishment of trade or to carry out the plan of proceeding to the establishment of a post on Mindanao. Far from being able to send soldiers back to India, the Manila Council had to ask Madras for reinforcements. Draper might have been able to deal with the insurgency which developed in rural Luzon under the leadership of Oidor Don Simon Anda y Salazar who had been dispatched into the provinces by Rojo before the surrender, but by the terms of the agreement with the Company Draper surrendered all his authority to its governor, Dawson Drake, on 2 November, and departed for England.[58] Drake not only proved to be incompetent, but also corrupt,

---

[56] TNA: PRO ADM 51/643 and 879, and Draper's Journal, *loc. cit.*

[57] The most important record of the British government of Manila is the Diary and Consultation books of the Governor and Council which are preserved in the Madras Record Office and have been printed verbatim in the *Manilha Consultations, 1762–1764*, 8 vols. (Madras: Madras Record Office, 1940–46). These eight volumes (1–6 and 9, 9a-10) contain not only the minutes of Council meetings, but also a diary of events and copies of most of the letters, proclamations, and evidences received or written by the Council. Unfortunately the publication was faulty and only of volume one is there a manuscript copy in the India Office Records (HMS 76, 1–134). The only printed work on the British government of Manila is by Karl C. Leebrick, "Troubles of an English Governor of the Philippine Islands," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, eds. H.M. Stephens and H.E. Bolton (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917). Although this was published prior to the publication of the *Manilha Consultations* it was based on type-copy of the original. There is also a University of London Ph D thesis which has two chapters on the British government and a detailed bibliography: Elisa Atayde Julian, "British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759–1805," (Ph.D., University of London, 1963).

[58] Paragraph 5, TNA: PRO CO 77/20 (*Documents,* no. 5).

bringing him into conflict with Cornish, who Drake had invited to accept the post of governor of Cavite. Drake had the difficult tasks of collecting the ransom, promoting trade, and defending the perimeter. It is no wonder he had difficulties, but it is remarkable that he did so badly. The East Indies squadron was repaired for its return to Madras, and a galleon was captured, the *Santissima Trinidad*, but the attempt of the British to administer profitably a colony of another European people was not a success, despite the support they received from the Chinese community.

Dawsonne Drake is a little known character who emerged from the obscurity of a subordinate position on the council at Fort St. George. He was evidently born in Madras in 1724 and was possibly related to Drake and William Dawsonne who were directors of the East India Company from 1738 to 1758, and 1710 to 1722, respectively. The story of his early career is extremely limited, although it is known that in 1755 he was dismissed from the Company for refusing to go to Sumatra. He was later reinstated, but in July 1762, when he was elected to head the Council at Manila, he was only fifth member of the Military Council at Fort St. George. He had hardly had the experience necessary to support him in an extremely difficult position. After his departure from Manila he sank again into obscurity. The disgrace he had merited first led to his being dismissed from the Council at Fort St. George, and when he was reinstated, it was stipulated that he should never rise above the level of fourth member. His request that he might live in London was turned down. It is interesting to note, however, that Admiral Sir George Pocock married Drake's sister, and provided him with some moral support in his later adversity.[59]

Most of the East Indies squadron returned to India in late December and early February 1763, but Cornish was with difficulty persuaded by Major Fell the senior army officer to leave Captain Brereton in command of *Falmouth* and *Seaford* and a collection of small craft acquired locally.[60] Brereton also succeeded to the government of Cavite.[61] The first news of the cessation of arms negotiated between the belligerents reached Manila on 24 July 1763 when the Company ship *Houghton* arrived from Madras,

---

[59] See, Henry Dodwell, Curator of Madras Records Office, to Karl Leebrick, 4 May 1915, in Leebrick "Troubles of an English Governor of the Philippine Islands," in *The Pacific Ocean in History* loc. cit.

[60] Cornish-Fell correspondence, 1–7 Feb. 1763, TNA: PRO ADM 1/162 (2), ff. 80–3.

[61] See, MC, vol. 1, 2 Nov. 1762, and vol. 5, 25 Feb. 1763 Drake to Brereton, "A Consultation" 2 Nov. 1762 and Cornish to Council at Manila, 7 Nov., BL: India Office Records, HMS 76, 12, 39, Cornish to Cleveland, 31 Oct. 1762, and Drake to Cornish, 3 Nov., TNA: PRO ADM 1/162 (2), ff. 36, 67 (the latter in *Documents,* no. 96).

and on 26 August the Company ship *Hector* arrived bringing a copy of the preliminary draft of the Peace of Paris. All conquests not known about at the time of the signing of the treaty were to be returned to the original owners. This news, however, had no effect on the impasse at Manila. Pigot dispatched orders to evacuate Manila on 15 August by the Company frigate *Revenge*, but her commander, Captain Watson, spent the summer selling opium in Malaya and missed the season for the passage to Manila.[62]

During the final winter of the British occupation all pretence of cooperation amongst the British leaders was abandoned, Captain Brereton leading the opposition to Drake. Relations between Brereton and Drake became so bad that Brereton left his residence at Cavite and retired into his quarters onboard *Falmouth.*[63] The marines were embarked on *Seaford*. On 4 March the *Revenge* finally arrived from Madras by way of Batavia and Pitts Passage east of Borneo where the worst of the monsoon had been avoided.[64] Immediate withdrawal was not in fact possible, however, because there was not enough shipping available. After his return to India Cornish sent *Panther* back to Manila to help in the embarkation but Captain Mathison, who had taken command of her after Captain Newson's court martial for conducting private trade, apparently was unimpressed by his fate. He preferred to follow his example, and that of Captain Watson, spending the summer trading in Malaya. He did not even bother to emulate the *Revenge* and make a late passage to Manila against the monsoon.[65]

The impasse was only ended when on 15 March word reached Manila that Brigadier de la Torre had arrived in Luzon with packets from London and Madrid including orders from London to Brereton and Backhouse for the surrender of Manila.[66] They seized on this pretext to justify reversion to military authority, and entered into effectual negotiations for surrender. After a final effort to restrain the military, Drake asked permission to resign, possibly influenced by the arrival of Alexander Dalrymple on his way to China. The departure of Drake from Manila did not end the turmoil. The Council elected Dalrymple as Provisional Deputy Governor,

---

62 Records of Fort St. George, Out Letters, vol. 37, p. 68 no. 87, Pigot to Captain Thomas Riddel, 17 Aug. 1763, Palk to Company, 26 March and 14 July 1764, *Calendar of Madras Despatches* and see W.E. May, "The Panther Affair," *The Mariner's Mirror* 55, no. 4 (Nov. 1969): 401–10, *loc. cit*.

63 MC, vol. 5, 21 Aug. 1763 *et seq*.

64 MC, vol. 9.

65 W.E. May, "The Panther Affair," and Cornish to Egremont, 1 Sept. 1763, HMS 97, 49–50.

66 See: MC, vol. 9, 15 March 1764 *et seq*.

and he appears to have thought that it would be possible to salvage something from the ruin by using the forces on the spot to pursue his own plans to establish a trade station at Sulu. This added further difficulties to the shipping problem in bringing the soldiers home from Manila. Brereton managed to nurse his ships as far as Batavia, but there *Falmouth* and *Saim,* a warn-out trade galleon, were condemned and it was only because the governor of Bencoolen sent a ship to collect the 79th Regiment that it was able to reach Madras on 25 May 1765. From there they were sent on to England. Brereton and the people of *Falmouth* were by then also proceeding to England, as passengers in Dutch East Indiamen.[67]

The definite treaty of the Peace of Paris had been concluded on 10 February, weeks before the arrival of Colonel Draper on 16 April 1763. Consequently the conquest of Manila served no strategic purpose in the war. It had not hastened the defeat of Spain, and neither had it served to justify the retention of some part of the Spanish empire as a permanent acquisition. Even had Draper or Drake established a post on Mindanao, the terms of the treaty would have resulted in its retrocession to Spain. But the loss was not wholly accidental. Only inescapable political necessity had obliged the government to alter the preliminary draft of the treaty to account for the victory at Havana. The tacit abandonment of Manila must be looked on as a deliberate avoidance, which the public's ignorance made possible, of a subject that could only prolong the war.[68]

Draper and Cornish were well rewarded by the nation. They were given the thanks of Parliament on 19 April 1763; Draper was promised the first vacant knighthood of the Bath; and on 9 January 1766 Cornish was made a Baronet of Great Britain taking his style from Sharnbrooke where he purchased an estate. Draper's knighthood caused a political stir because George Grenville gave the first vacancy to Robert Clive as he left to restore order in the affairs of the East India Company, and the Duke of Bedford who had made the promise to Draper thought his honor was being slighted. Draper made do with the next vacancy. For his service in Madras he was also rewarded with the Lieutenant-Governorship of Great Yarmouth worth £150 per annum. Both men also shared in the

---

[67] Palk to Lawrence, 23 July 1764, MMC, vol. 50, 518–20, and Lawrence to Halifax 25 Oct. 1764, 30 Jan., 25 March and 13 Oct. 1765, HMS 98, 11–12, 113–5, 117–8, and 155–6.

[68] Draper to [?] n.d., 15 April 1763 (no. 312), in *Letters of George III to Lord Bute*; TNA: PRO CO 77/20 (*Documents,* no 110) and Zaneb E. Rashed, *The Peace of Paris* (Liverpool: University Press, 1951).

distributions of prize money.[69] Despite a vigorous public campaign, on the other hand, they were not able to persuade the government to exploit its military power to compel Spain to honor the terms of the ransom agreement.

Spain never did pay the Manila ransom, but the continued efforts of the British government to exact it serve to establish the place of the brief occupation of Manila in the development of the British trading empire in the Pacific. It also played a part in the drama that was to surround the British establishment in 1764 of a post on the Falkland Islands, which the Chatham administration attempted two years later to use as leverage for payment of the ransom. When Spain cut that Gordian knot by seizing the post, the incident almost led to war in 1770, and indeed a link could be traced between the Manila campaign, the unpaid Manila ransom, and the 1982 Falklands war.

[69] *The Scots Magazine* 26 (Edinburgh, 1764): 722–3, & 28 (1766), 330.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY

Matt Schumann

> We wait here anxiously for news of the signature; the Austrians are working to convert the preliminary act into a definitive peace… I do not think I will return to Berlin for six weeks at least, as I have much to do here for the march of the regiments, for ordering the transports by water and other similar things; I also need to go into Silesia, where there are many arrangements to make.[1]

King Frederick II of Prussia wrote these words to his brother, Prince Henry, on 14 February 1763, no doubt looking forward to the Peace of Hubertusburg. Nine days later, he wrote to Count Solms, his envoy in Moscow:

> I am at pains to understand how the English ambassador has demanded that England would accede to a treaty between myself and Russia that does not exist… if Russia wishes to make an alliance with me, it would be well to establish it on some other foundation.[2]

It has been customary to treat the Seven Years' War, and most wars, as having a discrete end, demarcating radical change in history "with the scratch of a pen" on a final peace treaty.[3] These and other letters show, however, that Frederick partook just as much in historical continuities. The first illustrates briefly that the Treaty of Hubertusburg did not suddenly end Frederick's military activities, and the second demonstrates that he contended with a new international order only shortly after, if not well before the peace.

---

[1] Frederick to Prince Henry of Prussia, 14 Feb. 1763, Kurt Treusch von Buttlar and Otto Herrmann, eds., *Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Grossen* (hereafter *PC*, 46 vols., Berlin, 1879–1939), 22: 523.

[2] Frederick to Solms, 23 Feb. 1763, *PC*, 22: 534.

[3] Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). In fact, this is a much more detailed history of British North America in the 1760s, yet its title once again reveals the perennial temptation to view peace treaties as constitutive, in and of themselves, of the end of military conflict.

Despite the renowned efficiency of Prussia's military bureaucracy,[4] few modern historians would pretend that Frederick's mobilization occurred instantaneously in August 1756. His military preparations began by mid-June,[5] and the diplomatic context began to take shape no later than spring 1755.[6] By contrast, most histories of the war end with the peace negotiations, yet they often neglect both the vagaries of demobilization and the diplomatic context surrounding the final peace treaties.

On the day when the Treaty of Hubertusburg was signed, a letter from Frederick to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick summarized it as tritely as any future historian:

> By means of this treaty, the County of Glatz will be returned to me, with the town and fortress of that name and all its artillery, in the state in which it stood when the Austrians seized it; the same with Wesel, Gueldres and all my possessions on the Lower Rhine, and everything of which I was in possession after the last war. In return, I will evacuate Saxony, from where the Austrians will equally retire. The prisoners of war will also be returned reciprocally, without ransom.[7]

Frederick's redistribution of troops and the postwar tour of his territories gets lost in his *Politische Correspondenz*, however, and Alfred Ritter von Arneth's lengthy biography of Maria Theresa makes an equally visible break early in 1763.[8] Maria Theresa's published letters, while treating

---

[4] cf. Christopher Duffy, *The Army of Frederick the Great* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974), 130–57; Hubert Johnson, *Frederick the Great and His Officials* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), *passim*.; Dennis Showalter, *The Wars of Frederick the Great* (New York: Longman, 1996), 90–116; Franz Szabo, *The Seven Years' War in Europe* (New York: Longman, 2007), 22–24; Matt Schumann and Karl Schweizer, *The Seven Years' War: A Transatlantic History* (London, New York: Routledge, 2008), 133–37.

[5] Frederick's reservations about going to war appear in a letter to Louis Michell, 6 July 1756, Geheime Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (hereafter, GStAPK) Rep.96.32 J-K, f.143. For rumors and orders concerning mobilization, see Mitchell to Holdernesse, 22 June 1756, National Archives, Kew (hereafter, TNA) 90/65, also in British Library, Additional Manuscripts (hereafter, BL Add. MS.) 32865, ff.378–83; Frederick to Marshal Keith and *Circulaireordre*, both 23 June 1756, *PC*, 12: 457. See also Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 133; Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, 43–44.

[6] For early exchanges between Prussia and Britain, which ultimately led to the diplomatic revolution, see Frederick to Michell, 1 April 1755, *PC*, 11: 102; same to same, 29 April 1755, GStAPK Rep.96.32H, f.99; Holdernesse to Newcastle, 1 June 1755, BL Egerton MS. 3428, ff.208–09; same to same, 7 June 1755, BL: Add. MS. 32855, f.375.

[7] Postscript of Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 15 Feb. 1763, *PC*, 22: 526.

[8] For Frederick, see *PC*, vols.22–23, *passim*. For Maria Theresa, see Alfred Ritter von Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresias* 10 vols. (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1863–79), esp. vols. 5–6. After two full volumes on the Seven Years' War, the seventh begins almost immediately with family and dynastic issues, and contains very little discussion of demobilization and redeployments.

several areas of endeavor, also contain remarkable breaks, and much of the late-war and postwar diplomatic context is lost—perhaps more forgivably—in Prince Ferdinand's published letters and campaign diary.[9] Standard treatments of the treaties of Paris and Hubertusburg have stood the test of time—nearly 140 years in the latter case—yet their admirable focus came at the expense of a broader historical vision.[10]

More recent histories of the war have ended with the cease-fires in November-December 1762 or the peace treaties in February-March 1763. Except for Reginald Savory's work on the army under Prince Ferdinand, most military treatments have ended with cursory attention at best to issues outside the peace negotiations, and said even less about demobilization.[11] The current authority on the war's final stages, Karl Schweizer, has translated research in dozens of archives into at least as many published works.[12] His latest, most complete account of the war's final stages

---

[9] Alfred Ritter von Arneth, ed., *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia an ihre Kinder und Freunde*, vol. 4 (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1881); Friedrich Walter, *Maria Theresia: Briefe und Aktenstücke in Auswahl* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968).Christian Heinrich Philipp von Westphalen, *Geschichte der Feldzüge des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (hereafter *Urkundliche Nachträge*), vol.6 (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler & Sohn, 1872).

[10] Karl von Beaulieu-Marconnay, *Der Hubertusburger Friede* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1871); Zenab Esmat Rashed, *The Peace of Paris, 1763* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951). On Hubertusburg, see also Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, vol.6, chapter 17, 381–423.

[11] Sir Reginald Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), esp. pp. 442–47. For other British perspectives, see Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War: A Study in Combined Strategy* 2 vols (London: Longman's, Green, 1907); Stephen F. Gradish, *The Manning of the British Navy during the Seven Years' War* (London, Royal Historical Society, 1980); Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory: the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); David Syrett, *Shipping and Military Power in the Seven Years' War: The Sails of Victory* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008). On France, see Lee Kennett, *French Armies in the Seven Years' War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967); James Pritchard, *Louis XV's Navy, 1748–1762: A Study of Organization and Administration* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); Jonathan Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). On the United Netherlands, see Alice Clare Carter, *The Dutch Republic in Europe in the Seven Years' War* (Coral Gables: Miami University Press, 1971). For an Austrian perspective within a more general history of the German war, see Szabo, *The Seven Years' War in Europe*. For a unique Prussian perspective, see Eberhard Kessel, *Das Ende des Siebenjährigen Krieges, 1760–1763*, 2 vols (Paderborn, 2007). See also the review by Peter Wilson, *German History*, 26, no.2 (Apr. 2008): 318; H-Net review by Marcus von Salisch, 9 Oct. 2007, H-HRE, http://h-net.msu.edu/.

[12] Karl W. Schweizer, *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War: Studies in Alliance Policies and Diplomacy* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellon Press, 1989); idem., *Frederick the Great, William Pitt and Lord Bute: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance, 1756–1763* (New York: Garland,

appears in our co-authored book, deftly treating a variety of domestic power struggles and the intricacies of public and secret diplomacy, yet both of us together, our reviewers, and several dozen colleagues at a conference in 2009 remained largely inattentive once again both to demobilization and to the larger international context.[13]

The context, at least, appears in works of a larger scope. Russia's rise in the mid-eighteenth century is now well documented,[14] and recent state-level histories and political biographies have increased the current understanding of Frederician Prussia, Theresian Austria, the Anglo-Hanoverian Union, Louis XV's France and the Hessian mercenary state.[15] Together with larger works on the European and Atlantic international system,[16]

1991); idem., *War, Politics and Diplomacy: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[13] Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years War*, chapter 6. A wide ranging conference in October 2009, "Contest for Continents: The Seven Years War in Global Perspective," sponsored by the Omohundro Institute for Early American History and Culture, featured discussions of military and diplomatic minutiae from local alliances in Orissa (India) to the arming of British slaves in Jamaica, yet the end of the war in its largest, most active theater—Europe—again remained shrouded in silence.

[14] Lawrence Jay Oliva, *Misalliance: A Study of French Policy in Russia during the Seven Years War* (New York: New York University Press, 1964); Herbert Kaplan, *Russia and the Outbreak of the Seven Years' War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Christopher Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West: The Origins and Nature of Russian Military Power, 1700–1800* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981). cf. James Brennan, *Enlightened Despotism in Russia: The Reign of Elizabeth* (New York: P. Long, 1987).

[15] On Prussia, see Duffy, *Army of Frederick the Great*; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*. On Austria, see Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Franz Szabo, *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Duffy, *Instrument of War: The Austrian Army in the Seven Years' War*, vol. 1 (London: Emperor's Press, 1999); Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy: From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001); Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence, 1683–1797* (London: Longman, 2003). On France, see James Riley, *The Seven Years' War and the Old Regime in France: the Economic and Financial Toll* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Jeremy Black, *From Louis XIV to Napoleon: The Fate of a Great Power* (London: UCL Press, 1999). On Hesse-Kassel, see Ingrao, *The Hessian Mercenary State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Peter Taylor, *Indentured to Liberty: Peasant Life and the Hessian Military State, 1688–1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). For Hanover and Great Britain, see Uriel Dann, *Hanover and Great Britain, 1740–1760* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991); Jeremy Black, *Britain as a Military Power, 1688–1815* (London: UCL Press, 1999); idem., *The Continental Commitment: Britain, Hanover and Interventionism, 1714–1793* (London, NY: Routledge, 2005); Nick Harding, *Hanover and the British Empire, 1700–1837* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

[16] cf. Kenneth Banks, *Chasing Empire Across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713–1763* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Jeremy Black, *The Rise of the European Powers, 1679–1793* (London, New York: E. Arnold, 1990); idem., *America or Europe?: British Foreign Policy, 1739–63* (London: UCL Press, 1998); Eckhard Buddruss, *Die französische Deutschlandpolitik, 1756–1789* (Mainz: P. von Zabern,

these and a variety of surveys on war, politics and finance[17] offer an excellent composite view of eighteenth century diplomacy and the evolving fiscal-military state, but the varied developments of 1762–63 also call for a narrower focus.

Drawing from British and Prussian archives, from British newspapers and from collections of published correspondence, this chapter seeks to present that view through a kind of "historical miscellany" on the model of Schweizer's *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War*. It will highlight in microcosm the transition remarked by Hamish Scott in his work on the Great Powers, as the international system grew from three major states to five, and marginalized lesser players.[18] Beyond treading the familiar scholarly paths through the Czarina's death and the military movements of 1762, the chapter will also note the declining emphasis on Germany as a theater of interest, and detail a few smaller incidents that might repay further study in European archives.

Winter 1761– 1762: How Much Is a Leader Worth?

The Duke of Wellington once remarked that Napoleon's battlefield presence was worth 40,000 men.[19] A half-century earlier, Czar Peter III may have been worth 100,000. When Czarina Elizabeth died on 5 January 1762, the alliance against Prussian militarism forged by the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 suddenly lost its most ardent contributor. Some 80,000 Russian troops left that coalition, and 20,000 of those—a corps originally intended

1995); Heinz Duchhardt, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen: Balance of Power und Pentarchie, 1700–1785* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997); Hamish Scott, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); idem., *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers, 1756–1775* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); idem., *The Birth of a Great Power System, 1740–1815* (London, New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005); Christopher Storrs, *The Fiscal-Military State in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Farnham, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

[17] e.g. James Riley, *International Government Finance and the Amsterdam Capital Market, 1740–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); John A. Houlding, *Fit for Service: the Training of the British Army, 1715–1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Nicholas Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (Padstow: Collins, 1986); Peter Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresia, 1740–1780*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York, 1989); John Gagliardo, *Germany in the Ancien Regime, 1600–1760* (New York: Longman, 1991); Jeremy Black, *European Warfare, 1660–1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Peter Wilson, *German Armies: War and German Politics, 1648–1806* (London: UCL Press, 1998).

[18] cf. esp. Scott, *Great Power System*, chapters 4–8.

[19] Charles Esdaille, *The Wars of Napoleon* (London, New York: Longman, 1995), 66.

for Austrian service under General Zakhar Grigoryevitch Czernyshev—briefly joined Frederick's army. Britain's declaration of war against Spain on 4 January—the previous day—reflected the importance of another individual: King Charles III of Spain. His brief entry into the Seven Years' War brought Spain and Portugal into the global fray, and diverted 6,000 British troops. The leader of that contingent could hardly have had more connections with Germany: Prince Ferdinand's artillery chief, Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst, Graf von Schaumburg-Lippe.[20]

Most treatments of the Seven Years' War take it as given that the conflict changed fundamentally over the course of these two days. To use Szabo's words, an "unexpected dénouement" occurred, with the Czarina's death saving Frederick from imminent defeat while British counsels waffled between continental and maritime aims.[21] The numbers seem to bear out the interpretation that something remarkable had happened, but is the surprise ending in Germany really to be found in these two days or in the previous three months, when French troops left in large numbers, and when Czernyshev's commission and a longer-than-usual Russian stay in Prussian Pomerania seemed already to herald the long-term imposition of Russian interests on the European stage?

The Spanish war is treated in a separate chapter, but it is worth noting here that William Pitt the Elder at the end of his ministerial career again displayed insights far in advance of his peers.[22] He resigned on

---

[20] For a brief biographical sketch, see Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 63, n.1; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 329–30. For the appointment, see Prince Ferdinand to Frederick, 13 May 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 64–65; Bute to Prince Ferdinand, 14 May 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/88.ff.151–52.

[21] Szabo, *Seven Years War in Europe*, ch.7. On the continent-versus-colonies battle in eighteenth-century British strategic thought, see Dann, *Hanover and Great Britain*; Black, *America or Europe?*; idem., *Continental Commitment*; Harding, *Hanover and the British Empire*; Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714–1783* (New York: Basic Books, 2009). See also Richard Pares, "American versus Continental Warfare, 1739–1763," *English Historical Review*, 51, no. 203 (July 1936): 429–65; Nicholas Rodger, "The Continental Commitment in the Eighteenth Century," in L. Friedman, Paul Hayes and Robert O'Neill, eds., *War, Strategy and International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992): 39–55; Stephen Conway, "Continental Connections: Britain and Europe in the Eighteenth Century," *History*, 90, no. 299 (July 2005): 353–74.

[22] For a previous example, consider the West Africa expeditions in 1758, in which Pitt's hand was clearly evident. Consuming just a few ships and mere fragments of two British regiments, they not only secured new territory, but also inflicted grave harm on French East India stock, and trades in slaves and gum Arabic. cf. Pitt to Master General of the Ordnance, 6 and 9 Sept. and 4 Oct. 1758; Pitt to Lords of the Admiralty, 5, 13 and 30 Sept. and 18 Oct. 1758; Pitt to Barrington, 2 Oct. 1758, University of Michigan, William Clements Library, Shelburne MSS, vol. 153. See also Versailles Agent to Cressener, 30 Jul. 1758, to Holdernesse, 1 Aug., TNA: SP 81/132; Holdernesse to Mitchell, 27 Jan. 1759, private, BL: Egerton MS. 3461,

5 October 1761, over his desire for an aggressive approach to Spain.[23] His suspicions were vindicated by January,[24] yet given Pitt's previous support for the German war it is hard to know how much the Spanish war would have affected his dispositions.[25] In his absence, however, King George III and an emerging cadre of patriot ministers kept Prince Ferdinand on edge with respect to his British troops.[26]

Pitt could only have had partial knowledge, however, that 1761 also represented the high tide of French endeavor in Germany—their last best

---

f.143; Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 2: 337, 374; Dull, *French Navy*, 116; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (London: Faber, 2000), 306–07. More generally, see Richard Middleton, *The Bells of Victory*; Jeremy Black, *Pitt the Elder* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999).

[23] For the aggressive approach to France in 1755, cf. Newcastle to Holdernesse, 15 July 1755, BL: Add. MS. 32857, f.109; Hawke to Cleveland, 18 July 1755, TNA: ADM 1/89. Hawke's correspondence in TNA: ADM 1/89 records at least 24 distinct captures from August to October 1755. Rumors of damage to French shipping, finance and insurance structures appears briefly in Mitchell to Newcastle, 5 Aug. 1755, BL: Add. MS. 32857, f.583; intelligence from Paris, 31 Oct. 1755, BL: Egerton MS. 3468, ff. 214–15. Various estimates of total British damage in 1755—and some of the basis for Pitt's likely reasoning—appear in E.J.B. Rathery, *Journal and Memoirs of the Marquis d'Argenson*, 2 vols (Boston: Hardy, Pratt, & Co., 1902), 2: 330–31, 344; Ruddock F. McKay, *Admiral Hawke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 136; Reed Browning, *The Duke of Newcastle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 229. On Pitt and Spain, see William Hunt, "Pitt's Retirement from Office, 5 October 1761," *English Historical Review*, 21, no.81 (January 1906): 119–32; Grimaldi to Fuentes, 31 Aug. and 13 Sept. 1761, *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, eds. William Taylor and John Pringle, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1838–40), 2: 141–46; Memorials relating to the French Negotiation and Spain, 24 Aug. 1761, BL: Add. MS. 32927, ff.190–93; Pitt to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, 13 Oct. 1761, *Pitt Correspondence*, 2: 156–57; quote from Pitt to William Beckford, Esq., 15 Oct. 1761, ibid., pp.158–59. A unique insight into Pitt's thinking appears in papers related to the Stanley-Bussy negotiations, Clements Library, Shelburne MSS, vol.8.

[24] Even without full knowledge of the Franco-Spanish entente, Pitt condemned Spanish offers of mediation in August 1761 as "incompatible with the very idea of an [sic] hostile power." Pitt to Stanley, 27 Aug. 1761, Clements Library, Shelburne MSS, vol.8, f.191. See also the declaration of war and authorization for letters of marque in *London Gazette*, no.10171 (2–5 Jan. 1762): 1–2. A declaration from Whitehall, 9 Jan. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10172 (5–9 Jan. 1762): 1–4, gives both English and French versions of a note presented on 25 December 1761 by the Count de Fuentes, Spain's ambassador in London, and the reply on 31 December delivered by the Earl of Egremont, Pitt's successor as Secretary of State for the Southern Department.

[25] As much as can be said with certainty is that Pitt had asked casually, once, about Prussian concessions, and met with a stiff refusal. It is difficult to say how well Pitt's bellicosity, had he stayed in office, would have squared with Frederick's continued determination in the waning weeks of 1761. See Knyphausen to Frederick, 9 June 1761, GSTAPK Rep 96.33E, vol. I, ff.267–69; Frederick to Knyphausen, 23 June 1761, *PC*, 20: 480–81; Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, 201. For a sense of Pitt's attitudes as they were known in Germany, see Prince Ferdinand to Frederick, 27 May 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 69.

[26] Prince Ferdinand to Frederick, 11 Feb. and 5 April 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 17, 51. See also Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 360–62; Dull, *French Navy*, 228–29.

area of strategic initiative amid disasters around the globe.[27] That autumn, the *London Gazette* noted the poor state of French troops coming from the Lower Rhine, and offered precise detail on regiments passing through Liège.[28] Some 40 battalions and 46 squadrons left Germany by February 1762, and Marshal Victor François Duc de Broglie discovered that military success was no substitute for political favor.[29] Among his enemies at court was Etienne François Duc de Choiseul, the effective chief minister, whose policies toward Britain and Spain by the end of 1761 reflected a new strategy: holding in Germany while reengaging at sea.[30]

Meanwhile, Frederick's defense fared relatively well for most of 1761, but came undone in the year's closing months. He lost Schweidnitz on 1 October,[31] and the Russian siege of Kolberg survived both a relief expedition and the onset of winter.[32] Still without news around Christmas 1761, he offered an intriguing assessment of the theater as a whole:

> The Austrians are making their reduction, as they are able to pay Czernyshev's corps; thus, counting that one, their army is as strong as it was before. The exhaustion of their finances is so great that I do not believe they will be able

---

[27] For possible relationships between British success elsewhere and French efforts in Germany, see Dull, *French Navy*, and esp. Matt Schumann, "British Grand Strategy and the Euro-Colonial International System, 1754–61" (Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 2005). On the French failure in North America in particular, see Guy Frégault, *Canada: La Guerre de la Conquête* (Montréal, 1959); Frank Brecher, *Losing a Continent: France's North American Policy, 1753–1763* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998). For a sense of the supply and morale troubles that plagued the French army in Germany by 1761, cf. Brunswick and Cologne, 11 Aug.; Liège and Wesel, 14 Aug., *London Gazette*, no.10132 (18–22 Aug. 1761): 1.

[28] e.g. Frankfort (am Main), 19 Nov., Liège, 21 Nov., *London Gazette*, no.10161 (28 Nov.-1 Dec. 1761): 1. Details of the regiments de la Couronne, Briqueville, Enghien and Lemps—all returning to France—appear in Liège, 27 Nov. 1761, *London Gazette*, no.10163 (5–8 Dec. 1761): 2. This contrasts with previous French winter dispositions reported in the *Gazette*, for example the reported chain of winter camps stretching from Cleves to Andernach, and from Coblenz to Giessen at the end of 1758. Munster, 24 and 27 Nov. 1758, *London Gazette*, no.9849 (2–5 Dec. 1758): 1.

[29] Summary of the 1762 campaign, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 3–4; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 355–62; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 360–61; Dull, *French Navy*, 227. For the bewilderment that French troop movements caused among their adversaries, see Prince Ferdinand to Frederick, 11 Feb. 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 17; Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 17 Dec. 1761, *PC*, 21: 131; same to same, 14 Feb. 1762, ibid., 251–52.

[30] Dull, *French Navy*, 226–28; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 377–78; Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, 202–04.

[31] Frederick to Prince Henry, 3 Oct. 1761, *PC*, 21: 6. See also the detailed account in Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 364–65.

[32] Detailed histories of the entire siege and Frederick's relief expeditions appear on the Project 7YW web site, http://www.kronoskaf.com/syw/index.php?title=1761_-_Siege_of_Colberg, referenced 19 May 2010. See also Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 116–18; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 369–72.

> to finish the next campaign… It is the same with Kolberg. The loss of that city will put the cord round my neck, unless another development renders this event momentary and easy to repair.[33]

Reading the subtext, it seems plausible to argue that Frederick at least dimly understood that Russian commitment to the war—and to strategic objectives in central Europe—had grown beyond a mere auxiliary corps, and that their ambitions reached farther than East Prussia and border adjustments in Poland.[34] Nothing in Frederick's published writings indicates a clear understanding about the Czarina's larger intentions with Kolberg, but if he had any sense about how Russia might then become a permanent, much closer threat even if his territories survived the coming peace, it might go farther to explain a certain detachment from reality particularly after the city's fall on 16 December. By the turn of the year he placed inordinate, almost delusional hope in Turkish intervention.[35]

His comments on Austrian reductions also reveal something about the strategic thinking in Vienna. State Chancellor Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg overcame opposition in the cabinet and slashed regimental muster rolls by two companies apiece, around 20,000 men in all, by early December. This was a tacit confession that Prussia's defeat had begun to entail more expense than it was worth, and that peace had become more desirable than the risks of a successful war.[36] Russia's rising political stock also appears from Czernyshev's auxiliary corps, intended to replace the disbanded Austrians.

Treatments of Russia in the Seven Years' War suggest that contemporaries feared the Czarina's ambitions and her strengthening negotiating position long before she died. Kaplan and Oliva also remarked Russia's profiting from perceptions of fiscal weakness and diplomatic inexperience to lull prospective allies into unforeseen concessions. The Czarina's military reputation was probably secured at Kunersdorf in August 1759,

---

[33] Frederick to Prince Henry, 23 Dec. 1761, *PC*, 21: 138.

[34] On Russian intentions for East Prussia, see e.g. Oliva, *Misalliance*, 58, 84, 104–07, 148–49. For Russian treatment of the province, see Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 82–83. On the larger policy context of Russia's push into central Europe, see ibid., 57–59.

[35] Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 368–73. The *Politische Correspondenz* contains several of Frederick's flights of fancy over the course of several weeks, notably a "Projet zur kunftigen Campagne", Dec. 1761, letter 13368, *PC*, 21: 152–54. Duffy suggests that fear of Russia may already have informed Frederick's hasty diplomatic path to the Anglo-Prussian Convention of Westminster in January 1756. *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 61.

[36] Christopher Duffy, "Count Kaunitz-Rietberg, Military Strategist, 1756–63", in Franz Szabo and Grete Klingenstein, eds., *Staatskanzler Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg 1711–1794* (Graz: Andreas Schnider, 1996), 59–60; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 378–80.

yet underachievement over the next two campaigns—sometimes against her explicit orders—played into one of the strongest elements of Russian diplomatic practice: exploiting appearances of untapped potential in order to achieve greater ends.[37]

Despite being unpalatable to their allies, Russian ambitions before 1761 appear relatively limited. Duffy noted that the Czarina remained committed to Austro-Russian cooperation over and above independent action in 1760, and though Oliva remarked her desire to dictate terms at a peace congress, he ultimately said little about her longer-term aims beyond territorial exchange in Poland.[38] At a time when East Prussia was her only major bargaining chip, perhaps this position makes sense, but what about after the fall of Kolberg? How much more might the Czarina have demanded from Poland, holding a port to the west of Danzig? How much leverage might she have gained among other Baltic powers—notably Denmark, where a mostly-Russian fleet had already caused alarm in 1758?[39] With her nephew's pretensions to Holstein and following French and Swedish invocation of the Peace of Westphalia,[40] what might she have thought about meddling in German Imperial politics? And with Czernyshev's auxiliary corps bolstering Austrian numbers in Silesia, what further concessions might she have extorted from Vienna?

---

[37] For example, the Czarina preyed upon French and Austrian strategic needs at the time of the Hague Declaration in November 1759. Through skillful manipulation, she extorted the concession of Russian sovereignty in East Prussia. cf. Oliva, *Misalliance*, 151–52. For examples of Russian underachievement, see Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 287–94, 342–44; 429.

[38] Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 113; Oliva, *Misalliance*, 183–84.

[39] Titley to Holdernesse, 16 May, 25 and 29 July, 19 Aug., 2 and 19 Sept. 1758, TNA: SP 75/103; Goodricke to Holdernesse, 22 Jul., 9 and 30 Sept. 1758, TNA: SP 75/104. Indirect evidence of Danish insecurity appears in Copenhagen, 13 May 1758, *London Gazette*, no.9796 (30 May-3 June 1758): 2. Rumored Russian plans for Kolberg as a forward base already appear in Goodricke to Holdernesse, 28 Oct. 1758, TNA: SP 75/104. Danish fears of Russia's Holstein pretensions appear e.g. in Titley to Holdernesse, 6 and 9 May, 17 June 1758, TNA: SP 75/103. See also Oliva, *Misalliance*, 114–16; Dull, *French Navy*, 127, 157.

[40] e.g. "Memoire to serve as the instructions for Count d'Estrées… at the Court of Vienna in the quality of Minister Plenipotentiary," 19 Oct. 1756, in Albert Sorel, ed., *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu'à Revolution Française* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1884), 340–41. See also Cardinal François de Bernis, *Memoirs and Letters*, transl. Katherine Prescott Wormeley, 2 vols (Boston: Hardy, Pratt, & Co., 1902), 1: 229–30; Lothar Schilling, *Kaunitz und das Renversement des Alliances*. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989), 41. For some of the origins of Imperial concessions to France and Sweden, see C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: J. Cape, 1938); Peter Wilson, *The Thirty Years' War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

Perhaps these questions overstate the case, but it is important to consider Austro-Russian tensions by early 1762 and the proximity in time between the fall of Kolberg and the Czarina's death. Given her terminal bout of illness starting in early December,[41] it may be impossible to determine how or even whether the Czarina's last triumph affected her thoughts on the postwar order. Might she have altered her strategy so as to preserve a pro-Russian balance between Austria and Prussia? And with circumstances even as they were, how far did leadership changes in 1762 ultimately affect the Czarina's most enduring legacy: Russia's inexorable entry into the European political mainstream?

The emerging reality seems to have been clear by 1761, but the question was who would be first to accept it. The existing historiography clearly remarks Russia's entry into Europe's top political tier, yet it also notes French and Austrian discomfort before the fall of Kolberg. How much more might they have dreaded Russian pretensions with the Czarina's armies established in Pomerania?[42] Frederick's humble approach to Elizabeth's successors may evidence Prussia's weakness as Szabo suggests, but it might also indicate Frederick's characteristic opportunism, embracing a new international configuration.[43]

In sum, Spain's bellicosity and the accession of Peter III unquestionably changed the Seven Years' War, yet from another perspective they only highlighted existing trends. The Spanish war, Choiseul's naval program and British patriot sentiments combined to pull all three states into an Atlantic rivalry,[44] but acute logistical problems and growing domestic frustration with the German war in 1761 already portended a shift away from that theater. Meanwhile, the Czarina's death undoubtedly changed the Austro-Prussian balance, yet recent scholarship on Peter III suggests that the view from St. Petersburg may largely have been the same.[45] If his short-term calculations favored Holstein over Ukraine or East Prussia, he only made more evident the bigger issue of Russia's emergence. In short,

---

41 Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 311.

42 esp. Frederick to Prince Henry, 3 Jan. 1762, *PC*, 21: 161–63. See also Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 312–13; Scott, *Great Power System*, 104.

43 Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 427. Frederick's strategic thought on Russia after 1763 emerges most clearly in Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 321–22. More generally, see Scott, *Eastern Powers*, *passim*. On Frederician diplomatic tactics vis-à-vis Peter III, see ibid., 313–14.

44 Dull, *French Navy*, 245–49; Scott, *Great Power System*, 145–46, 214–22.

45 Carol Leonard, *Reform and Regicide: The Reign of Peter III of Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), *passim*.; Schweizer, *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War*, e.g. chs.6–7; Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, 212–15.

the Spanish war only heightened French and British predilections for withdrawal from Germany, while Peter's open bellicosity merely undisguised what Walther Mediger called "Moscow's way into Europe".

Spring-Summer 1762: The "Other" Unexpected Dénouement

Szabo's chapter title for the campaign of 1762 refers to the swinging Austro-Prussian balance of power caused by the Czarina's death. His book reflects a tradition in British and Austro-German thought going back to 1758 if not 1756, when events on the ground and British popular opinion informed a greater interest in the German war.[46] At least through 1761, Germany might have been the war's decisive theater, especially in light of the blood and treasure invested there. And yet, as Anglo-French peace talks shifted from continental to colonial issues, their commitment to Germany visibly waned.[47]

To find a period when Germany lay at the forefront of strategic thinking across all theaters of the Seven Years' War, one needs to move back in time beyond January 1762. A general congress at Augsburg was still possible, but the Stanley-Bussy negotiations already formed a precedent for separate Anglo-French peace talks.[48] Perhaps the best chance was in August 1759, when Frederick's defeat at Kunersdorf opened the possibility of a general peace on Austro-Russian terms.[49] In the event, Prussian fortunes revived,

---

[46] An intriguing commentary on Pitt's growing interest in the German theater appears in Pitt to Lady Hester Pitt, 1 Dec. 1757 and 13 Jul. 1758, *Pitt Correspondence*, 2: 1–3. See also e.g. Holdernesse to Newcastle, 4 Sept. 1756, BL: Add. MS. 32867, f. 231, or, more satirically, "Report of New Books at the Leipzig Fair," Paris, 10 Jan. 1757, *London Chronicle*, 1, no.12 (27 Jan. 1757):96c. Retrospectively, see Pitt's speech to the Commons, 9 Dec. 1762, William Cobbett, *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, vol. 15 (London, 1813), esp. p.1267. For further context, cf. Gottfried Niedhart, *Handel und Krieg in der Britischen Weltpolitik, 1738–1763* (Munich: W. Fink, 1979), 67–69; Marie Peters, *Pitt and Popularity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 102–22; Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 298–303.

[47] Clements Library, Shelburne MSS, vols. 8–13, *passim*. See also Hardwicke to Pitt, 29 Sept. 1760, *Pitt Correspondence*, 2: 68; Rashed, *Peace of Paris*; Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, ch.6.

[48] A fascinating commentary to this end appears in Schweizer, *War, Politics and Diplomacy*, 67–77. See also Rashed, *Peace of Paris*, 113–17. See also the preliminaries of the Anglo-French exchange using their respective envoys from the kingdom of Sardinia, Count Viry and the Bailli de Solar, in November 1761 Clements Library, Shelburne MSS, vol. 9, ff.5–10.

[49] A document to this effect, though possibly spurious, appears in Cressener to Holdernesse, 6 Feb. 1760, TNA: SP 81/136. Articles 3–5 called for France and Britain to return to the *status quo ante bellum*.

Britain's *Annus Mirabilis* continued unabated, and leaders in London began to sense that success overseas had begun to give them a stronger diplomatic hand.[50]

The contrast in military fortunes appeared in stark relief as Anglo-French peace negotiations reached their final stages. By September 1762, only two visions remained for Germany, with only minor details still in dispute: either Britain and France would keep supporting their respective allies, or they would withdraw entirely.[51] Difficult as it was to reach this point, and despite strains on their respective alliances,[52] Anglo-French peace talks nearly collapsed over an entirely different issue: the Caribbean island of St. Lucia, which Choiseul said was "impossible to cede" and "a consideration *sine quâ non*".[53] In 1756, Frederick professed ignorance about the colonial realm and treated it as a minor point, yet British conquests around the world prompted reflections of a different sort by 1762: that Prussia's needs and those of Britain's other allies paled in comparison to colonial concessions and a seemingly-reckless pursuit of peace.[54]

One reason to dash toward peace was the rising cost of the war in northwestern Germany. The Convention of Kloster Zeven promised a pro-French end in 1757, but its ultimate legacy was further British involvement.[55] "His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany" crossed the Rhine in 1758, but withdrew by mid-summer; a promising French advance stalled at Minden in 1759; French efforts more than matched Britain's "glorious reinforcement" in 1760,[56] and better generalship through October 1761

---

[50] Newcastle to Devonshire, 19 Aug. 1759, BL: Add. MS. 32894, ff.288–89.

[51] Bedford to Egremont, 24 Sept. 1762, Clements Library, Shelburne MSS, vol.12, f.94.

[52] The growing strain between Britain and Prussia is especially well detailed in Schweizer, *War, Politics and Diplomacy*, chs. 5–11.

[53] For these and similar statements, see Solar to Viry, 14 June 1762, Clements Library, Shelburne MSS, vol.10, f.15; Viry to Solar, 27 June 1762, ibid., ff.70, 75, 89–90; same to same, 28 June 1762, twelfth letter, ibid., f.193; Viry to Solar, 12 July 1762, fourth letter, ibid., ff.313–14; Rashed, *Peace of Paris*, 147, n.1. More generally, see Rashed, *Peace of Paris*, 147–55; Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, 219–22.

[54] Frederick II, "Moyens dont la Grande-Bretagne Pourrait se Servir pour Ruiner les Projets de ses Ennemis ou Rendre la Guerre plus Difficile," attached to Mitchell to Keith, 9 Dec. 1756, *PC*, 14: 121–23. In point 3, Frederick abstains from advising on the colonial war, "because of the little knowledge one has about local circumstances in those far-off territories." For cynicism toward British views on colonies and peace, see Frederick to Michell and Knyphausen, 6 April 1762, *PC*, 21: 348; Frederick to Finckenstein, 3 Sept. 1762, *PC*, 22: 190.

[55] Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 92–94, 99–100. For the subsequent course of the war in Germany, see Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, *passim*.

[56] Newcastle to Yorke, 20 May 1760, BL: Add. MS. 32906, ff.158–59. The reinforcement raised the British contingent to 22,000, and Ferdinand's overall strength reached about

may have brought more lasting gains. Verging on financial ruin, stung by colonial losses and distracted by the Spanish alliance, France at the end of 1761 appeared as far as ever from victory in Germany.[57] Conversely, British support for Prince Ferdinand seemed to have been in vain by the early 1760s and began to arouse patriotic opposition.[58] Despite the best efforts of both sides, therefore, the theater seems to have taken on only a secondary importance.

The armies in northwestern Germany thus embarked on a campaign in which final victory seems to have been neither expected nor encouraged. French forces started well, holding a strategic road from Westphalia to Hesse, but a quick strike at Arnsberg in April disrupted their supply lines.[59] As so often before, Prince Ferdinand's armies seized the initiative, and the French proved lethargic in their response.[60] Reconsidering their commitment to Germany amid new threats in the Atlantic, British leaders were also slow to act: Prince Ferdinand opened the campaign without any British troops, and the leader of that contingent, John Manners, Marquess of Granby, only arrived in early June.[61]

90,000. cf. E.J.S. Fraser, "The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1760" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1976), 321–30.

[57] Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, ch. 3; J.F. Bosher, *The Canada Merchants, 1713–1763* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); idem., "The French Government's Motives in the *Affaire du Canada*, 1761–1763," *English Historical Review*, 96, no. 378 (January 1981): 59–78. "Financing the French Navy in the Seven Years' War: Beaujon, Goossens et Compagnie in 1759," *Business History*, 26, no. 3 (1986): 115–33. Conversely, on British finance, see Peter Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: a Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London: Macmillan, 1967); Reed Browning, "The Duke of Newcastle and the Financing of the Seven Years' War," *Journal of Economic History*, 31, no. 2 (June 1971): 344–77.

[58] Not least in the form of Israel Mauduit, *Considerations on the Present German War* (London, 1760); idem., *Occasional Thoughts on the Present German War* (London, 1761). See also Peters, *Pitt and Popularity*, 170.

[59] *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 57–58; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 363–64. A letter from Dusseldorf, 28 May 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10214 (1–5 June 1762): 6, appears to confirm the new route. See also Bute to Prince Ferdinand, 30 Apr. 1762,T NA: SP 87/46/85.

[60] Widespread sickness behind the French lines may offer a partial explanation, and Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, one of the principal commanders of French armies in 1762, only arrived in the theater around the middle of June. Cologne, 22 May 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10212 (25–29 May 1762): 1; Cologne, 9 May [June?] 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10218 (15–19 June 1762): 1.

[61] The Hague, 1 June 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10214 (1–5 June 1762): 6; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 364–65, 367. See also Prince Ferdinand to Frederick, 27 Feb., 30 April and 5 June 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 28, 60, 72–73; Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 17 May 1762, *PC*, 21: 444–45; Prince Ferdinand to Bute, 21 May 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/93. cf. Schweizer, *War, Politics and Diplomacy*, ch. 9.

Over the next two months, Prince Ferdinand retained the initiative, highlighted by a victory at Wilhelmsthal on 24 June.[62] He sought to drive a wedge between the two French armies, forcing the larger one eastward, away from their supply lines, while isolating the smaller one and the garrisons of Kassel and Göttingen. A raid on Homburg (Efze) at the end of June came close to achieving his goal,[63] and following the victory at Lutterburg on 23 July he prepared an attack across the Fulda River.[64] Substantial rains foiled these plans, and French forced marches closed the logistical gap. As the French armies joined near Nauheim at the end of August, they did so having already withdrawn from Göttingen and Münden, leaving only Kassel in Prince Ferdinand's rear.[65]

Once the French armies came together, they repelled a haphazard assault by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, and ended his service for the war with an injury to the hip.[66] Prince Ferdinand withdrew thirty

---

62 Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 366–90; *Urkundliche Nachträge*, vol. 6, ch.4, 7. Official figures appear in Prince Ferdinand to George III, 24, 30 June 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/122, 126–29; Prince Ferdinand to Grenville, 30 June, 10 July 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/125, 134–35. See also Grebenstein, 28 June 1762; Wilhelmstahl [sic], 30 June 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10225 (10–13 July 1762): 1–2. On Lutterberg, see Prince Ferdinand to George III, 24, 28 July 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/140, 147–50; St. James's, 2 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10231 (30 July-3 Aug.1762): 1–2; St. James's, 17 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10235 (13–17 Aug. 1762): 2. For comparable Austrian tactics at Hochkirch in 1758, see Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 222–27.

63 Prince Ferdinand to Grenville, 6 July 1762, enclosing Granby to Prince Ferdinand, 6 July 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/132–33; Granby to Grenville, 6 July 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/17. See also The Hague, 9 July 1762, *London Gazette*, vol.10226 (13–17 July 1762); Wilhelmstahl [sic], 6 July 1762, *London Gazette*, vol.10227 (17–20 July 1762), 1–2; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 376–79. The raiders took some prisoners and supplies, but were too few in number to hold the town and threaten French logistics on a larger scale.

64 Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 390–97. Some details of the planned attack were also known in the press, as was some of its progress, including a little-known action by the 25th Foot. See The Hague, 13 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10235 (13–17 Aug. 1762): 2; The Hague, 17 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10237 (20–24 Aug. 1762): 1–2. See also suggestions about the direction of Prince Ferdinand's campaign in letters from Gudensberg, 1 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10234 (10–14 Aug. 1762): 2; The Hague, 3 Aug. 1762, ibid.

65 Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 398–404. On Göttingen, in particular, see Prince Ferdinand to Grenville, 21 Aug. 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/159; Brunswick, 17 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10238 (24–27 Aug. 1762): 3; The Hague, 27 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10240 (31 Aug.-4 Sept. 1762): 2. Prince Ferdinand's dispositions appear in *Urkundliche Nachträge*, vol.6, ch.8–11.

66 Prince Ferdinand to Grenville, 1 Sept. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/1; Summary of casualties at Nauenheim [sic], 5 Sept. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/6; The Hague, Brunswick, 7 Sept. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10243 (11–14 Sept. 1762): 1–2; The Hague, 10 Sept. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10244 (14–18 Sept. 1762): 2; Brunswick, 21 Sept. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10247 (25–28 Sept. 1762): 5; Brunswick, 19 Oct. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10255 (23–26 Oct. 1762): 2; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 404–08. See also Prince Ferdinand's Tagebuch, *Urkundliche*

miles northward, as French positions at Giessen and Marburg assumed greater importance. A war of maneuver then developed along the Ohm River, highlighted by a French cannonade at Amöneburg on 21 September.[67] Behind this screen, Prince Ferdinand besieged Kassel, and after its fall on 1 November he ended the campaign at Ziegenhain.[68]

By the end of the campaign, both sides confronted mounting war-weariness, and Prince Ferdinand faced the prospect of mutiny after news of the preliminary peace came on 7 November.[69] A week later, French war-weariness became evident in their rapid withdrawal after concluding a winter armistice.[70] Much energy had been spent and blood spilled throughout the campaign, in the endeavor to take or hold territory in Hesse—especially its capital of Kassel—yet Germany occupied only two articles in the final peace, and Hesse appeared with Brunswick and Hanover as part of Article XIV, alone.[71]

The only other portion of the Peace of Paris to concern the German theater was Article XV, on Frederick's Rhineland territories.[72] As 1762 began, however, the King's mind was more occupied with the Russians at Kolberg, the Austrians near Schweidnitz, and more Austrians and the *Reichsarmée* in western Saxony. Had these strategic realities persisted for another few weeks, the eastern German theater may have proved as decisive in fact as it appeared in 1759, with Austria and Russia forcing Europe

---

Nachträge, 6: 991, and the interesting note from Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 13 Sept. 1762, *PC*, 22: 213–14.

67 Prince Ferdinand to Grenville, 27 Sept. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/10–11; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 408–22. See also the narrative from The Camp at Brücker Muhl near Redecker upon the Ohme [sic], 24 Sept. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10249 (2–5 Oct. 1762): 5–6; Prince Ferdinand's Tagebuch, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1004–05.

68 Prince Ferdinand to George III, 4 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/45–47; Prince Ferdinand to Halifax, 2 and 7 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/49–50; Granby to Halifax, 2 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/39; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 422–34; Dull, *French Navy*, 227. For terms of Kassel's surrender, see St. James's, 12 Nov. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10260 (9–13 Nov. 1762): 3–4. See also Prince Ferdinand's Tagebuch, ca.25 Sept. to 1 Nov. 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1006–25.

69 Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 435–37.

70 Prince Ferdinand's Tagebuch, 7 Nov. 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1029; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 434–37.

71 Rashed, *Peace of Paris*, 221. More generally, see ibid., Appendix I. The preliminary treaty available to Prince Ferdinand contained two separate articles on evacuations from the German theater of war. Articles 12 and 13, 8 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/40–41.

72 Rashed, *Peace of Paris*, 221–22. For the British diplomacy involved in reaching this point, see Schweizer, "Britain, Prussia, and the Prussian Territories on the Rhine," idem., *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War*, 246–59. For a Prussian perspective, see Frederick to Hellen, 8 Oct. 1762, *PC*, 22: 158–61; Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, ibid., 161–62.

to peace.[73] In the event, the Czarina's death reversed the fortunes of the Austro-Prussian war while leaving Russia as a potent wildcard. Much has been written on Peter III and the Austro-Prussian war,[74] but less has been said about his role in its unexpected dénouement—from nearly global significance at the start of 1762 to relative obscurity by year's end.

Viewed from London, the regime change in St. Petersburg appeared initially to promise a faster peace,[75] yet Frederick—ever the opportunist—saw a chance to reverse his military fortunes. Persisting in his hopes for Turkish aid above and beyond his new Russian allies,[76] he dreamed about forming an anti-Austrian bloc and dictating terms in Vienna. To this end, he tasked General Hans Paul Werner with an expedition to join some Crimean Tatars in Poland, and then to move on Pressburg.[77] Outside the realm of fantasy, however, and before the effects of Russia's *volte face* had become clear, it was Frederick's brother who came closest to upsetting the strategic balance.

Prince Henry opened the campaign with a surprise victory at Döbeln on 12 May, taking some 1,500 prisoners and separating the Austrian and Imperial armies in Saxony.[78] A small detachment pushed the Imperials back into Thuringia, but his main drive to the southeast unsettled Austrian Marshal Gianbattista Serbelloni. At first, Maria Theresa only offered a brief comment about "unlucky news" from Saxony,[79] but as it became clear that Serbelloni proposed to withdraw across the Elbe, the Empress became more concerned. She worried about her hold on Dresden, the

---

[73] Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 373.

[74] Robert Nisbet Bain, *Peter III, Emperor of Russia* (Westminster: Constable, 1902); Leonard, *Peter III*; Schweizer, *War, Politics and Diplomacy*, ch.8, 10; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 311–19; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 380–85, 388–91, 394–96.

[75] e.g. Schweizer, *War, Politics and Diplomacy*, 118. To some extent, this was indeed true, as Prussia and Sweden came to peace on 22 May 1762. Hamburg, 25 May 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10213 (29 May-1 June 1762): 1; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 315.

[76] Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 123. See also Schweizer, *War, Politics and Diplomacy*, 108–16. For the announcement of Russo-Prussian peace, see Frederick to Prince Henry, 20 May 1762, *PC*, 21: 448. Among Maria Theresa's printed letters, first mention of the peace appears in a letter to Ulfeld in early June. cf. Arneth, *Briefe*, 4: 204, and Walter, *Maria Theresia Briefe*, 170.

[77] Instructions for Lieutenant-General von Werner, 13 April 1762, *PC*, 21: 367–69; Frederick to Grant, 29 April 1762, ibid., 401; Frederick to Prince Henry, 6 May 1762, ibid., 417; same to same, 27 May 1762, ibid., 470–71. See also Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 392–93, 402.

[78] The Hague, 21 May 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10211 (22–25 May 1762): 3. See also Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, 6: 310–11; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 393–94.

[79] Maria Theresa to Ulfeld, 18 May 1762, Arneth, *Briefe*, 4: 200.

Saxon capital, as well as uncovered supply trains in Bohemia and the possible need to divert troops from Silesia.[80]

A sufficiently strong army may have taken Dresden in May 1762, but Frederick had already taken troops from Saxony to support Werner's march.[81] Perhaps the Empress was justified in ordering her troops to stand firm, but the King's comments on a possible siege suggest that it was not his first priority.[82] Instead, Frederick congratulated Prince Henry on becoming "master of Freiberg", and "having won the route to Pasberg, which nobody would dispute with you is a considerable advantage."[83] Both men seem to have been ignorant of Serbelloni's moment of panic, and Prince Henry instead pursued his foes across Saxony and into Bohemia.[84]

Meanwhile, Frederick anticipated large Russian reinforcements and prepared for his campaign in Silesia.[85] With Czernyshev's corps he waged a war of maneuver in June, but a palace coup of 8 July ushered in Catherine II and Frederick soon lost his Russian aid. Czernyshev's troops played only a decoy role in the Austrian defeat at Burkersdorf on 24 July,[86] but Peter had long before established Russia's place in Europe with a grand show of force in an entirely different theater.

Frederick's engagements against Denmark garner little more than a footnote in most accounts of the war, and for Prussia's war early in 1762, the lack of emphasis may be appropriate. For Denmark, however, the Russian threat was real, and the diplomatic situation in the Baltic merits another look. Frederick's support for Peter's Danish war may reflect in part his genuine weakness, but from the Czar's request for the Order of the

---

80 Same to same, 20 May 1762, ibid., pp.201–02; Walter, *Maria Theresia Briefe*, 167–68. See also Maria Theresa to Maria Antonia of Saxony, 22 May 1762, ibid., 169.

81 Frederick to Anhalt, 29 April 1762, *PC*, 21: 400; Frederick to Schenckendorff, 29 April 1762, ibid., 401; Frederick to Grant, 2 May 1762, ibid., 414. The movement of troops was also known in London. Breslau, 9 May 1762, *London Gazette*, vol.10212 (25–29 May 1762): 1.

82 Maria Theresa to Ulfeld, 21 May 1762, Arneth, *Briefe*, 4: 202–03; Walter, *Maria Theresia Briefe*, 168–69; Frederick to Prince Henry, 4 and 27 May 1762, *PC*, 21: 417, 470–71.

83 Frederick to Prince Henry, 16 May 1762, second letter, *PC*, 21: 443–44.

84 Frederick to Prince Henry, 23 and 27 May 1762, *PC*, 21: 463, 470–71. Although some numbers may be in dispute, the geographical extent of Prince Henry's pursuit appears fairly clearly in reports from Berlin, 18 May, Hamburg, 25 May, and The Hague, 28 May 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10213 (29 May-1 June 1762): 1–2.

85 For example, he believed for a time that 35,000 Russians might support his brother in Saxony. Frederick to Prince Henry, 20 May 1762, *PC*, 21: 448.

86 This was itself a diplomatic accomplishment for Frederick, holding onto Czernyshev's corps for three days after they had received their letter of recall. See esp. Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 318–19.

Black Eagle to the affair of the Galitzin letter, the King of Prussia may also have been the subject of some skillful manipulation.[87] Peter's handling of the British ministry was no less cunning, paring Bute's pro-Danish stance down to mere neutrality.[88] With his army already at Kolberg, Peter was well positioned to pursue his own foreign policy in 1762—independent, forceful, and pro-Russian[89]—in full view of all of Europe.

The collected works of Kaplan, Oliva, Leonard and Schweizer reveal that Russian diplomacy had come into its own by the mid- to late 1750s, and that some of the era's finest diplomatic minds came to frustration in the face of Russian guile. Commentators forewarned of Russia's rise during the reign of Peter the Great,[90] but Russian troops in Europe had almost always appeared in a subordinate role, as in the succession wars of the 1730s and 40s.[91] Peter's Danish adventure thus came as a shock to many European leaders, and although the Danes had long expected a reckoning with the new Czar, their reaction to his hostility can only be described as abject panic.

After an abortive attempt to levy customs duties at Elsfleth in April,[92] Danish troops entered Hamburg on 18 June and forced a loan from the merchants of that city.[93] They prepared a defense near Wismar in Mecklenburg, and the stage appeared set for a major battle in early July as General Peter Alexandrovitch Rumyantsev approached with 60,000 Russians.[94] After Catherine's coup, Russian troops left Mecklenburg by the end of July, and they seem to have departed quickly from Pomerania as

---

87 Both Peter's desire for the Black Eagle and the king's bewilderment appear clearly in Frederick to Finckenstein, 17 Feb. 1762, *PC*, 21: 252–53. For the affair of the Galitzin letter and a remarkable account of its context, see Karl Schweizer and Carol Leonard, "Britain, Prussia, Russia and the Galitzin Letter: A Reassessment," *Historical Journal*, 26, no.3 (Sept. 1983): 531–56; reprinted in Schweizer, *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War*, 184–225.

88 Schweizer, *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War*, 208–09.

89 Peter's grand strategy seems remarkably clear as outlined in Schweizer, *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War*, 204, 210. His ambitions beyond the Holstein succession were rendered irrelevant by Catherine's coup, but if records exist for his longer-range goals, they may make for very interesting reading.

90 Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 28.

91 cf. e.g. Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West*, 57–59; Reed Browning, *War of the Austrian Succession* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 334, 353–54.

92 cf. correspondence concerning Danish customs levies at Elsfleth, 18–19 Apr. 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/79–82.

93 The proposed amount equated to about £250,000. The Hague, 22 June 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10220 (22–26 June 1762): 1; The Hague, 25 June 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10221 (26–29 June 1762): 2; Hamburg, 25 June 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10222 (29 June-2 July 1762): 1. See also Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 385.

94 Hamburg, 16 July 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10230 (27–30 July.1762): 1–2; Bain, *Peter III*, 121.

well.[95] If accounts in the *London Gazette* are credible, the Russians had already left Kolberg on 10 August, but the shell-shocked Danes waited until the 14th before starting to pull out of Mecklenburg.[96]

Peter's involvement in Denmark highlighted Russia's independence, prefiguring the attitudes that defined Catherine's reign. Meanwhile, as the Turks continued to abstain from the war and Czernyshev's corps left Germany in midsummer, the campaign slowed almost to a stalemate. The Austrian army showed signs of vigor as Serbelloni in June and Laudon in August sought to unsettle Prince Henry and Frederick, respectively.[97] The King took Schweidnitz on 9 October and Prince Henry won three weeks later at Freiberg, but in the grander scheme of affairs the Austro-Prussian war remained inconclusive.[98]

In sum, the campaign of 1762 did much to de-emphasize the German theaters of the Seven Years' War. In the west, the Spanish war threatened British commitments to Prince Ferdinand's army. Once the red-coats appeared in force, Prince Ferdinand might have trapped a French army that was badly out of position, and he recovered Göttingen in the process. Condé's quick march in August restored balance to the theater, however, and French victories at Nauheim and Amöneburg limited Prince Ferdinand's gains. Pride of place in the peace negotiations meanwhile belonged to St Lucia and the Newfoundland fisheries, and Choiseul had already set France on a course of naval reform.[99] Peter III meanwhile increased the visibility of Russian power. In 1762, he unleashed the potential that Elizabeth had used as a diplomatic tool, shocking the Danes and

---

[95] Hamburg, 27 July 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10232 (3–7 Aug. 1762): 2; Hamburg, 3 and 6 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10234 (10–14 Aug. 1762): 2.

[96] Hamburg, 17 and 20 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no. 10238 (24–27 Aug. 1762): 3.

[97] Hague, 9 July 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10226 (13–17 July 1762): 1–2; Breslau, 18 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10238 (24–27 Aug. 1762): 2.

[98] Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 413–17. For British accounts of the siege, see *inter alia* Breslau, 6 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10235 (14–17 Aug. 1762): 1; Breslau, 13, 17 and 18 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10238 (24–27 Aug. 1762): 2; The Hague, 3 Sept. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10242 (7–11 Sept. 1762): 4; Breslau, 5 and 8 Sept. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10246 (21–25 Sept. 1762): 2; Breslau, 15 Sept. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10248 (28 Sept.-2 Oct. 1762): 5; Breslau, 10, 13 and 17 Oct. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10257 (30 Oct.-2 Nov. 1762): 1. For a sense of the Prussian perspective, see also Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 14 Aug. 1762, *PC*, 22: 133; Frederick to Engineer Lefèbvre, 14 Aug 1762, ibid., 133–34; Dispositions for this corps and that of Prince Bevern, in case they are attacked, ibid., 139–40; Frederick to Lefèbvre and Tauentzien, both 18 Aug. 1762, ibid., 148; Frederick to Lefèbvre, 20 Aug. 1762, ibid., 157; Frederick to Tauentzien, 22 Aug. 1762 (2 letters), ibid., 160–61 Tauentzien to Guasco, 13 Sept. 1762, ibid, 213; Frederick to Finckenstein, 9 Oct. 1762, ibid., 264.

[99] Dull, *French Navy*, 245. Ironically, see also Frederick to Prince Henry, 24 Feb. 1763, *PC*, 22: 535.

discomfiting leaders across Europe—not least some prominent Russians. If his explosion onto the European scene was too extreme for some observers, Catherine's withdrawal from Germany removed the decisive element from the Austro-Prussian conflict, and the scramble for concessions gradually moved from the battlefield to the negotiating table.

Winter 1762– 1763: Britons Go Home

One item of curiosity at the end of the Seven Years' War is the British journey home. Amid the historiographical fuss over Austrians, Prussians, French and possible Dutch intervention the disputes over Frederick's Rhineland territories, some 22,000 red-coats get lost in the mix. Whether transferring into a different service or preparing for the voyage home, their fate was also the subject of intense negotiations.

British withdrawal arguably began in September 1762, when Prince Ferdinand received formal notice from London that a preliminary peace would soon be signed.[100] The mounting war-weariness mentioned above may have affected Anglo-allied troops at Amöneburg at the end of the month, and it almost certainly hampered alertness and morale among troops screening Kassel.[101] A further blow came in early November, when the British ministry sent notice of the preliminary peace and a copy of Choiseul's orders for his generals to cease hostilities.[102] Reasonable terms on paper became awkward in practice as a formal suspension of arms awaited the exchange of ratifications,[103] and neither Prince Ferdinand nor the French generals had instructions about the still-ongoing siege of Ziegenhain. Far away from diplomats in Paris, the generals themselves had to negotiate their own cease-fire—and under pressure in part from King

[100] Grenville to Prince Ferdinand, 31 Aug. 1762, TNA: SP 87/46/158; Grenville to Granby [circular], 31 Aug. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/21. See also Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 3 Sept. 1762, *PC*, 22: 191.

[101] Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 430–37. British officers already requested leave to return home on the day of Kassel's surrender. See Granby to Halifax, 1 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/38; Halifax to Granby, 16 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/40.

[102] Halifax to Prince Ferdinand, 8 Nov. 1762, enclosing articles 1, 12 and 13 of the preliminaries and Choiseul to Soubise and d'Estrées, 3 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/38–41; ff.91–97. See also Halifax to Granby, 8 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/35.

[103] Ratifications were finally exchanged on 22 November, a week after the generals concluded their own cease-fire in the field. See Halifax to Prince Ferdinand, 26 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/83; Whitehall, 26 Nov. 1762, and Westminster, 25 Nov. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10264 (23–27 Nov. 1762): 1–2.

George III, who wanted winter quarters to have a minimal impact in Hanover.[104]

The ratifications being finally exchanged in late November, the story of British demobilization becomes even more interesting. While the French evacuated Ziegenhain and began to withdraw to the Rhine by early December,[105] Sir Joseph Yorke, the British ambassador at The Hague, opened negotiations for passage through the Dutch Republic and embarkation from Willemstad.[106] In accordance with the cease-fire of 15 November, the allied army withdrew from positions along the Ohne and Lahne rivers, and on the 23rd Prince Ferdinand requested his release from allied service.[107] His departure was not immediate, however, as the King only approved his resignation on 3 December, while ordering as a final measure that he dismiss the allied Hessians and Brunswickers to pass the winter in their own territories.[108] Hanoverian General August Friedrich von Spörcken took over command of the army on 22 December, Prince Ferdinand left on the 24th and arrived in Brunswick two days later.[109]

One of the most notable episodes of British demobilization in Germany involved John Beckwith's British Legion. In December, Prince Ferdinand

---

[104] Halifax to Prince Ferdinand, 12 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/42. See also the flurry of correspondence, 7–15 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/52–81, 85–91; *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1045–68. cf. Prince Ferdinand's Tagebuch, ibid, 1029–32; Hague, 23 Nov. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10264 (23–27 Nov. 1762): 6.

[105] Soubise to Prince Ferdinand, 26 Nov, 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/105; French proposals for expediting the evacuation of Ziegenhain, and Prince Ferdinand's response, 3 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/110–11. For a British reader's-eye-view of early stages of the French withdrawal, see Cologne, 26 Nov. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10267 (4–7 Dec. 1762): 2; Cologne, 1 Dec. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10268 (7–11 Dec. 1762): 2; Brussels, 2 Dec. 1762, ibid.; Liège, Tongres and The Hague, 3 Dec. 1762, ibid.; Wesel, 7 Dec. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10270 (14–18 Dec. 1762): 1; Cologne, 9 Dec., Liège and Theux (near Spa), 11 Dec., and Maastricht, 13 Dec. 1762, ibid.; Maastricht, 17 Dec., and Liège, 18 Dec. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10272 (21–25 Dec. 1762): 2; Cologne, 24 Dec. 1762, *London Gazette*, no.10274 (28 Dec. 1762–1 Jan. 1763): 1. The last item reports on the war chest of the army of the Lower Rhine going from Cologne to France. Prince Ferdinand's Tagebuch contains only one brief mention of the French army leaving their camp at Bauerbach, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1032.

[106] Grenville to Granby, 12 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/36; Halifax to Prince Ferdinand, 26 Nov. 1762, NA SP 87/47/84; Halifax to Granby, 26 Nov. 1762, NA SP 87/48/42. Yorke's negotiations may be found in the later part of TNA: SP 84/498.

[107] Boyd to Halifax, 16 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/45; Prince Ferdinand to George III, 23 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/95. See also Ferdinand's Tagebuch, 15–23 Nov. 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1032–33; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 441.

[108] Halifax to Prince Ferdinand, 3 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/99; George III to Prince Ferdinand, 3 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/100.

[109] Prince Ferdinand to Halifax, 22 and 27 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/114, 117; Prince Ferdinand to George III, 24 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/116; Prince Ferdinand to Spörcken, 22 and 23 Dec. 1762, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1100, 1103. See also Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 442.

requested payment of the unit's arrears,[110] but Beckwith's relations with Prussia complicated the issue—not least his intent to help recover Frederick's Westphalian domains. Schweizer rightly noted the British ministry's overall loyalty in settling the Rhineland issue, but Savory's account of movements on the ground reveals how close the one-time allies came to exchanging blows.[111] Beckwith exchanged his British lieutenant-colonelcy for the Prussian equivalent and began concerting operations with Colonel Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer, the ranking officer of Prussian troops in the allied army.[112] As rumor spread about Austrian troops coming to possess Prussian Westphalia, Beckwith's "Prussian Legion" threatened to seize Münster from two Hanoverian battalions and use it as a base of operations. In the event, Bauer and Frederick himself demonstrated good faith by restraining Beckwith from doing anything rash, while Lieutenant-General Henry Seymour Conway worked with the Prussian resident von Ammon to arrange Beckwith's peaceful withdrawal.[113]

The other British troops may have had less excitement, but their orders suggest that they were far from inactive. The *London Gazette* reported often on the French march past the Rhine at the end of 1762, yet its first items on British withdrawal appeared in late January, as the first of four divisions prepared to depart from Münster.[114] Orders for the first two British divisions were penned on the same day as Yorke's orders to negotiate in The Hague, however, indicating that British leaders may have been just as eager as their French counterparts to leave the German theater.[115] The ministry finalized financial arrangements in fairly short order for the

---

[110] Prince Ferdinand to Halifax, 22 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/47/114.

[111] Schweizer, *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War*, 146–59; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 442–45. See also Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 417–18.

[112] Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 29 Dec. 1762, *PC*, 22: 424–25, excerpted in *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 6: 1111; Frederick to Beckwith, 11 Jan. 1763, *PC*, 22: 458; Halifax to Conway, 19 Jan. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/60. See also inter alia Frederick to Prince Ferdinand, 23 Oct. 1762, *PC*, 22: 286–88; Frederick to Colonel Bauer, 23 Oct. 1762, ibid., 288–89; Frederick to Beckwith, 5 Jan. 1763, ibid., 445–46; Conway to Halifax, 8 Jan. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/57.

[113] See the brief flurry of correspondence between Conway, Ammon and Baron Fürstenberg, 12–15 Jan. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/61–66; Conway to Halifax, 27 Jan., 9 and 17 Feb. 1763, the last enclosing Bauer to Conway, 13 Feb. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/69–70, 73–74. See also Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 443–45.

[114] Munster, 15 Jan. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10281 (22–25 Jan. 1763):1, reports on the beginning of Granby's return journey to England after a two-month sickness. On the march of the regular troops, see The Hague, 18 Jan. 1763, ibid.

[115] Composition of the first two divisions to march to Willemstad, 26 Nov. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/43. Composition of the third and fourth divisions appears in Halifax to Granby, 31 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/55.

divisions marching to Willemstad, but much to their embarrassment Yorke encountered reservations among the Dutch.[116]

By February the diplomatic issues were apparently resolved but logistical troubles remained, as frozen rivers and North Sea navigation issues affected transports crossing over from Harwich.[117] The first division arrived on the 4th, yet only three horse regiments and three Guards battalions departed on or around the 23rd, leaving behind two more regiments of foot.[118] British dragoons composed most of the second division, whose voyage was again delayed by frozen rivers and wind-bound transports.[119] Most of them reached Willemstad by 15 February despite the harsh weather, and the third division began marching from Münster the same day.[120] By 3 March, the last part of the fourth division was expected in Dutch territory, and all had crossed the Maese River by the 8th, with transports by then making regular back-and-forth trips.[121] *Gazette* accounts end with expectations for Conway's departure on 25 March, and with statements of approbation from the Dutch leadership for the discipline of British troops.[122]

The British artillery traveled by a different route, however, and Hessian ministers were not so flattering in their remarks. Savory summarizes their journey in one short paragraph, noting that the guns and heavy stores departed from Bremen in April, yet the last transports actually left on 24 May.[123] British officers and diplomats meanwhile concerned

---

[116] Halifax to Granby, 7 and 10 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/49–50; Samuel Martin to Bute, undated 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/51; Granby to Halifax, 6 Dec. 1762, TNA: SP 87/48/53.

[117] Halifax to Conway, 1 Feb. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/68; Conway to Halifax, 15 Feb. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/71; The Hague, 1 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10284 (1–5 Feb. 1763): 2; The Hague, 11 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10287 (12–15 Feb. 1763): 1.

[118] The Hague, 4 and 8 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10286 (8–12 Feb. 1763): 1; Willemstadt, 15 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10289 (19–22 Feb. 1763): 1; The Hague, 22 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no. 1090 (22–25 Feb. 1763): 1; Colonel Edward Harvey to Halifax, 15 Feb. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/72.

[119] The Hague, 4 and 8 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10286 (8–12 Feb. 1763): 1; The Hague, 11 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10287 (12–15 Feb. 1763): 1.

[120] The Hague, 15 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10288 (15–19 Feb. 1763): 1.

[121] The Hague, 1 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10293 (5–8 March 1763): 1; The Hague, 4 and 8 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10294 (8–12 March 1763): 1.

[122] The Hague, 25 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10300 (29 March-2 April 1763): 3; The Hague, 1 April 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10301 (2–5 April 1763): 1; The Hague, 8 April 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10304 (12–16 April 1763): 3–4. For the whole, see also Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 446–47.

[123] Major John Tucker to Halifax, 4 May 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/110; Halifax to Tucker, 10 May 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/111; Tucker to Halifax, 24 May 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/94. cf. Bremer Lebe, 24 May 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10317 (28–31 May 1763): 2; Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, 447.

themselves with Hessian accusations of misconduct by artillerymen under Colonel William Philips in September 1762. An impressive exchange of letters and receipts from February to April 1763 seems to clear the troops from any wrongdoing in the town of Rauschenberg,[124] but it also testifies to the amount of pen-scratching at the end of the Seven Years' War, well outside of peace negotiations. One last set of orders returned Minorca to British sovereignty in June, and three out of the six regiments for the new garrison appear to have come almost directly from Germany.[125]

Summer 1762–Spring 1763: New Directions in German Politics?

While Britain and France wound their way to peace through the Stanley-Bussy talks, the Viry-Solar correspondence and eventually the Bedford-Choiseul negotiations, Frederick and Maria Theresa remained silent toward one another, and a note from the Empress in February 1763 epitomizes their longstanding rivalry. Addressing rumors that she and the King of Prussia had exchanged flattering letters after the peace, she replied:

> To my great surprise I have heard about [my] reply from two people. Not a word of it is true. I would be much obliged to the King that he had not written to me; my feather has never answered him. My heart says nothing about it.[126]

---

[124] Halifax to Granby, 25 Feb. 1763, with attachments, TNA: SP 87/48/75–78; Granby to Halifax, 26 Feb. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/79; Halifax to Philips, 4 Mar. 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/82; Philips to Halifax, 17 and 18 March 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/83, 85; Philips to Clavering, 15 March 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/84; Halifax to Philips, 5 April 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/86; Philips to Halifax, 2 April 1763, attaching relevant memorials and evidence, TNA: SP 87/48/87–93, 95–99; sworn statements by seven separate commissaries supporting Philips' case, 29 March 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/100–106; Philips to Halifax, 19 April 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/107; Halifax to Philips, 15 April 1763, enclosing Halifax to Wittorf and Alt [Hessian ministers], 14 April 1763, TNA: SP 87/48/108–09.

[125] Minorca, 4 June 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10326 (28 June-2 July 1763): 5; Richard Cannon, *Historical Record of the Sixty-Seventh, or South Hampshire Regiment* (London: Parker, Furnival, & Parker, 1849), 9. The regiments concerned were the 3rd (previously at Guadeloupe, Belle Isle, and in Portugal), 57th (from Gibraltar), 67th (previously at Belle Isle and in Portugal), and the 11th, 33rd and 37th, all of which had been in Germany. All three of the latter regiments appear in the reckoning of units on the Ohm River, 18 September 1762, all under Lieutenant General Waldegrave. See Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army*, appendix XXVIII, 512.

[126] Maria Theresa to Ulfeld, late Feb. 1763, Arneth, *Briefe*, 4: 209; Walter, *Maria Theresia Briefe*, 179.

The threat of Russian reengagement adds an intriguing side-story to the negotiations at Hubertusburg,[127] but it also illustrates a strategic shift during the transition from war to peace.

By June 1762, Frederick evidently felt the pull of Russian interests—not only in the Baltic, nor just with Turks and Tatars. Poland's succession sparked interest in obvious and specific ways for Peter III, and in more general, anti-Austrian terms for the King of Prussia.[128] As Frederick campaigned in Silesia, he probably did not think much about Polish issues, but if the younger Count Brühl, a Polish minister of Saxon extraction, saw the Czar as a Prussian puppet,[129] one might also sense an emerging Russian dimension in the longer-standing Prussian-Saxon rivalry[130] well before February 1763.

Catherine's coup in July upset the tempo of Russo-Prussian reconciliation, but the King continued to court Russian favor. He knew by August that she intended no harm,[131] yet her ambitions seemingly embraced a variety of diplomatic combinations.[132] In the short term he hoped to keep Czernyshev's troops, and he wrote a personal letter for the purpose.[133] Undeterred by Catherine's refusal, he arranged for his envoy, Baron Goltz, to attend her coronation in Moscow; by mid-August he appointed Count Solms as his ambassador of appropriate rank.[134] In September, prompted

---

[127] Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 420; Beaulieu-Marconnay, *Hubertusburger Friede*, *passim*. See also esp. Georg Küntzel, "Friedrich der Grosse am Ausgang des siebenjährigen Krieges und sein Bundnis mit Russland," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, 13 (1900), 91–97.

[128] Frederick to Goltz, 19 June 1762, *PC*, 21: 542.

[129] Küntzel, "Friedrich der Grosse am Ausgang des siebenjährigen Krieges," 90–91.

[130] For Prussian abuses against Saxony in 1762–63, see Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 418–23. For a longer view of their rivalry from 1744, see René Hanke, *Brühl und das Renversement des Alliances* (Berlin: Lit, 2006).

[131] Frederick to Prince Henry, 30 July 1762, *PC*, 22: 84–85.

[132] Schumann and Schweizer, *Seven Years' War*, 218–19; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 398. Brief commentary on Britain, Prussia and Russia appears in Dull, *French Navy*, 230–31; Scott, *Great Power System*, 146–48. For some of Catherine's early movements toward domestic reform, see "The Memorandum of Count Nikita Panin," 28 Dec. 1762, in Marc Raeff, *Plans for Political Reform in Imperial Russia, 1730–1905* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1966), 53–68.

[133] Frederick to Catherine (in his own hand), 18 July 1762, *PC*, 22: 42–43; Frederick to Goltz, 3 Aug. 1762, ibid., 105–07.

[134] Frederick to Goltz, 3 Aug. 1762, *PC*, 22: 105–07; Mitchell to Grenville, 6 Aug. 1762, separate and secret, ibid., 106–07, n.3. See also TNA: SP 90/80. On Solms, see Frederick to Finckenstein, 17 Aug. 1762, *PC*, 22: 144; supplement to the instructions for Count Solms, 29 Sept. 1762, ibid., 242–43.

by the new Russian envoy Prince Repnin, he again sent the Order of the Black Eagle—apparently to good effect.[135]

Szabo viewed all of these measures cynically as evidence of Frederick's "craven subservience" to Russia,[136] yet the King of Prussia in fact seems to have been a bit more calculating—not least with respect to the Czarina's lovers. By August 1762, even casual London readers knew of Catherine's hopes for the Duke of Biron, one of her lovers, to accede to the government of Courland.[137] Frederick responded with moral if not material support, and he commented wryly yet favorably on the relative positions of Saxony and Russia in February 1763 when Biron ultimately triumphed.[138] He also sought good relations with Stanislas Poniatowski, another of Catherine's lovers whom she intended for the Polish throne, hoping that he might assist in building Russo-Prussian relations.[139] Along with the Czartoryski family from whom he claimed descent, this was the same Poniatowski whose influence Maria Theresa lamented in February 1763, noting that her diplomats faced fierce opposition and "double games" in Polish domestic politics.[140] These maneuvers give the appearance of Frederick trying to insinuate himself in the Czarina's good favor, yet in commenting to Prince Henry on the general state of affairs at the end of February, he said of his relations with the Czarina:

> I am rather content for the moment with Russia, and my feeling is that it is necessary to remain as we are and to remember the proverb of the Emperor Augustus: *Festina lente!* (make haste slowly).[141]

It is true enough that he sought good relations with Russia, but his approach was patient, calculated and opportunistic—very much in keeping with his favored diplomatic conduct.

---

[135] For the King's first substantial contact with Repnin, see Frederick to Finckenstein, 17 July 1762, *PC*, 22: 41; Eichel to Goltz, 24 July 1762, ibid., 67–68. For the Order of the Black Eagle, see P.S. of Frederick to Goltz, 29 Sept. 1762, and n.1, *PC*, ibid., p.241; Frederick to Goltz, 21 Dec. 1762, ibid., 407–08.

[136] Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 399–400, 427.

[137] Warsaw, 21 Aug. 1762, *London Gazette*, no. 10243 (11–14 Sept. 1762): 2.

[138] Frederick to Benoît, 24 Nov. 1762, *PC*, 22: 346; Frederick to Solms, 24 Nov. 1762, ibid., 347. See also Warsaw, 5 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10290 (22–26 Feb. 1763): 5; Frederick to Finckenstein, 3 Feb. 1763, *PC*, 22: 504–05.

[139] Frederick to Goltz, 30 July 1762, *PC*, 22: 87–89. See also Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 399.

[140] Maria Theresa to Maria Antonia, 4 Feb. 1763, in Walter, *Maria Theresia Briefe*, 177–79.

[141] Frederick to Prince Henry, 24 February 1763, *PC*, 22: 535.

The same cynical calculation was evident in Frederick's approach to the end of the war. He had lost some 180,000 soldiers and up to a half-million subjects overall, as well as 13,000 homes, 60,000 horses, and untold quantities of wagons and war materiel.[142] He sought to rectify these shortcomings before the peace by demanding recruits and money from the territories under his control, and even seeking wives from the occupied lands for roughly a quarter of his army—policies that destroyed the public peace in Thuringia and Saxony by spring 1763.[143] Frederick was equally ruthless at the negotiating table, seeking concessions over the devastation in his lands and attaching conditions to his vote in the Imperial election—an issue close to Maria Theresa's heart for which the King's position was harsh, cruel, and yet fairly typical for a hard-bargaining princely elector.[144] However, it is a measure of Frederick's political acumen that his abuses remained largely ignored. Instead, the *London Gazette* reported on his visit to Silesia in March 1763, the festivities in Berlin in early April, and the circuit of his Rhineland territories in June.[145] Reaching out in grand spectacles of charity, he cemented in his subjects' minds the image of a caring leader, adding a flavor of social welfare to his characteristic *machtpolitik*.[146]

That *machtpolitik* was well expressed in lingering suspicions towards Austria: "we must not forget the fable of the cat and the mice; the cat

---

[142] Duffy, *Army of Frederick the Great*, 199; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 321–23.

[143] e.g. Frederick to Generalmajor von Kleist, 7 Dec. 1762, *PC*, 22: 376; Frederick to Generallieutenant von Krockow, 7 Dec. 1762, ibid., 376–77. For the kidnapping of Saxon women, see Frederick to Prince Henry, 17 Nov. 1762, *PC*, ibid., 334, n.1; Orders of 14 Feb. 1763, ibid., 461, n.2; Erizzo, 18 Dec. 1762, Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, 6: 494, n.665; Duffy, *Army of Frederick the Great*, 199; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 423. On the breakdown of authority in Saxony, see Berlin, 29 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10303 (9–12 April 1763): 2.

[144] On Frederick and the Imperial succession, see Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 421–22. Conversely, the Elector Palatine's vote also carried a price at the peace talks in 1748. cf. David B. Horn, "The Origins of the Proposed Election of a King of the Romans, 1748–50," *English Historical Review*, 42, no.167 (July 1927): 66 and *passim*.; Reed Browning, "The Duke of Newcastle and the Imperial Election Plan, 1749–54", *Journal of British Studies*, 7, No.1 (November 1967): 28–47; idem., *War of the Austrian Succession*, 37–54.

[145] Hamburg, 25 Feb. 1763, second letter, *London Gazette*, no.10293 (5–8 March 1763): 1; Hague, 15 Mar., and Berlin, 19 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10300 (29 March-2 April 1763): 3; Berlin, 2 April 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10303 (9–12 April 1763): 2. For the June circuit, see the gap between 1 and 21 June 1763, *PC*, 23: 33–34; Berlin, 4 June 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10322 (14–18 June 1763): 5.

[146] Berlin, 12 April 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10306 (19–23 April 1763): 2. See esp. Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 325–26.

remains a cat, no matter what it does."[147] Frederick thus continued to dragoon recruits into the ranks and cashiered a few officers for poor performance in the field; the Austrians, by stark contrast, distributed a much-reduced army throughout the hereditary lands and spared the life of a genuine traitor.[148] Austria's more enlightened, almost humanitarian politics appear more clearly in the Empress's hosting more than 200 imprisoned Prussian officers for a state dinner in March, and inviting them to join her military service. One might measure Prussian patriotism by the 300 officers and 40,000 men who returned to their colors from Austrian captivity, yet if one considers that Frederick lost some 62,889 prisoners during the war, perhaps the Austrians' softer touch persuaded more than a few to stay, after all.[149]

In addition to Courland, Poland and Frederick's continued wiles, the Empress had one other set of concerns as Germany moved toward peace: Germany itself. As the talks at Hubertusburg ground their way forward, a succession dispute among a few small states threatened to keep part of Germany under arms.[150] Duke Anton Ulric of Saxe-Meiningen died in January 1763, leaving sons from two marriages—the first to a trader's daughter and the second to a princess of Hesse-Philipsthal. A ruling of the Empire in 1747 barred the succession from sons of the first marriage, yet the Duke's will retained their claims. As the German *Reichsarmee* disbanded after the peace, troops from Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Coburg and Saxe-Hildburghausen seized and disarmed their fellows from Meiningen; more troops from the minor Saxon duchies picketed the town itself, upholding the ruling from 1747.[151] The Emperor convened the Aulic Council and

---

147 Frederick to Prince Henry, 24 February 1763, *PC*, 22: 535.

148 On Prussian impressments and courts-martial, see Frederick to War Minister Wedell, 7 April 1763, *PC*, 23: 7; Vienna, 16 April 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10310 (3–7 May 1763): 3; Duffy, *Army of Frederick the Great*, 199–200; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 326ff. For their Austrian counterpart, see Vienna, 5 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no. 10301 (2–5 April 1763): 1; Vienna, 13 April 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10308 (26–30 April 1763): 5; Duffy, *Instrument of War*, 183–84.

149 On the state dinner and personal invitations from Maria Theresa, see Vienna, 19 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10302 (5–9 April 1763): 2; Vienna, 23 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10303 (9–12 April 1763): 1; Berlin, 12 April 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10306 (19–23 April 1763): 2. For Prussian prisoners and returnees, see Duffy, *Army of Frederick the Great*, 199.

150 Ratisbon, 24 Feb. 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10293 (5–8 March 1763): 1. On the negotiations, see Beaulieu-Marconnay, *Der Hubertusburger Friede*; Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, vol.6, chs.16–17; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 418–23.

151 Ibid., Ratisbon, 7 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10298 (22–26 March 1763): 3–4; Nuremberg, 15 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10300 (29 March-2 April 1763): 2.

condemned the Saxon dukes, yet Frederick offered his good offices to Saxe-Gotha.[152] By late March, the Emperor named the Duchess of Saxe-Meiningen as regent for her late husband's domains, and under the threat of force demanded withdrawal and indemnities from the other Saxon dukes.[153] Mediation from Hesse-Cassel eventually helped to resolve the issue, but incentives to further violence in Germany were probably also tempered by the visible devastation from the recently-ended war.[154]

The devastation may also have played a role in Hesse-Darmstadt's post-war antics. At the end of May 1763, troops from that duchy attacked the town of Wetzlar, some of whose merchants had been on friendly terms with Prince Ferdinand's army.[155] Some of the town's leading traders were taken as prisoners to Giessen, and the magistrates of Wetzlar duly protested to the Imperial authorities.[156] Although the exigencies of war may have formed a fair pretext, Darmstadt's action against the merchants in particular may suggest a financial motive. Conversely, it is a measure of the return to peace in Germany that the Imperial authorities sided against their former allies in Darmstadt.

In the larger scheme of European politics, these minor disruptions of the German peace made news, but failed to attract the state-level attention that Britain paid to North America and that most European powers paid to Russia, Poland and Courland. True to his personality, Frederick continued to seek opportunities at the end of the Seven Years' War, amply justifying the legend of a man continuously at work.[157] While Maria Theresa and her family re-engaged in German politics and sought a full return to peace, the King of Prussia looked forward to new diplomatic combinations. Frederick's new strategic plans long predated the conclusion of peace, and he already seems to have thought of profiting from Poland's decline rather than trying to stop it. As a firsthand witness to Russia's rise on the European stage, moreover, he seems to have been

---

[152] Ratisbon, 7 March 1763, op. cit.; Frederick to Finckenstein, 13 March 1763, *PC*, 22: 552–53.

[153] Ratisbon, 26 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10303 (9–12 April 1763): 1–2.

[154] Nuremberg, 22 March 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10302 (5–9 April 1763): 2. On the devastation in Hesse-Cassel itself, see Ingrao, *Hessian Mercenary State*, 57–59.

[155] Wetzlar, 1 June 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10325 (25–28 June 1763): 2.

[156] Ratisbonne, 23 June 1763, *London Gazette*, no.10328 (5–9 July 1763): 1.

[157] Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 320.

among the first to embrace the new order, while counsels in other European courts looked on in helpless frustration.[158]

Conclusions

From fall 1761 to spring 1763, European international relations subsisted in a state of flux. Historians have often remarked the "unexpected dénouement" of the Seven Years' War following the death of Czarina Elizabeth, but their comments have been much more sparse on the transition to peace and the new international system early in 1763. Larger histories of international relations, such as Hamish Scott's growing canon, deftly address most of these issues, but do so in a way that cannot accommodate the fine detail of individual troop movements or specific letters between monarchs and their ministers.

In August 1759, a dramatic victory at Kunersdorf confirmed Russia's rise on the European stage, yet by 1761 their Austrian and French allies remained hesitant about acknowledging the fact. Following the fall of Kolberg, their attitudes may have changed, yet Czarina Elizabeth's death and Spain's entry into the war each contributed in their own way to making Russian power more visible. As French and British leaders reduced their commitments to Germany, the naked ambition of Peter III left no doubt as to Russia's future importance. Although Catherine II needed more time to consolidate her domestic position, Russian foreign policy, especially in Poland, remained a matter of European interest. Whereas Austrian and French leaders continued to lament Russia's rise and ambitions, Frederick seized the opportunity that lay before him to embrace a new international reality.

Frederick's political acumen had many manifestations as the Seven Years' War came to a close, from ruthless pillaging in Saxony and Thuringia to hard bargaining at the negotiating table, to careful management of his image in the months after the peace. As French and British troops made a quick withdrawal from Germany after November 1762 and took their rivalry farther out into the Atlantic, Frederick changed his own diplomatic priorities. In contrast to the Austro-Imperial emphasis on maintaining political stability, Frederick wasted little time seeking new opportunities

158 Scott, *Great PowerSystem*, 144–45; 147–51; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 321–22.

in Poland—and pursuing alliance with Russia in the process. And while the counsels in Vienna favored retrenchment and peace, the King of Prussia, despite the war's horrific damage to his state and capabilities for projecting his power,[159] maintained a peacetime army of about 150,000 troops.[160]

Most other armies drew down their troop numbers, however, notably the French who began withdrawing from the German war at the end of 1761, and the British who disengaged almost entirely from Germany after spring 1763. Frederick is known to have dragooned foreign troops into his army both during and after the war, though Austrian efforts to do likewise with Prussian officers and men seem to have reached an apex in Maria Theresa's personal efforts at persuasion just after the peace. All of these activities as well as prisoner exchanges, legal proceedings and postwar antics in Meiningen and Wetzlar suggest that there is still a military history to be written of the year 1763.

In sum, the end of the Seven Years' War in Germany involved much more than the lead-up to the Treaties of Paris and Hubertusburg. Instead, a variety of strategic imponderables from the Duc de Broglie's disgrace to Colonel Beckwith's transfer of service affected military orders and diplomatic initiatives far outside the scope of the peace negotiations. Alongside the withdrawal of troops, Germany declined as a theater of strategic interest, and while the King of Prussia sought to keep a powerful force in being, his policies toward the young Catherine II indicate an early appreciation of Russia's rise on the European stage. True to Szabo's use of the term *unexpected dénouement*, the end of the Seven Years' War in Germany involved a continuous historical narrative with unforeseeable diplomatic twists and wild strategic turns—and above all a great many pens scratching quite a few pieces of paper.

---

159 Scott, *Great Power System*, 147; idem., "Aping the Great Powers: Frederick the Great and the Defence of Prussia's International Position, 1763–86," *German History*, 12 (1994): 286–307; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 321; Szabo, *Seven Years' War in Europe*, 428.

160 Duffy, *Army of Frederick the Great*, 199; Showalter, *Wars of Frederick the Great*, 328. For more on Frederick's aggressive outlook, see idem., *Frederick the Great: A Military Life* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 23, 301–02.

CONCLUSION

FATHER OF THE MODERN AGE

Patrick J. Speelman

When the ink dried on the final treaty and the last soldiers returned to their garrisons, Europe breathed a sigh of relief. The Seven Years' War was over. But how did it finally end? What did the war accomplish? And to what purpose did it serve? How was it understood? Historians have poured both energy and effort into understanding the war's origins—the Diplomatic Revolution, Anglo-French rivalries in North America, unsettled business in Germany—that the peace itself is either overshadowed or compartmentalized within the 'Treaty of Paris' idea.[1] But there was no Congress like Westphalia, Utrecht or even Aix-La-Chapelle. Only the Austrian leader Kaunitz (and no doubt the bedeviled Saxons) desired such a diplomatic framework to end the conflict. If the war itself is a difficult thing to demarcate and define, then the peace really defies classification.[2] The Treaty of Paris was but one of four (technically five) major peace treaties that 'wound down' the conflict and abated its fury.[3] They were all separate and unilateral, but yet interconnected at the same time. This suggests an aberration. If one includes the end of the Anglo-Cherokee struggle with the Treaty of Long-Island-on-the-Holston (1761) and the Treaty of

---

[1] The Anglocentric nature of the literature generally sees the Treaty of Paris as the end of the war (with an exclamation point) and over-emphasizes the Anglo-French conflict at the expense of understanding the drawn-out nature and inter-connectedness of the peace-making of 1762–63. See, Zenab Esmat Rashad, *The Peace of Paris, 1763* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951), Barry M. Gough, *British Mercantile Interests in the Making of the Peace of Paris, 1763: Trade, War and Empire* (Lewistown, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 1992), and Fred Anderson, "The Peace of Paris, 1763," chap. 3 in *The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War*, eds. Williamson Murray and James Lacey (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[2] For an overview of peace-making styles and classifications see Heinz Durckhardt, "Peace Treaties from Westphalia to the Revolutionary Era," chap. 3 in *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the Late Middle Ages to World War One* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 45–58.

[3] They include: St. Petersburg, Hamburg, Paris and Hubertusburg (with Prussia signing separate agreements with Austria and Saxony). The complete texts are found in volume 42 (1760–64) of *The Consolidated Treaty Series* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1969).

Charlestowne (1762), any attempt to fit it into the diplomatic progress of peace-making between Westphalia (1648), via Vienna (1815), and ultimately to Versailles (1919) is even more discomforting and discontinuous.

A Piecemeal Peace

First the war's end must be understood within the context of the 'Diplomatic Revolution of 1762' that saw Russia's leaving the coalition against Prussia (and briefly joining its former enemy) and making peace unilaterally. This act, triggered by the Czarina Elizabeth's death in January 1762 and the accession of the Pro-Prussian Duke Karl Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp to the throne as Czar Peter III, led to the Treaty of St. Petersburg (5 March 1762). In it Russia renounced its treaty with Austria and agreed to vacate Prussian territory. Peter went further and in secret articles agreed to Prussia's provisioning of Russian troops not withdrawn in a timely manner (to be used for his much-desired war with Denmark) and began details on a Russo-Prussian military alliance. The unpopularity of his Prussian and Danish policies and his inability to consolidate his throne led to his ouster in July 1762, the seizure of power by his wife, who became Czarina Catherine II, and the revocation of the military alliance with Prussia. More importantly Catherine decided against recommencing war against Prussia, and therefore ratified the Petersburg agreement. Without Russia, Austria's war to recover Silesia stood at the crossroads.[4]

More difficulties had mounted in the mean time. The change of course in Russia and the impending peace between it and Prussia compelled the Swedish Diet to come to terms with Frederick. It was financially and morally bankrupted by the war. Stockholm had decided on peace in December 1761. By May 1762 and fearful of what a Russo-Prussian alliance might bring, the country of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII approached Frederick through his sister, Sweden's own Queen Louise Ulrike.[5] Although Frederick would later write that he had forgotten he was even at war with Sweden, he no doubt was happy to acquire a status quo antebellum peace with the Treaty of Hamburg (22 May 1762). Two weeks later the

[4] The best overall narrative and summary of the peace-making events in Europe of 1762 is Franz A.J. Szabo, *The Seven Years' War in Europe* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), especially chap. 7. Much of the following narrative is derived from this important book.

[5] Frederick II, "History of the Seven Years War, Part II," in *Posthumous Works of Frederic II, King of Prussia*, trans. Thomas Holcroft (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 3: 263.

Russo-Prussian alliance was formalized, and Frederick entertained realistic plans to recover Silesia.

This reversal of events came at a fortunate time as the British under Lord Bute had cancelled the Prussian subsidy on 30 April. The Austrian chancellor Kaunitz suggested a general peace congress to settle all disputes, as he believed he could elicit international pressure to secure Austrian recovery of Silesia or its retention of strategic spots like Glatz and Schweidnitz. With Czar Peter III deposed on 9 July (and murdered eight days later), Frederick hastened his attempts to dislodge the Austrians from Silesia. This led to the battle of Burkersdorf (21 July 1762), a Prussian victory that enabled Frederick to besiege and recover Schweidnitz. This brief campaign has been under-appreciated due to Rossbach and Leuthen, but the Burkersdorf campaign may be Frederick's most brilliant military-political-diplomatic achievement. Catherine had recalled the corps under Czernichev attached to Frederick's army. If he tried to keep the Russian forces under his control, she could then re-declare war and finish him off, without any repercussions. Frederick did not take the bait, but did convince Czernichev to delay the departure of the 15,000 Russian troops three days, a space of time in which he completely fooled the Austrians as to intentions and troop dispositions. Of course, this also showed Frederick's flaws. After re-taking Schweidnitz he decided to expand the war through an Ottoman alliance. Those attempts floundered in October, and only then, was he ready to make peace with Austria.

In the west, King Louis XV of France too began lobbying for peace in October 1762. The Portuguese campaign, indeed the entire Spanish war, lay in ruins. But he had to convince Charles III, who wanted to hold out and recover Havana. And the Spanish Bourbon drove a hard bargain: he received a promise that French Louisiana including New Orleans would be given as compensation for Cuba. In addition Charles secured a dynastic marriage for his son, Charles, who married Louis' granddaughter, Marie-Louise-Thérèse in 1765. On 3 November the ministers of France (Choiseul), Great Britain (Bedford), and Spain (Grimaldi) signed a formal armistice and peace preliminaries at Fountainebleau. A secret treaty was struck confirming the Franco-Spanish Louisiana deal. Even though the Parliament ratified the preliminaries, both the British public and Frederick of Prussia disapproved. Lord Bute faced a public backlash against a perceived soft peace, and Frederick believed the French would withdraw from occupied territory only when Austrians arrived to take their place. Wesel, a strategic city on the lower Rhine held by France, was his chief concern, and he did

not want the Austrians to occupy it and use it as leverage in upcoming negotiations.[6]

The final Treaty of Paris was signed on 10 February, and it was anything but a status quo antebellum agreement. France acquiesced to British requests for revisions: they promised not to fortify the mouth of the Mississippi River or Dunkirk, and formally acknowledged the Protestant succession in Britain. Territorially the treaty is organized along cessions, trades, and returns. France ceded the following territories to Britain: Canada, Cape Breton Island, all islands off the Gulf of St. Lawrence, eastern Louisiana, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, and key trading posts in India. Britain ceded to France fishing rights off Newfoundland along with the island harbors of St. Pierre and Miquelon: this proved controversial and undermined Bute's credibility. Bute also returned several territories to France: Guadeloupe, Martinique, Marie Galante, St. Lucia, and the Isle of Gorée (in return for Senegal). These returns cemented his reputation as a weak peace-maker who did not get for Britain what it deserved for its efforts and expenses. France returned Minorca to Britain for the return of Belle Îsle. Spain ceded Florida to Britain in return for Havana, extended logwood privileges to British merchants in Honduras Bay, and returned Almeida to Portugal (as agreed France ceded west Louisiana and New Orleans in a separate treaty). Last, France ended its German war and immediately withdrew its armies.[7] The "Great War for Empire" ended. It may be argued, as Dull does, that France received a better deal at Paris in 1763 that could be have been expected in 1761, but overall the war cannot be understood as anything but an unmitigated disaster for the Bourbon dynasty.

The Austrians, like the French, wanted peace by the end of 1762. Without Russian forces in the east and with the decline of the French war effort in the west, little could be accomplished after Burkersdorf and the fall of Schweidnitz. Prince Ferdinand's victory at Wilhelmsthal on 24 June, and the militarily—but not politically—significant siege of Kassel (16 October-1 November) led to the collapse of France's German war and the increased pressure on Austria to cut its losses and end the conflict. On 29 November, the Saxon Privy Councilor Karl Thomas von

[6] The best account of the negotiations leading up to the treaty is found in Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), especially chap. 9.

[7] The Franco-Prussian conflict is the strangest of all the conflicts that comprise the Seven Years' War. No war was ever declared between the two countries and no peace was ever signed to formally end the conflict.

Fritsch delivered a letter to Frederick expressing a wish for peace. This go-between for Kaunitz led to the decision to meet on 'neutral' ground, the Elector of Saxony's hunting lodge at Hubertusburg. Negotiations formally began on 30 December, and after seven weeks a status quo ante-bellum double-peace emerged.[8] On 11 February, the Austrians, Prussians, and Saxons drafted the formal texts, with the latter surrendering on all points. Saxony had hoped for reparations from Prussia due to its harsh occupation and looting of the country. With no leverage the Austrians handed over Glatz and the Saxons withdrew their claims. The Treaty of Hubertusburg was signed on 15 February, five days after the Treaty of Paris, and as such it formally ended the Seven Years' War.

Costs: Human and Material

The costs of the Seven Years' War, human and material, were prohibitive: their foreknowledge in 1756 may have averted the conflict altogether. Yet, qualification is required. The loss of human life in war is difficult to ascertain in the early modern era. Apart from regimental returns and first-hand accounts of battles, sources are few and scanty. This is even more the case for civilian deaths, which are rarely mentioned or calculated in the military returns. This often makes it appear that the war was 'humane' and armies rarely targeted civilian populations or property, that the Seven Years' War was a paragon of the 'Age of Limited War" and guided by the Enlightenment's high-minded idealism. In this respect a healthy dose of realism (if not cynicism) should be applied. The war proved catastrophic in human terms and entire regions of central Europe lay wasted. There seems to be no real evidence to suggest the armies limited themselves in any way. Contributions generally were forced using violence and mayhem. To assert Saxony's experience (or Poland's at the hands of the Russians) as being part of a limited war is quite absurd as Prussia frequently looted and pillaged it for every drop of blood it could get from the Saxon 'turnip'.

The best estimates of war dead range from 850,000 to 1 million. No detailed or comprehensive study of casualties exists, and calculations vary widely. The following table compares the number of battle deaths as

[8] See Carl Freihernn von Beaulieu-Marconnay, *Der Hubertusberger Friede* (Leipzig: G. Hirzel, 1871).

Table 1. Seven Years' War Military Casualty Estimates

Belligerent	Frederick's battle deaths[9]	Sorokin's total military casualties[10]
France	200,000	168,000
Prussia	180,000	262,500
Britain/Allies	160,000	20,000
Austria	140,000	400,000
Russia	120,000	138,000
Sweden	28,000	na
Holy Roman Empire	25,000	na
Spain	na	3,000
TOTALS	853,000	991,500

reported in Frederick's history to the overall military casualty figures calculated by the modern sociologist Pitirim Sorokin.

These figures are admittedly Eurocentric but provide a sense of the difficulty determining casualty figures in the eighteenth century. Frederick's numbers did not include the wounded, nor any Spanish figures. Sorokin did not include estimates for Sweden, various German allies (especially Britain's allies), and suggests that Frederick over-estimated the battle deaths, which should be no more than one-third of total casualty figures on average. The only accurate approach for military casualties would be an analysis of the monthly or annual military/regimental returns of each belligerent for the entire course of the war. Frederick's numbers seem to better reflect the battlefield returns, contemporary accounts, and are to be trusted as a primary source.

The civilian toll is more elusive than military deaths. Frederick admitted Prussia's total civilian deaths due to direct military action equaled 33,000, mostly in Pomerania, Neumark and East Prussia, with 20,000

[9] The battle figures come directly from Frederick the Great's history of the Seven Years' War and represents contemporary calculations (which include deaths from wounds and disease). They have not been superseded by modern studies, which tend to support this basic figure. See Frederick II, "History of the Seven Year's War, Pt II, 3: 370–71; and Michael Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures, 1618–1991* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1992), 1: 99–100.

[10] Based on Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Fluctuation of Social relationships, War, and Revolution*, vol. 3 of *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Company, 1937), 289–334.

of that number killed at the hands of the Russians. But that figure excluded those who left and never returned. More recent estimates suggest nearly 70,000 people perished or fled Pomerania (1 in 5) and nearly 60,000 (1 in 4) did the same in Neumark-Brandenburg.[11] The following table, based on Boris Urlanis's calculations, is instructive for Prussian losses:

Table 2. Decline of Prussia's Population (6%) due to the Seven Years' War[12]

District	Population in 1755	Population in 1764
Eastern Pomerania	636,000	587,000
Pomerania	373,000	325,000
Neumark	222,000	200,000
Kurmark	585,000	564,000
Silesia	1,162,000	1,112,000
Magdeburg	226,000	215,000
Halberstadt	103,000	100,000
Maiden Rawensberg	164,000	154,000
Cleve-Mark-Mers-Holdern	271,000	236,000
Ost Friesland	91,000	91,000
Neuchâtel	32,000	32,000
TOTALS	3,865,000	3,616,000

Extrapolated numbers can only be speculative for all the theaters but the major campaign zone between the Rhine River in the west, the North/Baltic Seas in the north, the Elbe River in the east and the Bavaria-Bohemia barrier in the south suggest a rather concentrated, if not intense, pressure applied to the civilian populations. Frederick admitted Pomerania, Silesia, and the Neumark were ruined territories, Habsburg Bohemia and Moravia lay wasted, and Saxony and Poland bled dry from occupation. Urlanis suggests that Austria's population dropped by nearly one million over the course of the war, due to death, disease and emigration:

[11] Walther Hubatsch, *Frederick the Great: Absolutism and Administration*, trans. Patrick Doran (London, Thames and Hudson, 1975), 148.

[12] Boris Urlanis, *Wars and Population*, trans. Leo Lempert (Moscow: Progress Publications, 1971), 282. He took his figures from Otto Behre, *Geschichte der Statistik in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin: Heymanns, 1905), 458, 462.

Table 3. Decline of Habsburg Population (15%) Due to the Seven Years' War[13]

Territory	Population in 1754	Population in 1762
Bohemia	1,942,000	1,669,000
Moravia	867,000	835,000
Silesia	154,000	136,000
Austria, Lower	930,000	777,000
Austria, Upper	430,000	417,000
Styria	697,000	496,000
Carinthia	272,000	260,000
Kraina, Herz, and Hradiska	447,000	300,000
TOTALS	5,739,000	4,890,000

The western German lands traversed back and forth by French, Imperial, and Allied armies no doubt faced similar material destruction and economic calamity. It is not surprising that Germans of the Palatinate recommenced mass immigration to Pennsylvania after 1763. All told civilian deaths due directly or indirectly to the war may number in the hundreds of thousands and easily eclipse combined military casualties.[14]

The financial costs of the war bankrupted or nearly bankrupted every major combatant by 1762. To finance a global struggle William Pitt augmented revenue with a massive borrowing program. As a result British national debt nearly doubled from £74 to £133 million by war's end.[15] This posed numerous fiscal problems after 1763, and compelled most of the 100-plus regiments in the British and Irish establishments to be either disbanded or put on half-pay. The French global effort did not have the financial purse strings of its British foe, and fiscally the war nearly bankrupted Louis XV. By 1762, with credit ruined, France could only field 100,000 troops, and therefore could no longer fight on the continent. Maria Theresa's government borrowed nearly £25 million in a failing cause, while Sweden's government went insolvent over its attempt to wrest Pomerania

[13] Ibid, 281. These figures come from Heynrik Grossmann, "Die Anfänge und geschichtliche Entwicklung der amtlichen Statistik in Österreich," *Statistische Monatschrift* 42 (1916): 21, 235.

[14] Not to mention the casualties for natives in the Americas and India, whose numbers can only be guessed at though not corroborated with hard sources.

[15] John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 114.

from Prussia. Only Russia and Prussia emerged with finances 'intact.' The paltry support of the government and the huge costs of campaigning compelled the Russian forces to subsist off of Poland and occupied Prussia for most of the war. Frederick too let war pay for war as he spent £31 million defending Silesia, but emerged with no debt as the costs were offset by his ruthless plundering of Saxony, the British subsidy, and his constant debasing of his own economy.[16] In the post-war environment Europe's financial and fiscal landscape at best can be characterized as 'wrecked.'

Absolutism Resurgent and Its Foes

The role war played in state formation in the early modern era is a topic that rarely includes a discussion of the Seven Years' War.[17] Both R.R. Palmer's *The Age of the Democratic Revolutions* and Franco Venturi's *The End of the Old Regime in Europe* say little directly about the legacy of the war or its effects on the material underpinnings of what is termed a "crisis" of the Old Order.[18] It is not an exaggeration to claim that the response to the war's devastation, by both victors and vanquished, changed the course of Europe's history. Every major combatant faced the challenge of rebuilding armed forces, governmental structures, finances, and dynastic prestige. The means to accomplish those ends was the imposition of neo-absolutist state structures on a society weakened by war and therefore vulnerable to state coercion and re-organization. These attempts have often been labeled 'enlightened reforms,' but much of the social turmoil, political instability and revolutionary agitation that marked the 1763–1789 period was triggered by such intrusive attempts by dynastic states to reassert their command and socio-political dominance. And everywhere,

---

[16] Frederick II, "The History of the Seven Years' War, Pt II," 3: 371–75.

[17] A good summary of the literature and main arguments with regards to early modern state formation, see Steven Gunn, David Grummitt, and Hans Cools, "War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Widening the Debate," *War in History* 15, no. 4 (October 2008): 371–88. For the Seven Years' War in particular see the recent, and very insightful, Hamish M. Scott, "The Seven Years' War and Europe's *Ancien Régime*," *War in History* 18, no. 4 (October 2011): 419–55.

[18] Historians have generally questioned the notion of Venturi's or Palmer's version of a 'crisis' of the Old Order, but without the context of the Seven Years' War. See Robert R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolutions: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959–64), and Franco Venturi, *The End of the Old Regime in Europe*, 3 vols., trans. R. Burr Lichtfield (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989–1991). For an excellent overview of Venturi's ideas see, R. Burr Litchfield, "Franco Venturi's 'Crisis' of the Old Regime," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2005): 234–44.

except Prussia, the subjects rejected and rebelled against the new politics of the postwar leadership and against their enlightened leaders.

The story and tragedy of the British Empire after 1763 is well-known. With a globalized network of outposts, colonies and trade companies, the British government assumed a great financial burden that could have undermined its long-term economic vitality. For that reason, the Parliament's policies towards its American colonies took a coercive turn. It was time for America to pay for itself and lessen the burden on the English landowner. Parliament's absolutist approach to governing touched off widespread protests in England with the issues of general warrants and John Wilkes culminating in the massacre of St. George's Field in 1769. That the Boston Massacre followed in 1770 only revealed the gulf between subjects and government that helped foment the American revolt, which was essentially a movement to reassert traditional English liberties and limit the power of an imperial Parliament.[19]

A similar pattern personified the debilitated and disgraced regime of Louis XV's France. The war had cost between 189–225 million *livres* annually (roughly £14–17 million). Rather than raise taxes, Versailles sought to ease the pain through borrowing on a massive scale. Nearly 60% of its war expenditures fell to later generations. The state debt stood at 2,350,000,000 *lives* in 1764 and the state took in only 300,000,000 *livres*/year. By 1770 nearly 60% of the royal budget serviced the debt obligations. [20] Reforms such as Turgot's attempted to unleash the productive potential of the agrarian society based on physiocratic economics. This failed, as did the absolutists' assault on the regional Parlements and aristocratic tax privileges. For a debased and de-sacralized dynasty, aiding the American rebels against Britain provided a 'sugar high' of satisfaction, which crashed down into the reality of national insolvency. Louis XVI faced retribution for his predecessor's sins and unwittingly unleashed the reaction to absolutism that manifested in the Revolution of 1789 and later to his beheading in 1793. The British and French Revolutions, it is argued, ushered in the revolutionary age and the modern European world. If they gave birth to modernity, than the Seven Years' War stands as its father.

---

[19] Bread and food riots also flared up in the 1760s as well, most notably in Norwich (1766). For the role that veterans and discharged soldiers/militia played in the civil disturbances see, Walter J. Shelton, *English Hunger and Industrial Disorders: A Study of Social Conflict during the First Decade of George III's Reign* (London: Macmillan, 1973).

[20] The figures in this paragraph are found in H.M. Scott, *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers, 1763–1775* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 68–70.

Similar patterns reverberated throughout Europe: regicide and revolution were not monopolized by the French or Americans. In Sweden, the aftershock of war triggered a rapid political turnover of fortunes. There the ruling Hat Party lost power to the Caps as a result of their failed wartime leadership. Sweden lay bankrupt (soon to be plagued by inflation and currency devaluation) and received nothing for its wartime efforts. It had borrowed heavily: over 55 million silver Dalers (roughly £4 million), 80% of which came from domestic sources.[21] The unpopular Caps attempted to govern, but Crown Prince Gustavus, a popular figure within Enlightenment Europe, engineered a coup against the constitutional order and usurped power as Gustavus III in 1772. This pro-French monarch received subsidies from the Bourbons and intended a sweeping absolutist model for his newly won kingdom. His assassination (he was shot in the back) in March 1792 while attending a masked ball symbolized the spread of revolutionary reaction against neo-absolutism: the assassin, Jacob Johan Anckarström, was part of a revolutionary cabal inspired by events in France.[22]

Revolutionary reaction to neo-absolutism shook the foundations of Romanov power in Russia as well. It had financed (a loose term) the war without recourse to borrowing and mainly through copper coinage debasement. By 1760 the court and army cost three times more than the annual revenue so the government simply curtailed or eliminated pay of its officials, officers, and soldiers with promises of future remittance. But apart from its human losses, no campaigns ravaged its lands. The greatest financial burden in the short-term was rebuilding its artillery arsenal. A serious capital outlay, over 9,000 guns (out of 13,000) required replacement.[23] The coup against the unpopular Peter propelled Catherine II onto a precarious position. She used the post-war years to consolidate her position and establish strong alliances within the Russian nobility. But the ghost of her husband plagued her early years. During the landmark Russo-Turkish War (1768–74), a large-scale peasant rebellion broke out in

[21] Sweden received a French subsidy of just over 11 million silver Dalers, but the largest portion, over 24 million silver Dalers, came from debt purchased by the Bank of Sweden, which issued it as paper currency. A good deal of inflation ensued in the post-war years. For these figures and much more on the domestic front in Sweden during the war see, Patrick Winton, "Sweden and the Seven Years' War: War, Debt, and Politics," *War in History* 19, no. 1 (Jan. 2012): 5–31.

[22] The best study in English of these developments is Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty: Sweden, 1719–1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[23] Scott, *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers*, 71.

Cossack lands that spread throughout Russia. Known as the Pugachev Revolt, its leader claimed to be the deceased Czar Peter III, and challenged the regime's legitimacy. The largest peasant revolt in Europe prior to the Communist Revolution of 1917, it failed to depose Catherine, who emerged as one of the most respected and accomplished leaders of her generation. It would be her son, the somewhat incompetent Czar Paul I (he attempted to force reforms and regulations on his resentful nobility) who fell to assassination, this time by strangulation, in March 1801.[24]

The Habsburgs of Austria escaped regicide and revolution, but faced difficult challenges after the war. First, acceptance of the loss of Silesia was a psychological shock. Second, the war's bill proved nearly insurmountable. The loose-knit dynastic agglomeration that was the Habsburg monarchy resorted to increased taxation and heavy borrowing (i.e. forced domestic loans). The Hereditary Lands themselves spent 392 million florins (roughly £41 million) with all but 144 million coming from coerced borrowing from the landed estates. By 1761, Maria Theresa's government spent 61 million florins per year to finance the struggle, which resulted in a state debt of near 290 million florins in 1763. The heartlands continued to pay the war taxes for years to come in order to balance the accounts. By 1780 domestic revenues had grown by over 40% and Austria could once more wage a foreign war.[25]At that time Maria Theresa handed the reins to her son, who became Emperor Joseph II. An admirer of Frederick the Great, his ambitious reform agenda alienated the upper class, Church and even the peasantry. By the time of his death, most reforms had been rescinded due to growing resistance and threats of reaction.[26]

To the north, Frederick II of Prussia took on the daunting task of rebuilding his state. The depopulation and material destruction of his scattered domains was his chief focus. A generous (and expensive) immigration policy attracted nearly 250,000 'pioneers' to his realm.[27] His *Rétablissement* policy sought to rejuvenate and strengthen the domestic sphere as a precursor to ensuring Prussia's long-term power status. He combined a mix of absolutist intervention (creating a Berlin Bank in 1760 and establishing

[24] The best overview is Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

[25] Scott, *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers*, 74–75.

[26] For an excellent discussion of Joseph's approach, see Scott, "The Seven Years' War and Europe's *Ancien Régime*," 438–39.

[27] Scott, *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers*, 85.

state tobacco and coffee monopolies) with enlightened *laissez*-faire (decentralized administration of education and the judicial system). His overarching goal was autarky, which required more tax revenue to rebuild the shattered Prussian military state. This led in 1766 to the much-disliked *Régie,* a tax bureaucracy that collected indirect revenues, that lasted throughout this reign. With a work ethic next to none the aging king rejuvenated his war-torn kingdom and re-established it as a great power in Europe by the time of his death in 1786. By cultivating successfully the myth of 'Old Fritz' the wily, cynical king averted the reactive forces that murdered sovereigns and toppled regimes elsewhere in Europe. The Junker nobles stood as the guardians and benefactors of the state, and Frederick's deference to them cultivated personal loyalty (it helped that his father's old guard which disliked Frederick had been killed off during the war). His success was due partly to his near absolute seclusion in his Potsdam palace, which became the de facto capital of Prussia, which facilitated centralization of power through the *Kabinett*. The Prussian Revolution, if it can be called one, would occur when its Hohenzollern officer corps rebelled against King Frederick William III, who accommodated and then allied with Napoleon after the defeats of 1806. Such treason would have shocked Frederick, but it must be remembered that the old Junker officer corps was essentially destroyed by the Seven Years' War, and much of the traditional reverence for the Hohenzollern leadership may have died with it.

In Iberia the seeds of revolution bore fruit albeit of different varieties. In Portugal, the Conde de Oeyras continued his neo-absolutist program, being made the Marquis de Pombal in 1770. His most notable achievement in the postwar climate was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, which would be integral to the Vatican's suppression of the order in 1773. When King José died in 1777, his successor Maria I ousted Pombal and put him on trial. Disgraced and convicted of murder, the queen commuted the sentence and banished him to his estates where he died in 1782 ravaged by old age and leprosy. Such was the Portuguese Revolution and the reaction against absolutism.[28] In Spain, Charles III's attempts to revamp colonial trade relationships with his North American colonies proved disastrous in the long run. Rather than liberalizing trade, the Spanish court attempted to tighten its grip and further monopolize and regulate

[28] See Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

its colonial possessions. For example in the colonies, the crown favored *peninsulares* over *creoles.* These unpopular policies festered and help foment widespread rebellion later following the Napoleonic wars and triggered a series of wars of liberation that remade the map of Latin America.[29]

In the larger international context in Europe, the Seven Years' War was a watershed event. As H.M. Scott explains it led to not only the emergence of the Eastern Powers but to the rise of the five great powers that would dominate European history into the twentieth century: Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The importance of the Pentarchy[30] is that it swept away the old system. Both Prussia and Russia by virtue of their military successes and prowess exhibited during the war emerged as legitimate great powers. As such the center of gravity of European affairs moved east in a decided and abrupt way. No longer was the old Reformation era division of Europe into its 'northern' and 'southern' spheres reflective of the realities of geopolitics. There now stood an 'Eastern' Europe with military capabilities and potentials that far exceeded the traditional centers of power in Paris and London. No longer could France and/or Great Britain dictate eastern policies, and no longer did the east require western material or diplomatic support. For example, the Russo-Turkish War (1768–74) concluded without mediation by any western European state.[31]

The new appreciation for the military forces of the east in the short run created stability there and a balance of power. The three eastern powers cooperated out of fear and/or necessity and managed to carve out acceptable boundaries at the expense of the Ottoman Empire and hapless Poland, which was partitioned out of existence in 1795. That neither France nor Britain could stop or have any bearing on the elimination of an entire dynastic state speaks volumes to the new realities. The small states, the secondary and tertiary powers, could no longer serve as diplomatic and military pawns of France or Britain. The Age of the Sun King, shattered at Rossbach, had given way to the Age of Old Fritz.

---

[29] See Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). Scott, "The Seven Years' War and Europe's *Ancien Régime*," 444–45.

[30] See Heinz Durchhardt, *Balance of Power und Pentarchie: Internationale Beziehungen, 1700–1785* (*Paderborn, 1997*). One could argue the Russia emerged as a proto-global power if one takes into consideration its vast Asian holdings.

[31] Scott, *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers,* 8.

"Afterwars"[32] and the Global View

Elsewhere the effects and consequences of the conflict must assume a qualified measure. Certainly, the British victory proved disastrous to the Great Lakes Indians, and the resulting Pontiac's Rebellion (1763) only further eroded the native hold on the developing western fringe of American settlement. But we should be cautious in asserting inevitable decline. British policy, which roiled the colonists, essentially aimed at creating a permanent buffer between them and the natives in the west. The pivotal blow may well be the American victory in 1783, which altered the 'geostrategic' map of colonial-native relations to the latter's detriment. Still, it would not be until well after the Treaty of Greenville (1794) that the natives behind that treaty's 'line' would find themselves relocated westward. The Creek War (1813–14), the two Seminole Wars (1818–1843), and the Black Hawk War (1832) demonstrated the lingering vitality in native resistance, although they gradually declined under the attrition of defeat. Not until after the coerced removals under President Jackson can we argue that native resistance in the eastern part of North America was truly 'broken' irrevocably. The Seven Years' War accelerated a process that had begun in early colonial times, but it did not prove the fatal blow to the fortunes of the Native Americans. It determined which European power would hold the key to their future there.

The legacy of the war in the other zone of 'colonial' conflict, South Asia, is more difficult to assess, especially from a purely European perspective. The complexity of the internal divisions, rivalries and inter-connections between the fading Mughals, the Marathas, and other indigenous Indian powers, make the war less coherent within the context of Indian history. Surely, the British victory secured their ascendancy in Bengal and over the French on the southeast Carnatic coast, but this was in large part due to the vacuum left by the withdrawal of Ahmad Shah Durrani from north India after the battle of Panipat (1761). But how far did British power really reach in 1763? Within a year the British East India Company would fight at Buxar (1764) and crush Mughal military might (albeit of their surrogate the Nawab of Bengal) in the northeast of the sub-continent. But that is merely an opening salvo in the long struggle for mastery in India that continued well into the nineteenth century. British forces found themselves

[32] For an excellent explanation of this term see this book's Introduction, note 13.

constantly fighting: they fought four Mysore wars (1766–1799), and three Maratha wars (1779–1818). Clearly, India was not Britain's in 1763, nor could it be. The war determined which European power would play a role in the scramble for India that followed Mughal decline.

Last, the Qing mid-century efforts across the Eurasian landmass must be put into high relief with respects to the war.[33] Central Asia was the meeting place of three rival imperial powers: Romanov Russia, the Mongolian Zunghars, and Qing China. The Treaty of Kiakhta (1728) stabilized the Chinese frontier in the west and helped neutralize Russian support of the Zunghars. In the 1750s, the Chinese, with overwhelming force and long-range logistical capabilities crushed the Zunghars and conquered central Eurasia, or Chinese Turkestan (renamed Xinjiang), all the while Russia was preoccupied in the far west with Prussia during the Seven Years' War. Thus a binary partition of Asia was enacted. The Zunghar campaign (1755–58) was the eighteenth-century's greatest war. By 1759 an estimated 500,000–800,000 Zunghars died at the hands of the Chinese and an ill-timed smallpox outbreak.[34] The Qing dwarfed the military capabilities of the Europeans in terms of long-range reach and strategic integration. The Emperor Qianlong's martial reputation did suffer reverses after a disastrous Burmese War (1765–70) ended with lost prestige and tremendous military casualties. By 1800, the Qing had doubled the size of their empire, and with good reason demanded Lord George Macartney kowtow before the emperor's representatives.

Constructing the "Seven Years' War"[35]

Finally, how did the 'Seven Years' War' materialize in printed form? For the educated European officer corps and men of letters the Seven Years' War proved to be a boon. An energized "Military Enlightenment' emerged that was built upon an outburst of military literature, both history and theory, motivated by reflections on the late conflict. Histories of the war appeared in nearly all its former belligerents. The Rev. John Entick's five-volume

[33] The best survey is Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2005).

[34] Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1989), 290–4.

[35] For an informative overview of the literature spawned by the war, see Scott, "The Seven Years' War and Europe's *Ancien Régime*," 449–54.

A General History of the Late War (1763–64)[36] became a definitive history in Britain's popular press, though it was derived in large part from the *Annual Register*. For military professionals General Henry Lloyd's two-volume *History of the Late War in Germany* (1766–90)[37] provided cogent analysis of campaigns, strategies and tactics employed by both sides. Originally an anonymous publication, Lloyd's criticism of Frederick's operational and tactical methods (which he deemed repetitive and predictable) earned him the ire of the Prussian military. Its only limitation is that it was unfinished at the time of the author's death in 1783 (it ends abruptly after 1759). No French language history of the war surfaced until the Saxon Johann Gottlieb Tielke's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Art de l'Histoire de la Guerre de 1756 jusqu'à 1763* (1775–86).[38] Friedrich August von Retzow's two-volume *Nouveaux Mémoires Historiques sur la Guerre de Sept Ans* (1803)[39] is noted for one of the earliest uses of the term 'Seven Years' War' outside of Germany. Spain's participation in the war was short, but decisive. Joseph Vicente de Rustant's definitive ten-volume *Decadas de la Guerra de Alemania, e Inglaterra, Francia, España, y Portugal* (1765)[40] is noted for its wide focus, unusual for continental works on the conflict, that includes more than the German campaigns.

---

[36] John Entick, *A General History of the Late War: Containing It's Rise, Progress, and Event, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*, 5 vols. (London: Printed for Edward Dilly and John Millan, 1763–64).

[37] Henry Lloyd, *The History of the Late War in Germany; Between the King of Prussia, and the Empress of Germany and Her Allies* (London: Printed for the Author; and Sold by R. Horsfield; L. Hawes and Co.; J. Dodsley; J. Walter; T. Davies; W. Shropshire; and E. Easton, 1766); idem. *The History of the Late War in Germany; Between the King of Prussia, and the Empress of Germany and Her Allies: Containing the Campaigns of 1758, and 1759, with a correct Military Map of the Seat of War; and Plans of the Siege of Olmütz, and the Battles of Zornsdorf, Hochkirchen, Paltzig, Cunnersdorf, or Frankfurt, and Maxen,* vol. 2, Published from the General's Manuscripts, under the Inspection of an English Officer, and Illustrated with Notes Critical, Historical, and Explanatory (London: Printed for T. and J. Egerton, 1790). Both are found in the modern edition of Lloyd's collected writings. See Patrick J. Speelman, ed., *War, Society and Enlightenment: The Works of General Lloyd*, History of Warfare, no. 32 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005).

[38] Johann Gottlieb Tielke, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Art de l'Histoire de la Guerre de 1756 jusqu'à 1763,* 6 vols. (Freyburg: Barthel. 1775–86). An early history, "Histoire de Causes de la Guerre de 1756," written by Charles Duclos, remained unpublished until the French Revolution, but remained obscure outside that country. See Scott, "The Seven Years' War and Europe's *Ancien Régime*," 450.

[39] Friedrich August von Retzow, *Nouveaux Mémoires Historiques sur la Guerre de Sept Ans*, 2 vols. (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1803).

[40] Joseph Vicente de Rustant, *Decadas de la Guerra de Alemania, e Inglaterra, Francia, España, y Portugal: Con Reflexiones Politico-Militares sobre sus acontecimientos*, 10 vols. (Madrid: Andrès Ortega, 1765).

In Germany the literature focused on Frederick's campaigns, which became the historiographic norm. The most influential analysis was Prussian officer Georg Friedrich von Tempelhof's six-volume *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland* (1783–1801).[41] It is both a military analysis of the German campaigns as well as a spirited defense of Frederick the Great and critique of Lloyd's work.[42] It along with Frederick's own history of the war became the basis for the Prusso-German school of thought about both the conflict and Frederick the Great's generalship. A work with a broader, more popular appeal was Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz's *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland* (1788).[43] Translated into English in 1843, it became the standard work on the European war and proved influential inside and outside of Germany. Last, the most thorough operational examination still is the German Generalstaff's 6-volume *Der Siebenjährige Krieg, 1756–1763* (Berlin, 1901–04),[44] which utilized the now destroyed Prussian military archives, and can be considered (like the US Army 'Green Book' series on World War II) a primary source.

The early literature, unapologetically Eurocentric and concerned as it was on deciphering the rules and principles of war of the various protagonists, formed the basic parameters of the modern study of the conflict. It was the German War, or Seven Years' War, that pitted the rising power of Prussia and its genius warrior-king against the traditional imperial Habsburg power. In the Anglo-American world the war was and is the French and Indian War or the Great War for Empire, a colonial contest that determined the fate of North America, the British Empire, and the French crown. If this volume suggests any revision of the historiographic trends, we must conclude that the war was all of the above and more. The strands that connected the regional struggles under one umbrella conflict produced a global struggle of immense proportions that not only changed the trajectory of European history, but that of the modern world.

---

41 Georg Friedrich von Tempelhof, *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland zwischen dem Könige von Preußen und der Kaiserin Königen mit ihren Allierten vom General Lloyd*, 6 vols. (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1783–1801).

42 It should be noted that Lloyd and Tempelhof provided the narrative and analytical foundation for Henri de Jomini's strategic theory and historical works of the nineteenth century.

43 Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland von 1756 bis 1763*, 2 vols. (Mannheim, 1788). A French edition in Metz in 1789 exhibits one of the earliest uses of the term "Seven Years' War" in that language.

44 Grossen Generalstab, *Der Siebenjährige Kriege, 1756–1763,* part 3 of *Die Kriege Friedrichs des Grossen*, 6 vols. (Berlin: Mittler, 1901–04).

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adanson, Michael. *A Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Gorée, and the River Gambia*. London: Printed for John Nourse and W. Johnston, 1759.

Ágoston, Gábor. "A Flexible Empire: Authority and its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, nos. 1–2 (Summer 2003): 15–29.

———. *Guns for the Sultan.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Aksan, Virginia. "Ottoman-French Relations 1739–1768." In *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History I,* ed. Sinan Kuneralp, 41–58. Istanbul: Isis Press, 1987.

———. *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700–1781.* Leiden: Brill, 1995.

———. "Whatever Happened to the Janissaries?" *War in History* 5, no. 1 (Jan. 1998): 23–36.

———. "Breaking the Spell of the Baron de Tott: Reframing the Question of Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1760–1830." *International History Review* 24, no. 2 (June 2002): 253–77.

———. "Whose Territory and Whose Peasants? Ottoman Boundaries on the Danube in the 1760s." In *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750–1830,* ed. Frederick F. Anscombe, 61–86. Princeton: Markus Weiner Publishers, 2006.

———. *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged.* Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007.

Allen, Richard B. "The Constant Demand of the French: The Mascarene Slave Trade and the Worlds of the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *The Journal of African History* 49, no. 1 (March 2008): 43–72.

Anderson, Fred. *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

———. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001.

———. *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian* War. New York: Viking, 2005.

———. "The Peace of Paris, 1763." In *The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War*, eds. Williamson Murray and James Lacey, 101–29. Cambridge. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Anklam, Ewa. *Wissen nach Augenmaß. Militärische Beobachtung und Berichterstattung im Siebenjährigen Krieg*. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2007.

Archenholz, Johann Wilhelm von. *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland von 1756 bis 1763*. 2 vols. Mannheim, 1788.

Balvay, Arnaud. *L'Épée et la Plume: Amérindians et Soldats des Troupes de la Marine en Louisiane et au Pays d'en Haut* (*1683–1763*). Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006.

Banaschik-Ehl, Christa. *Scharnhorsts Lehrer, Graf Wilhelm von Schaumburg-Lippe, in Portugal: Die Heeresreform, 1761–1777*. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1974.

Banbuck, C.A. *Histoire politique, économique et sociale de la Martinique sous l'Ancien régime* (*1635–1789*). Paris: M. Rivière, libr. des sciences politiques et sociales, 1935.

Barr, Daniel P., ed. *The Boundaries Between Us: Natives and Newcomers Along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750–1850*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 2006.

Barrento, António. *Guerra Fantástica, 1762: Portugal, o Conde de Lippe e a Guerra dos Sete Anos*. Lisbon: Tribuna, 2006.

Bath, Friedrich C. "Die Schlacht bei Minden 1759 in der Sicht englischer Kampfteilnehmer." *Mitteilungen des Mindener Geschichtsvereins* 48 (1976): 104–14.

Baugh, Daniel. *The Global Seven Years War, 1754–1763: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest*. New York: Pearson Longman, 2011.

Beaulieu-Marconnay, Karl von. *Der Hubertusburger Friede*. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1871.

Berenger Jean and Ph. Roy, "Relations des Troupes Réglées (Troupes de Terre et Troupes de Marine) avec les Canadiens." In*Conflits de sociétés au Canada français pendant la guerre de Sept ans et leur influence sur les opérations*, ed. Jean Delmas, 19–40. Vincennes: S.H.A.T., 1978.

Bever, Samuel. *The Cadet: A Military Treatise*. London: W. Johnston, 1756.

Black, Jeremy. "The British Expeditionary Force to Portugal in 1762." *Journal of the British Historical Society of Portugal* 16 (1989): 66–75.

———. *A Military Revolution?: Military Change and European Society, 1550–1800*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1991.

———. *Pitt the Elder*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

———. *European Warfare, 1660–1815*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

———. *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Cassell, 2002.

———. *The Continental Commitment: Britain, Hanover and Interventionism, 1714–1793*. London, NY: Routledge, 2005.

Blanning, Tim. *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648–1815*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2007.

Bois, Jean-Pierre, ed, *Défense des Côtes et Cartographie Historique.* Nantes: Éditions du CTHS, 2002.

Bollettino, Maria Alessandra. "Slavery, War, and Britain's Atlantic Empire: Black Soldiers, Sailors, and Rebels in the Seven Years' War." PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2009.

Bosher, J.F. "Financing the French Navy in the Seven Years' War: Beaujon, Goossens et Compagnie in 1759." *Business History* 26, no. 3 (July 1986): 115–33.

Boulle, Pierre H. "Patterns of French Colonial Trade and the Seven Years' War." *Histoire Social* 7, no. 1 (1974): 48–86.

Bowen, H.V. *War and British Society, 1688–1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Brecher, Frank. *Losing a Continent: France's North American Policy, 1753–1763*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Brewer, John. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989.

Browning, Reed. "The Duke of Newcastle and the Financing of the Seven Years' War." *Journal of Economic History* 31, no. 2 (June 1971): 344–77.

———. *The Duke of Newcastle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

Bryant, G.J. "The Cavalry Problem in the Early British Indian Army, 1750–1785." *War in History* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1995): 1–21.

———. "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750–1800." *War in History* 7, no. 1 (Jan. 2000): 2–28.

———. "British Logistics and the Conduct of the Carnatic Wars (1746–1783)" *War in History* 11, no. 3 (July 2004): 278–306.

Buffington, Arthur H. *The Second Hundred Years War, 1689–1815*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929.

Burkhardt, Johannes. *Abschied vom Religionskrieg: Der Siebenjährige Krieg und die päpstliche Diplomatie*. Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, No. 61. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1985.

———. "Geschichte als Argument in der habsburgisch-französischen Diplomatie. Der Wandel des frühneuzeitlichen Geschichtsbewußtseins in seiner Bedeutung für die Diplomatische Revolution von 1756." In *Frankreich im europäischen Staatensystem der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Rainer Babel, 191–217. Beihefte der Francia, No. 35. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbek Verlag, 1995.

———. "Sachsen-Polen und die päpstliche Diplomatie im Siebenjährigen Krieg." In *Sachsen und Polen zwischen 1697 und 1765: Beiträge der wissenschaftlichen Konferenz vom 26.-28. Juni 1997 in Dresden*, ed. Christine Klecker, 176–89. Volume 4/5 of *Saxonia*. Dresden: Sächsisches Druck und Verlagshaus, 1998.

Butler, Rohan. *Choiseul: Father and Son, 1719–1754*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.

Büyükakça, Murat Çınar. "Ottoman Army in the Eighteenth Century: War and Military Reform in the Eastern European Context." Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2007.

Calloway, Colin G. *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Calmes, Alan. "The Lyttelton Expedition of 1759: military failures and financial successes," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. 77, no. 1 (Jan. 1976): 10–33.

Cambridge, Richard Owen. *An Account of the War in India between the English and the French on the Coast of Coromandel from 1750 to* 1760. London: printed for T. Jefferys, 1761.

Candid Reflections on the Report (*As Published by Authority*) *of the General-Officers, appointed…to Enquire into the Causes of the Failure of the Late Expedition to the Coasts of France*. London: S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1758.

Cardwell, M. John. *Arts and Arms: Literature, Politics and Patriotism during the Seven Years' War*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Carl, Horst. "Unter fremder Herrschaft: Invasion und Okkupation im Siebenjährigen Krieg." In *Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Bernhard R. Kroener and Ralf Pröve, 331–48. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1996.

Carter, Alice Clare. *The Dutch Republic in Europe in the Seven Years' War*. Coral Gables: Miami University Press, 1971.

Cave, Alfred A. *The French and Indian War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Charters, Erica. "The Caring Fiscal-Military State during the Seven Years' War." *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 4 (Dec. 2009): 921–41.

Christelow, Allan. "Economic Background of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1762." *The Journal of Modern History* 18, no. 1 (March 1946): 22–36.

Clayton, T.R. "The Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Halifax and the American Origins of the Seven Years' War." *Historical Journal* 24, no. 3 (Sept. 1981): 571–603.

Conway, Henry Seymour. *The Officer's Answer to the Country Gentleman's Reply.* London: Jacob Robinson, 1758.

[Conway Henry Seymour.] *The Military Arguments in the Letter to a Right Honorable Author Fully Considered, by an Officer*. London: Jacob Robinson, 1758.

Corbett, Julian S. *England in the Seven Years' War: A Study in Combined Strategy*. 2 vols. London: Longmans Green and Co., 1907. (And later editions.)

Corkran, David H. *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival 1740–1762*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Costa, Horacio de la. "The Siege and Capture of Manila by the British, Sept.-Oct. 1762." *Philippine Studies* 10, no. 4 (1962): 607–54.

Crouch, Christian. "Imperfect Reflections: New France's use of Indigenous Violence and the Crisis of French Empire during the Seven Years' War, 1754–1760." PhD diss., New York University, 2007.

Crowhurst, R. Patrick. "The Admiralty and the Convoy System in the Seven Years' War." *Mariner's Mirror* 57, no. 2 (May 1971): 163–73.

Cultru, Prosper. *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe siècle à 1870.* Paris, E. Larose, 1910.

Dale, Ronald J. *The Fall of New France: How the French Lost a North American Empire 1754–1763*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 2004.

Dann, Uriel. *Hannover und England 1740–1760: Diplomatie und Selbsterhaltung.* Hildesheim: A. Lax, 1986.

Dasgupta, Ratan. "Mercenaries and the Political Economy of Bengal: 1727–63." *Social Scientist* 13, no. 4 (April 1985): 17–30.

Davies, A. Mervyn. *Clive of Plassey: A Biography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939.
Delcourt, André. *La France et les établissements français au Sénégal entre 1713 et 1763.* Dakar: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1952.
Dixon, David. *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
Dodwell, Henry. *Dupleix and Clive: The Beginning of Empire*. London: Methuen, 1920. Reprint, Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1968.
Donalies, Hans Wilhelm. *Der Anteil des Sekretärs Westphalen an den Feldzügen des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1758–1762)*. Altenburg: Pierer, 1894.
Dowd, Gregory Evans. "The French King Wakes up in Detroit: 'Pontiac's War' in Rumor and History." *Ethnohistory* 37, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 254–78.
———. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations and the British Empire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
Duffy, Christopher. *The Military Life of Frederick the Great.* New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974.
———. *The Army of Frederick the Great*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974.
———. *Russia's Military Way to the West: Origins and Nature of Russian Military Power 1700–1800*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
———. *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason*. New York: Atheneum, 1988.
———. *Instrument of War.* Vol. 1 of *The Austrian Army in the Seven Years' War*. London: Emperor's Press, 1999.
Duke, George. *Life of Major-General Worge, Colonel of the 86th Regiment of Foot, and Governor of Senegal, in Africa; with an Account of the Settlements of Senegal and Goree*. London: Parker, Furnivall, and Parker, 1844.
Dull, Jonathan R. *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War.* Lincoln, London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
Durand, Jean Baptiste-Leonard. *Voyage au Sénégal ou Mémoires historiques.* Paris: H. Agasse, 1802.
Eccles, William J. *The French in North America, 1500–1783*. Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1998.
Edwardes, Michael. *Plassey: The Founding of an Empire*. New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1969.
Entick, John. *The General History of the Late War containing it's Rise, Progress, and Event in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*. 5 vols. London: Printed for Edward Dilly and John Millan, 1763. (And other editions)
The Expedition Against Rochefort, Fully Stated and Considered. London: S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1758. (And other editions).
Externbrink, Sven. "Kommunikation, Information, Außenpolitik. Frankreich und Brandenburg-Preußen zur Zeit des Siebenjährigen Krieges." In *Wissen ist Macht: Herrschaft und Kommunikation in Brandenburg-Preußen 1650–1850*, eds. Ralf Pröve und Nobert Winnige, 157–76. Vol. 2 of Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts für die Geschichte Preußens. Berlin: Arno Spitz, 2001.
Fiedler, Siegfried. *Taktik und Strategie der Kabinettskriege 1650–1792*. Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2002.
Fitzmaurice, Lord. *Life of William Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquess of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence*. 2 vols. 2d rev. ed. London: Macmillan and Co., 1912.
Forrest, George. *The Life of Lord Clive*. 2 vols. London: Cassell, 1918.
Fortescue, John W. *A History of the British Army*. Vols. 1–2 *First Part: To the Close of the Seven Years' War.* London: Macmillan, 1899.
Fowler, William M. *Empires at War: The Seven Years' War and the Struggle for North America, 1754–1763*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005.
Francis, Alan David. "The Campaign in Portugal, 1762." *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research* 59, no. 237 (1981): 25–43.

Frantzius, Georg von. "Die Okkupation Ostpreußens durch die Russen im siebenjährigen Krieg mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der russischen Quellen." PhD diss., University of Berlin, 1916.

Frederick II, "History of the Seven Years War." Vols. 2–3 of *Posthumous Works of Frederic II, King of Prussia*. Translated by Thomas Holcroft. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789.

Frégault, Guy. *Canada: The War of the Conquest*. Trans. Margaret M. Cameron. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969.

French, David. *The British Way in Warfare, 1688–2000*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1990.

Frisch, Ernst von. *Zur Geschichte der russischen Feldzüge im Siebenjährigen Kriege nach den Aufzeichnungen und Beobachtungen der dem russischen Hauptquartier zugeteilten österreichischen Offiziere vornehmlich in den Kriegsjahren 1757/58*. Vol. 52 of Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte. Heidelberg: Agema, 1919.

Fuchs, Antje. "Der Siebenjährige Krieg als virtueller Religionskrieg an Beispielen aus Preußen, Österreich, KurHanover und Großbritannien." In *Religionskriege im Alten Reich und Alteuropa*, eds. Franz Brendle und Anton Schindling, 313–343. Münster: Aschendorff, 2006.

Furber, Holden. *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976.

Füssel, Marian. *Der Siebenjährige Krie: Ein Weltkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2010.

Gardiner, Richard. *An Account of the Expedition to the West Indies against Martinico*. London, Printed for Z. Stuart, 1762.

Gipson, Lawrence. *The Great War for Empire.* 3 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946–53.

Goff, T.J.A. le. "Problèmes de recrutement de las marine française pendant la Guerre de Sept Ans." *Revue Historique* 283, no. 2 (Avril-Jun 1990): 205–33.

Gopal, Ram. *How the British Occupied Bengal: A Corrected Account of the 1756–1765 Events*. London: Asia Pub. House, 1963.

Gough, Barry M. *British Mercantile Interests in the Making of the Peace of Paris, 1763: Trade, War and Empire.* Lewistown, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 1992.

Gradish, Stephen F. *The Manning of the British Navy during the Seven Years' War*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1980.

Grant, William L. "Canada versus Guadeloupe: An Episode in the Seven Years War," *American Historical Review* 17, no. 4 (July 1912): 735–43.

Grenier, John. *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607–1814*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Grossen Generalstab. *Der Siebenjährige Kriege, 1756–1763.* Part 3 of *Die Kriege Friedrichs des Grossen*. Berlin: Mittler, 1901–04.

Gupta, Brijen K. *Sirajuddaullah and the East India Company, 1756–1757: Background to the Foundation of British Power in India*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962.

Harding, Richard. "British Maritime Strategy and Hanover, 1714–1763." In *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714–1837*, eds. Brendan Simms and Torsten Riotte, 252–74. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Hart, Richard. *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery: Blacks in Rebellion*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002.

Hickok, Michael Robert. *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth-Century Bosnia.* Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Hochedlinger, Michael. *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy 1683–1797.* London: Pearson Education, 2003.

Hofstra, Warren R., ed. *Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years' War in North America*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

Hohrath, Daniel and Klaus Gerteis, eds. *Die Kriegskunst im Lichte der Vernunft: Militär und Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2000.

Hopkin, David, Yann Lagadec and Stéphane Perréon. "The Experience and Culture of War in the Eighteenth Century: The British Raids on the Breton Coast, 1758." *French Historical Studies* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 193–227.

Horstmann, Theodor. *Generallieutenant Johann Nicolas von Luckner und seine Husaren im Siebenjährigen Kriege*. Edited with an introduction by Michael Hochedlinger. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1997.

Hotblack, Kate. *Chatham's Colonial Policy: A Study in the Fiscal and Economic Implications of the Colonial Policy of the Elder Pitt*. London: George Routledge & Sons, LTD, 1917.

Houlding, John A. *Fit for Service: the Training of the British Army, 1715–1795*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Ingrao, Charles. *The Hessian Mercenary State.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Jacquin, Philippe. *Les Indiens Blancs: Français et Indiens en Amérique du Nord* (XVIe-XVIIIe Siècle). Paris: Payot, 1987.

Jähns, Max. *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften vornehmlich in Deutschland.* 3 vols. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1965. Orginally Published in 1891.

Jennings, Francis. *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Empires in the Seven Years War*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1988.

Julian, Elisa Atayde. "British Projects and Activities in the Philippines: 1759–1805." PhD diss., University of London, 1963.

Kaplan, Herbert Harold. *Russia and the Outbreak of the Seven Years' War.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Keep, John L.H. *Soldiers of the Tsar: Army and Society in Russia, 1462–1874*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

———. "Feeding the Troops: Russian Army Supply Policies during the Seven Years' War." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 29, no. 1 (March 1987): 24–44.

Kennett, Lee. *The French Armies in the Seven Years' War: A study in military organization and administration*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1967.

Kent, Donald H. *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1954.

Kessel, Eberhard. *Das Ende des Siebenjährigen Krieges, 1760–1763*. 2 vols. Paderborn; Munich: Schöningh, 2007.

Khodarkovsky, Michael. *Where Two Worlds Met: the Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

———. *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Knesebeck, Ernst von dem, ed., *Ferdinand Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg während des Siebenjährigen Krieges*. 2 vols. Hannover: Helwing, 1857–88.

Kolff, Dirk H.A. *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450–1850.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Koser, Reinhold. *König Friedrich der Grosse*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1893.

———. "Die preußischen Finanzen im siebenjährigen Kriege." *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* 13 (1900): 153–217, 329–75.

Kroener, Bernhard R. ed. *Europa im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft. Kriege*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989.

Kunisch, Johannes. *Der kleine Krieg. Studien zum Heerwesen des Absolutismus.* Vol. 4 of Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973.

Küntzel, Georg. "Über die erste Anknüpfung zwischen Preußen und England im Jahre 1755." *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 12 (1899): 253–56.

Lally, Thomas-Arthur, comte de. *Memoirs.* Paris: De l'imprimerie de Guillaume Desprez, 1766.

Lawrence, Stringer. *An Account of the War in India between the English and the French on the Coast of Coromandel from 1750 to 1760.* London: Printed for T. Jefferys, 1761.

LeDonne, John P. *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

——. *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Lee, Wayne E. "Fortify, Fight, or Flee: Tuscarora and Cherokee Defensive Warfare and Military Culture Adaptation." *The Journal of Military History* 68, no. 3 (July 2004): 713–70.
Lee, Wayne E. "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500–1800." *Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (July 2007): 701–41.
Lindsay, John. *A Voyage to the Coast of Africa, in 1758*. London: Printed for S. Paterson, W. Bristow and C. Etherington 1759.
Little, Ann M. *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
Lloyd, Henry. *War, Society and Enlightenment: The Works of General Lloyd*. Edited by Patrick J. Speelman. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
Lohr, Eric, and Marshall Poe, eds. *The Military Society in Russia, 1450–1917*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
Luh, Jürgen. *Kriegskunst in Europa, 1650–1800*. Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2004.
Lühr, Hans-Peter ed. *Sachsen und Dresden im Siebenjährigen Krieg*. Vol. 68 of Dresdner Hefte. Dresden: Dresdner Geschichtsverein, 2001.
MacLeod, D. Peter. "Microbes and Muskets: Smallpox and the Participation of the Amerindian Allies of New France in the Seven Years' War." *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 42–64.
——. *The Canadian Iroquois and the Seven Years' War*. Canadian War Museum Historical Publication. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996.
Mauduit, Israel. *Considerations on the Present German War*. London: John Wilkie, 1760. and other editions.
Malleson, George B. *A History of the French in India, from the Founding of Pondicherry in 1674 to the Capture of that Place in 1761*. 2d ed. Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1909.
Manners, Walter. *Some Account of the Military, Political, and Social Life of the Right Hon. John Manners, Marquis of Granby*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1899.
Mante, Thomas. *The History of the Late War in North America and the Islands of the West Indies including the Campaigns of MDCCLXIII and MDCCLXIV against His Majesty's Indian Enemies*. London: Printed for W. Strahan, and T. Cadell, 1772.
Marley, David F. "Havana Surprised: Prelude to the British Invasion, 1762." *Mariner's Mirror* 78, no. 3 (August 1992): 293–305.
——. "A Fearful Gift: The Spanish Naval Build-Up in the West Indies, 1759–1762." *Mariner's Mirror* 80, no. 4 (Nov. 1994): 403–17.
Marshall, Peter J. *The New Cambridge History of India: Bengal: The British Bridgehead in Eastern India, 1740–1828.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
——. *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America c.1750–1783.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
Mason, Philip. *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army, its officers and men*. London: Cape, 1974.
Masslowski, Dmitri Fedorovich. *Der siebenjährige Krieg nach russischer Darstellung*. Mit Autorisation des Verfassers übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von A. von Drygalski. 3 vols. Berlin: R. Eisenschmidt, 1888–93.
McKay, Derek and Hamish M. Scott. *The Rise of the Great Powers 1648–1815*. Harlow: Longman, 1983.
McLachlan, Jean O. "The Seven Years' Peace and the West Indian Policy of Carvajal," *The English Historical Review.* 53, no. 211 (July 1938): 457–77.
McLarty, R.N. "The Expedition of Major General John Vaughan to the Lesser Antilles." PhD. diss., University of Michigan, 1951.
McLeish, J. "British Activities in Yucatan and the Moskito Shore in the Eighteenth Century." Master's thesis, University of London, 1926.
McLynn, Frank. *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004.

McNeill, John R. *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain: Louisbourg and Havana, 1700–1763.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Mémoire à consulter et consultation pour le sieur de Bussy,... au sujet du mémoire que le sieur de Lally,... vient de répandre dans le public ; avec les lettres que les sieurs de Bussy et de Lally se sont écrites dans l'Inde, pour servir de pièces justificatives. Paris: M. Lambert, 1766. (see OCLC # 466666251).

Mémoire pour Bussy au sujet du mémoire que Lally vient de répandre dans le public. Paris: M. Lambert, 1766.

Merino Navarro, José P. *La Armada Espanõla en el siglo XVIII.* Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1981.

Merritt, Jane T. *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Meyer, Hermann. *Der Plan eines evangelischen Fürstenbundes im Siebenjährigen Kriege*. Celle: Druck von Schweiger & Pick, 1893.

Middleton, Richard. "A Reinforcement for North America, Summer 1757." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 41, no. 103 (May 1968): 58–72.

———. *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War 1757–1762*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

———. *Amherst and the Conquest of Canada.* London: Army Records Society, 2003.

Migault, Jean. *Les dragonnades en Poitou et Saintonge: le journal de Jean Migault*, eds. N. Weiss and H. Clouzot. Paris: Le Poiré-sur-Vie, 1910. Reprint, 1988.

Möbius, Sascha. "Kriegsgreuel in den Schlachten des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Europa." In *Kriegsgreuel: Die Entgrenzung der Gewalt in kriegerischen Konflikten vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Sönke Neitzel und Daniel Hohrath, 185–203. Vol. 40 of Krieg in der Geschichte. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008.

Molyneux, Thomas More. *Conjunct Expeditions, Or Expeditions That Have Been Carried on Jointly by the Fleet and Army, with a Commentary on a Littoral War*. London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1759.

Müller, Rudolf. "Graf Wilhelm von Schaumburge-Lippe in Portugal." *Wehrwissenschaftlichen Rundschau* (April 1963): 230–38.

Myers Jr., James P. "Pennsylvania's Awakening: The Kittanning Raid of 1756." *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 399–420.

The Nature and Utility of Expeditions to the Coast of France: Containing a Description of the Maritime Parts of that Kingdom; an Account of the Strength of its Ports in the Channel, the Ocean, and the Mediterranean, with Observations upon our Late Enterprizes. London: G. Burnet, 1758.

Nelson, Paul David. *General James Grant: Scottish Soldier and Governor of East Florida*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993.

Nicolai, Martin Lathe. "A Different Kind of Courage: the French Military and the Canadian Irregular Soldier during the Seven Years' War." *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (March 1989), 53–75.

Niemeyer, Joachim, and Georg Ortenburg, eds. *Die Chur-braunschweig-lüneburgische Armee im Siebenjährigen Kriege. Das "Gmundener Prachtwerk."* Beckum: Vogel, 1976.

Nordsiek, Hans. "Immer auf der Siegerseite: Die Schlacht bei Minden 1759 – Realität und Interpretation." *Mitteilungen des Mindener Geschichtsvereins* 71 (1999): 139–186.

Oliphant, John. "The Cherokee Embassy to London, 1762." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27, no 1 (January 1999): 1–26.

———. *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756–63*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Oliva, Lawrence Jay. *Misalliance: A Study of French Policy in Russia during the Seven Years' War*. New York: New York University Press, 1964.

Orme, Robert. *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*. London: Printed for John Nourse, [1763]. See also other editions, including 4th ed., 3 vols. London: Printed for F. Wingrave, 1803.

Osten, Wilhelm August von der, ed. *Feldzüge der alliierten Armee in den Jahren 1757 bis 1762 nach dem Tagebuche des Generaladjutanten, nachmaligen Feldmarschalls von Reden*. 3 vols. Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1806.
Pares, Richard. *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–176.* London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson (Printers) Ltd., 1936.
Parkman, Francis. *France and England in North America.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1914. First published in 1884.
———. *A Half-Century of Conflict*. 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown, 1899.
———. *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1899.
Parmenter, Jon William. "Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain: 1758–1766." *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 4 (Autmun 1997): 617–54.
Peckham, Howard H. *The Colonial Wars, 1689–1762*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
Perry, John R. *Karim Khan Zand: A History of Iran, 1747–1779*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
Perdue, Peter C. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005.
Peters, Marie. *Pitt and Popularity: The Patriot Minister and London Opinion during the Seven Years' War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
Potter, Thomas. *Reply of the Country Gentleman to the Answer of his Military Arguments by the Officer*. Dublin: P. Wilson and J. Exshaw, 1758. (And other editions).
Pritchard, James. *Louis XV's Navy, 1748–1762: A Study of Organization and Administration*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987.
Rashed, Zenab Esmat. *The Peace of Paris, 1763*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951.
Renouard, Carl. *Geschichte des Krieges in Hannover, Hessen und Westphalen von 1757 bis 1763: nach bisher unbenutzten handschriftlichen Originalien und andern Quellen politisch-militairisch bearbeitet*. 3 vols. Kassel: Fischer, 1995.
Retzow, Friedrich August von. *Nouveaux Mémoires Historiques sur la Guerre de Sept Ans*. 2 vols. Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1803.
Rice, Otis K. "The Sandy Creek Expedition of 1756." *West Virginia History* 13, no. 1 (October 1951): 5–19.
Riley, James C. *The Seven Years' War and the Old Regime in France: the Economic and Financial Toll*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
Rink, Martin. *Vom Partheygänger' zum Partisanen: Die Konzeption des kleinen Krieges in Preußen 1740–1813*. Frankfurt a. Main: Peter Lang, 1999.
Ritter, Gerhard. *The Prussian Military Tradition, 1740–1890.* Vol. 1 of *The Sword and the Scepter*. Translated by Heinz Norden. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1969.
Robinson, W. Stitt. *The Southern Colonial Frontier 1607–1763*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979.
Rodger, N.A.M. *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649–1815.* New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2005.
Roy, Atul Chandra. *The Career of Mir Jafar Khan, 1757–65 A.D.* Calcutta: Das Gupta & Co., 1953.
Russell, Nelson Vance. "The Reaction in England and America to the Capture of Havana, 1762." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 9, no. 3 (August 1929): 303–16.
Rustant, Joseph Vicente de. *Decadas de la Guerra de Alemania, e Inglaterra, Francia, España, y Portugal: Con Reflexiones Politico-Militares sobre sus acontecimientos*. 10 vols. Madrid: Andrès Ortega, 1765.
Sales, Ernesto Augusto Pereira. *O Conde Lippe em Portugal.* Vila Nova de Famalicão: G. Pinto de Sousa & irmão, 1936.
Säve, Teofran. *Sveriges deltagande i sjuåriga kriget åren 1757–1762*. Stockholm, 1915.
Savory, Reginald. *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years' War*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

Schäfer, Arnold. *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges.* 2 vols. Berlin: Hertz, 1867.
Schantz, Gustaf von. *Försök till en historia över det förra pommerska kriget.* Stockholm, 1811.
Schieder, Theodor. *Friedrich der Grosse: Ein Königtum der Widersprüche.* Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Vienna: Propyläen Verlag, 1983.
Schilling, Lothar. *Kaunitz und das Renversement des alliances. Studien zur außenpolitischen Konzeption Wenzel Antons von Kaunitz*. Historische Forschungen, No. 50. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994.
Schlenke, Manfred. *England und das friderizianische Preußen 1740–1763: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Politik und Öffentlicher Meinung im England des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Alber, 1963.
Schort, Manfred. *Politik und Propaganda: Der Siebenjährige Krieg in den zeitgenössischen Flugschriften*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006.
Schumann, Matt, and Karl Schweizer. *The Seven Years' War: A Transatlantic History.* London, New York: Routledge, 2008.
Schweizer, Karl W. "Lord Bute and William Pitt's Resignation in 1761." *Canadian Journal of History* 8, no. 2. (September 1973): 111–25.
———. "The Non-Renewal of the Anglo-Prussian Subsidy Treaty, 1761–1762: A Historical Revision." *Canadian Journal of History* 13, no. 3. (December 1976): 383–98.
———. "Lord Bute, Newcastle, Prussia, and the Hague Overtures: A Re-Examination." *Albion* 9, no. 1. (Spring 1977): 72–97.
———. "William Pitt, Lord Bute, and the Peace Negotiations with France, May-September 1761." *Albion* 13, no. 3. (Autumn 1981): 262–75.
———. *England, Prussia and the Seven Years' War: Studies in Alliance Policies and Diplomacy*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellon Press, 1989.
———. *Frederick the Great, William Pitt and Lord Bute: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance, 1756–1763*. New York: Garland, 1991.
———. "An Unpublished Parliamentary Speech by the Elder Pitt, 9 December 1761." *Historical Research* 64, no. 153 (February 1991): 92–105.
———. "Israel Mauduit: Pamphleteering and Foreign Policy in the Age of the Elder Pitt." In *Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson*, eds. S. Taylor, R, Connors, and C. Jones, 198–209. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998.
———. *War, Politics and Diplomacy: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
———. "The Press War of 1762: Origins and Dynamics." In *Statesmen, Diplomats and the Press: Essays on 18th Century Britain*, 151–64. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2002.
———. "William Pitt, Earl of Chatham and Imperial Expansion: Unnoticed Material from the Amherst Archives." *Archives* 28 (2003): 117–19.
Scott, Hamish M. *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers 1756–1775.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
———. "The Seven Years' War and Europe's *Ancien Régime*." *War in History* 18, no. 4 (October 2011): 419–55.
Searing, James. *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
Sensarma, P. *The Military History of Bengal.* Calcutta: The Author [distributed by Naya Prokash], 1977.
Showalter, Dennis. *The Wars of Frederick the Great*. New York: Longman, 1996.
Simms, Brendan. *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714–1783*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.
Skaggs, David Curtis, and Larry L. Nelson. *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754–1814*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001.
Smelser, Marshall. *The Campaign for the Sugar Islands, 1759: A Study in Amphibious Warfare.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955.
Snapp, J. Russell. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier*. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

Spear, Thomas G.P. *Master of Bengal: Clive and his India.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1975.
Speelman, Patrick J. *Henry Lloyd and the Military Enlightenment of Eighteenth Century Europe.* Westport, CT and London: Greenwood, 2002.
Starkey, Armstrong. *War in the Age of the Enlightenment, 1700–1789*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003.
Steele, Ian K. *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre".* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
Stirling, Anna M.W. *The Hothams*. 2 vols. London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1918.
Storrs, Christopher. *The Fiscal-Military State in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Farnham, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
Stuhr, Peter F. *Forschungen und Erläuterungen über Hauptpunkte der Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges. Nach archivalischen Quellen*. Hamburg: F. Perthes, 1842.
Sulicki, Karl Marschall von. *Der Siebenjährige Krieg in Pommern und in den benachbaren Marken*. Berlin: Mittler, 1867.
Sunderland, Willard. *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.
Syrett, David. "American Provincials and the Havana Campaign of 1762." *New York History* 49 (Oct. 1968): 375–90.
——. "The British Landing at Havana: An Example of an Eighteenth-Century Combined Operation." *Mariner's Mirror* 55, no. 3 (August 1969): 325–31.
——, ed. *The Siege and Capture of Havana 1762.* London: Navy Records Society, 1970.
——. *Shipping and Military Power in the Seven Years' War: The Sails of Victory*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008.
Szabo, Franz A.J. *The Seven Years' War in Europe 1756–1763.* Harlow & New York: Pearson/Longman, 2008.
Tempelhof, Georg Friedrich von. *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland zwischen dem Könige von Preußen und der Kaiserin Königen mit ihren Allierten vom General Lloyd*. 6 vols. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1783–1801.
Tielke, Johann Gottlieb. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Art de l'Histoire de la Guerre de 1756 jusqu'à 1763*. 6 vols. Freyberg: Barthel, 1775–86.
Townshend, Charles V.F. *The Military Life of Field Marshal George, First Marquess Townshend, 1724–1807*. London: J. Murray, 1901.
Tracy, Nicholas. *Manila Ransomed: The British Expedition to the Philippines in the Seven Years' War.* Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1995.
Verma, Dinesh C. *Plassey to Buxar: A Military Study*. New Delhi: K.B. Publications, 1976.
Wallace, Anthony F.C. *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949.
Ward, Matthew C. "Fighting the 'Old Women': Indian Strategy on the Virginia and Pennsylvania Frontier, 1754–1758." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (1995): 297–320.
——. *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003.
——. *The Battle for Quebec, 1759*. Stroud: Tempus, 2005.
Webb, Jr., James L.A. "The Mid-Eighteenth Century Gum Arabic Trade and the British Conquest of Saint-Louis du Sénégal, 1758." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25, no. 1 (January 1997): 37–58.
Weber, Henry. *La Compagnie française des Indes* (*1604–1875*). Paris: Libraire Nouvelle de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1904.
Wernitz, Frank. "'They have been blooded and behaved very well': Britische leichte Truppen in der Armee des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig 1760–63. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des kleinen Krieges im 18. Jahrhundert." PhD diss., University of Munich, 1992.

——. *Die preussischen Freitruppen im Siebenjährigen Krieg 1756–1763: Entstehung, Einsatz, Wirkung*. Wölfersheim-Berstadt: Podzun-Pallas, 1994.
White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Whitworth, Rex. *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier: A Story of the British Army, 1702–1770*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
Wilbur, Marguerite Eyer. *The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1970.
Williams, Basil. *Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*. 2 vols. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913.
Wilson, Peter. *German Armies: War and German Politics, 1648–1806*. London: UCL Press, 1998.
Winton, Patrick. "Sweden and the Seven Years' War: War, Debt, and Politics." *War in History* 19, no. 1 (Jan. 2012): 5–31.
Wylly, Harold C. *A Life of Lieutenant Sir Eyre Coote, K B.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

INDEX

Abbé Saint Pierre, *see* Castel, Charles-Irenée
Abbt, Thomas 123
Abdali, Ahmad Shah, *see* Ahmad Shah Durrani
Abdülhamid I, Sultan 170
Abenaki, Native Americans 51
Abercromby, General 204, 305
Ablai, Kazakh middle horde leader xxxvii
Åbolands, Swedish army militia regiment from 148 n27
Abrantes, Portugal 448, 452, 455
  Portuguese reprisals at 456
Absolutism 436, 527–32
  neo-absolutist state structures 527–8
Abulkhayir, Kazakh lesser horde leader xxxvi
Acadia 49, 52
Aché, Comte d', French Admiral 93–5, 98, 102, 419
Adakale 184–5
  Austrian surrender at (1738) 185
Adanson, Michel, naturalist 275, 278–9
  description of St. Louis 278
Admiralty Board, British, Secretary of 472
Adolf Fredrik, husband of Queen Lovisa Ulrika of Prussia 142, 144
Adolphus, Gustavus 123
Adriatic Sea 167, 171, 370
Afghan-Maratha conflict xxxviii
Afghans:
  Ghalzay 168
  raids by 76
  see p. xxxii, 411, 413, 420
  see also Ahmad Shah Durrani
Africa, and Iberian war 432
Africa, West 263–88
Africans 470, 477
Afro-Europeans 271
Age of Liberty (Sweden) 139–40, 147, 163
Ahmad Shah Durrani xxxii, xxxviii, 402, 413
Ahmed III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire 170, 175 n19
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of (1748) 4, 7–9, 61
Alaungpaya, Burmese king xlii
Albani, Cardinal 117
Albany, New York 54
Albany Congress (1754) 64–5
Albemarle, Earl of, Lieutenant General *see* Keppel, George, Lieutenant General, 3rd Earl of Albemarle
Albreda, French enclave in Gambia 286–7
Alemtejo region, Portugal 446–8
Aleppo 188–9
Alexander the Great 39
Algonquins, Native Americans 50
Alimud Din I, Sultan of Sulu 462
Allahabad, Treaty of (1765) xxix n13
Allegheny Mountains 3, 5, 7
Allegheny River 54
Allen, Joseph Joshua, 5th Viscount Allen (Irish), Deputy Quartermaster-General 449
Alliance system:
  British 7–8
  and Catholicism 111
  European 7, 12
  Native American 47–71
  see also coalitions; Diplomatic Revolution
Allied Army (English-Hanoverian) 217, 222–6, 217, 230, 364, 365, 382–83
  combat deaths 524
  commander in chief 222
  field adjutants 223
  general staff 222
  hussars in 227
  Jägerkorps 229
  Legion Britannique 228
  light troops in 227–8
  at Minden (1759) 218
  Quartermaster-General of 222–3
Almada, Don John de, Governor of Oporto 439
Almeida 437, 439, 446, 522
Alsace, German foreign regiments from 227
Altranstädt, Peace of, (1707) 107, 113
Alvite, pass of, Portugal 447
Alvito, Fernando Lobo, Baron, Conde d'Oriolo, Portuguese Commander-in-Chief 437
Älvsborg, Swedish army reinforcing militia infantry regiment 153 n37
America, British warship 481

America, Central, logwood disputes 429 n3, 430
America, North:
And starting of the Seven Years' War xxiii–xxviii
Anglo Cherokee War in, (1759–61) 325–56
Anglo-French rivalry in 4
balance of power in 303
consequences of Seven Years War 533
French officers in 191–211
military tactics in 202
Native American alliances in 47–74
revolt in 528
revolution in 322
America, South 295
America, Spanish 297
Americans, Native xliii, xliv, xlv, xlix, l, 191–201
alliances of 47–71
diplomacy 69, 70
Francophile 68
French assimilation of 192
French jealousy towards 198
raids by 194–5
refugees 329
torture by 196
see also Abenaki, Catawbas, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Chippewas, Choctaws, Cree, Creeks, Delawares, Iroquois, Kahnawake, Kuskuski Delawares, Mi'kmaq, Ohio Indians, Ojibwas, Ottawas, Potawatomis, Senecas, Shawnees, Sioux, Susquehanna Delawares, Wyandots
Amerindians, *see* Americans, Native
Amherst, Jeffery, British General 313, 320, 335, 341–3, 352
Amöneburg, battle at (1762) 502, 506, 507
Amphibious operations 148, 153, 306, 308–11, 313–15, 317–19, 321, 323, 366, 385–7, 390 n95, 391–3 n100, 394, 395 n108, 396, 474–77
Molyneux's analysis of 393–4
pamphlet literature on 385–6
strategic-level diversion by 392
Ananda Razu, Indian raja 420, 421
Anatolia 166
Ancien Régime, rules of war from 240
Anckarström, Jacob Johan, assassin of Gustavus III of Sweden 529
Anda y Salazar, Oidor Don Simon 482
Andernach, French winter camps at 494 n28
Anglo Cherokee War (1759–61) 325–356
Anglophobia 26, 31, 430
Anglo-Prussian Alliance (1756) 14–16, *see also* Convention of Westminster
Animals, slaughter of 252
Anklam, Prussia 135, 149, 151–2, 154–6, 158–9
Anklamer Fähre, island fortress of 135, 151–2
Annamabou, naval action at (1737) 265
Ansbach, principality of 116
Anson, George, Admiral, First Lord of the Admiralty 306, 317, 462, 466–8, 473
Antigua 294, 296
Antilles 294, 296
Anti-militarism 29, 31
Antoinette, Marie, Queen of France 157
Apartheid, in Virginia 57
Appalachians, mountain range 325
Apraxin, Stepan Fydorovitch, General 251, 255–6
April, Dr 130
Arabacis, Ottoman wagoneers 178
Arabs, tribal confederacies of 188
Aragón y Moncayo, Juan Joaquín Anastasio Pignatelli de, Spanish ambassador in London 431
Aranda, *see* Bolea, Pedro Pablo Abarca de
Arandia, Don Pedro Manuel de, Royal Governor of the Philippines 465
Archenholtz, Johann Wilhelm von 250
Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges Krieges in Deutschland (1788) 250, 536
Archinto, Alberigo, nuncio to Warsaw and Dresden and Secretary of State 112
Arcot (seat of government in the Carnatic) xvii, 83, 91, 98–9
French garrison at 97
nawabs of 74
Arcy, Robert d', Duke of Holdernesse and Secretary of State for the Northern Department 12–14, 16–17, 365 n22
Argo, British frigate 475–6
Arkansas, alliance with France 331
Armstrong, Bigoe, Brigadier General 441
Army of Observation (Hanoverian/British) 18, 304
Arneth, Alfred Ritter von, biography of Empress Maria Theresa 488
Arnonville, Jean Baptiste de Machault d', Minister of the Marine in France 47
Arnsberg 500
Arnstadt 228
Arson 252
Arta, Greece 171

Articles of War, British 25
Artillery 42, 82, 148
Artisans 182
Asia xxxvi–xlii
  consequences of the Seven Years War in 533–4
  as meeting-place for imperial powers 534
  Nadir Shah's conquests in 174
  see also: Bengal, Carnatic, Deccan, Heartland, India, Manila, Philippines
Atkin, Edmond, Superintendent of Indian affairs 325, 329
Atrocities 243
  Cossack 251
  Kalmyk 251
Attakullakulla, Cherokee leader and diplomat 327, 330, 333–5, 338, 341–2, 344–8, 352–35
Augsburg:
  papal envoy to 129
  proposed Congress and peace talks at (1761) 129
Augsburg, Peace of 114, 126
August, Clemens, Elector of Cologne 114–15, 125
August Wilhelm, brother of Frederick II 2, 9
Augusta, South Carolina 331
  Congress of (1763) 356
Augustus III, King of Poland, death of 172–3
Aulic Council 515
Aurangabad 85, 88, 399
Austria 8, 12, 165, 495
  alliance with France 7, 10, 32, 108, 112–13
  alliance with Russia 21, 167, 173
  army of 184
  Austro-Prussian balance of power 497
  borrowing costs 526
  and British alliance system 7
  combat deaths in 524
  consequences of the Seven Years War 530
  diplomacy 143
  geopolitical strategy 167
  humanitarian politics in 515
  peace negotiations 502–3, 522
  population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525–6
  and Prussia 9
  Russian policy 517
  taxation in 117
  see also War of the Austrian Succession
Austro-Ottoman accord (post-1739) 178
Austro-Ottoman frontier 173
Austro-Ottoman-Russian War (1736–39) 167, 172
Auteuil, d', Major 91
Aviniaga, Portuguese reprisals at 456
Awdh, *see* Oudh
Axel, son of Lieutenant General Fredrik Axel von Fersen 157
Ayans, Ottoman notables 180
Azerbaijan 168
Azov 174

Bacon's Rebellion (1676) 56–7
Bad Pyrmont, spa town and communications centre 239
Badajoz, Spanish base at 446
Baghdad 168
  Ottoman defence of 188
  siege of (1733) 187
Bagumbayan, church of, Manila 477
Balkans 166
Balkh region xxxviii
Baltic region, diplomatic situation in 504
Baltic Sea:
  Russo-Swedish protection treaty for 159
  Swedish foreign policy 135
Bambara (etymology) 269
Bambara (place name), African village on Gorée 287
Bambara identity 268
  transfer to New World 268–9
Bambara slaves 268, 269 n12, 271, 275–8
Bamberg, Diocese of 116
Banat 185
Bandar Abbas, British East India Company raid on (1759) xli
Banjaluka, battle of (1737) 184
Banu Ka'b, region of xxxix, xli
Bar Confederation, Polish exiles of 169
  British expeditionary force at 308
Barbarians 244 n7, 245, 250, 260
Barker, Robert, Major, East India Company artillery commander 471
Barlovento naval squadron, Havana 299, 301
Barrin, Roland Michel, Vice Admiral, Marquis de la Galissonière and Governor of Canada 26, 63
Barrington, John, Colonel 307, 311
Basalut Jang, nawab of the Carnatic 98
Bashkiria, Asiatic auxiliaries from 246
Bashkirs, Russian irregulars 247
Basse Terre, Guadeloupe 310–11
  British expeditionary force at 310–11

Battle deaths, estimated, in Seven Years War 523–4,
Battlefield tactics, of Frederick II 43
Battlefield victory, strategic value of 380–81
Battre l'estrade 214
Bauer, Friedrich Wilhelm von, Colonel, ranking officer of Prussian troops in allied army 222, 509
Bavaria:
German foreign regiments from 227
taxation in 117
Bayonets 220
Bayreuth, Margrave of 116
Beaty, Hugh, Captain 442
Beauharnois, French commander at Fort Royale 310 n39
Beauvais, Comte de 446
Beckford, Richard, founder of *The Monitor* 379, 380 n65
Beckford, William, Jamaican planter 306, 379
Beckwith, John, officer xlvii n50, xlviii, 508–9, 518
British Legion of 508–9
Bedford, Duke of, head of the British Peace Commission to Paris 469, 485, 521
Bedford-Choiseul negotiations 511
Bedouins 166
Begue, le, Mr., official of the French Company of the Indies 276
Beira, province of, Portugal 446
Belgrade 169
military conflict at 186
negotiations on Austro-Ottoman-Russian war 172
Treaty of (1739) 173–4, 187
Belle-Île:
British supplies from 444
capture of (1761) 320, 391 n97, 392 n97
Belle-Isle, Count de, French Minister for War 143
Bencoolen 462, 485
Bender, fortress at 187
Benedict XIV, pope 112, 117
Bengal xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, 75, 89, 93–4, 96, 104, 399–427
Afghan raids in 77
Anglo-French neutrality agreement 410, 412
British East India Company in 399, 400, 401
Diwan of 425
Dutch East India Company's invasion of (1760) xxxiii, 423–4
Dutch factories in 407
French factories in 407
French policy on 410, 420
Indian regional governor in 76
neutrality in 399
revolt in 407
war in 399–428
Bentham, Jeremy 28
Berat. patronage certificates 180
Berg, infantry regiment 217, 227 n53
Bergen, French victory at (1759) 381, 388
Bergen-op-Zoom, capture of (1747) 195, 388
Berks County, Pennsylvania 66
Berlin 18, 141, 154
Bestuzhev-Ryumin, Count Alexander Petrovich, Grand Chancellor of Russia 10
Bever, Samuel, Captain 363, 365
Bible, Old Testament, extermination terminology 111
Biddulph, John, Major 449
Bihar, conflict in liii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxviii, 424
Biron, Duke of 513
Biscay coast, raids on 385
Black Hawk War (1832) 533
Black Sea 167, 169, 187
Russian presence on 166
Blacksmiths 182
Blainville, Pierre-Joseph Céleron de, French Captain 5, 63
Blakeney, William, British officer 371
Bland, Humphrey, British officer 371
Blénac, Comte de 315–7
Bligh, Lieutenant General 306
pamphlet on failed landings at Saint-Malo 368 n33
Blond, Guillaume le, mathematician 40
Bohemia 18–19
army of 20
Hapsburgs in 113
population decline attributable to Seven Years War 526
Bohusläns Dragoner, Swedish army reinforcing militia cavalry regiment 153 n37
Boldekow, Brandenburg 160
Bolea, Pedro Pablo Abarca de, Conde d'Aranda, Spanish Commander-in-Chief 446–8
Bolivia 295
Bolotow, Andrej, Russian officer 259
Boltz, Burgomeister of Ragnit, murder of 252

Bombay 89
English East India Company's council at 79
French military strategy on 403
naval refitting at 80
Bompar, Marquis de, French naval commander 311–12
Bonaire, island of 296
Borders, national, porosity of 230
Boscawen, Edward, British Admiral 225 n45, 265
Bosnia 187
governor of 184
Bostancis, Ottoman palace guards 178
Boston, naval facilities at 300
Boston Massacre (1770) 528
Bouchain, siege of (1711) 363
Bouquet, Henry, Colonel 67
Bourbon Dynasty:
consequences of Seven Years War 522
embargo strategy 432
and Iberian war 429
military strategy of 432
and Spanish succession 373
Bourlamaque, M. de 191, 193, 196, 207
Bow and arrows 248–50
Braddock, Edward, General, commander in chief 7, 64
South Carolina expedition (1755) 333
Bragança:
hospital at 452
Spanish capture of (1762) 438
Brakna, rivals of the Trarza 281
Brandenburg 160
Electorate of 119
Brandenburg, Margrave von 113
Brandenburg-Anspach 17
Braunschweig, Ferdinand von, Duke and Prussian military commander 20
Bread riots 528 n19
Breed's camp, South Carolina 331
Brereton, Captain 97, 476, 483–5
Breslau:
Bishop of 113
Bishopric of 113
military action at (1757) 21
Brest:
French expeditionary force at 89
French fleet at 225 n45, 301
Bridgetown, Barbados, British expeditionary force at 308
Britain;
absolutism in 528
alliance with Hannover 127
alliance with Portugal 433 n19, 436
alliance with Prussia 108–9, 216 n15, 217
alliances with Native Americans 67–8
American policy 528
Anglo-French peace talks 498–9
Anglo-Portuguese defensive alliance (1703) 433 n19
battle deaths in 524
Caribbean neutrality treaty 297
cessions of 522
colonial system of 192
declaration of war against Spain 492
demobilization 507–11, 518
Devonshire-Pitt ministry 303
diplomacy 499
double forward commitment 304
empire of 528
European alliances of 8
German policy 500
Indian alliances of 54–6
Manila expedition 461–486
military strategy 266, 359, 369, 404
national debt 404, 526
Newcastle-Fox ministry 303
patriotism in 497
Pitt-Newcastle government 359, 361
political press in 359–397
political climate in 11
print culture in 360
protest in England 528
Prussian subsidy 521
public opinion 498
Secretary of State for the Southern Department 303
strategic objectives 498
trade 57, 73, 74, 77, 461
union with Hanover 216 n15
British army:
Albermarle's expeditionary army 317
combat strength 307
disease in 451–2
3rd Foot Battalion 307, 440, 450
4th Foot Battalion 307
38th Foot Battalion 307–8
42nd Foot Battalion (Murray's Highlanders) 307
44th Foot regiment 7
48th Foot regiment 7
67th Foot Regiment 440
75th Foot Regiment 440, 450, 455
79th Foot Regiment 463, 485, 470–1, 476
83rd Foot Regiment 440, 450
84th Foot Regiment 98
85th Foot Regiment 440
91st Foot Regiment 440, 450, 455
77th Highlanders 335

16th Light Dragoons 440, 446
organisation 363
reprisals against 455, 456
seniority violations 441, 442
Royal Artillery 440, 444, 470
Volunteer Hunters 447
British East India Company xxvi, xxix n13, xxxix, xlii, xxxi, xli, liii, 74–5, 78–80, 399–404, 411, 424
armed forces of 470–71
Committee of Secrecy 467–8
Court of Directors 467–9
Manila expedition 469
British Magazine 365
British navy (Royal Navy) 82–3, 86, 93–4, 98, 102, 265, 301
in Austrian War of Succession 79
East Indies squadron 466, 469, 483
in the Philippines 461–2
ships of the line 473
British-Russian subsidy treaty (1755) 12
Broad River, Treaty of (1756) 333
Broglie, Victor François Duc de, Marshal 494, 518
Browallius, Johan, Bishop of Åbo 139
Browne, Field Marshall 20
Brue, director of the French Company of the Indies 277
Brühl, Saxon minister 120
Brundisium, Italy 370
Brunswick 17
court of 12
Hereditary Prince of 232
light units from 228
Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, principality of 216 n15
English-Hanoverian troops from 217
Bucharest, Russian occupation of 178
Bückeburg, light units from 228
Buenos Aries, Anglo-Portuguese maritime assault on 459
Bull, William, Lieutenant Governor 336, 340–4, 350, 353–5
Bülow, Friedrich Ernst, officer engineer, English-Hanoverian allied army 222
Burgoyne, John, Brevet Brigadier 441, 446–7, 458
Burkersdorf, battle of (1762) 504, 521–2
Burmese War (1765–70) 534
Bushyhead (Captain John Stuart) 341
Bussy, Charles de, Marquis, Governor of Pondicherry 85, 87, 89, 90, 92, 94, 98–100, 399–401
Bute, Earl of, *see* Stuart, John, Earl of Bute
Buxar, Battle (1764) xxix n13, xxxiv, liv, 82, 533
Byng, John, Vice Admiral 23–6, 44
execution of 23
Byrd, William, Captain 341, 352

Cadiz, naval squadron from 301
Cadogan, William, Dr. 450
Cadwallader, Blayney, 9th Baron Blayney (Irish) 451
Caesar, Julius 370, 371
Caesar's Commentaries on the War in Gaul and the Civil War with Pompey 366, 370, 371
Caillaud, John, British Officer 85, 91
Cairo 168
Cairo-Damascus-Mecca triangle, strategic importance 168
Calas, Jean, execution of (1762) 44
Calcraft, John, British army contractor 443
Calcutta 88, 89, 92, 104, 408, 411
authorities in 403
British garrison at 401, 405–7
defence of 95
English East India Company's council at 79, 426
French military strategy on 403
military action at (1757) 21
presidency defences at 404, 405
relief of 92
Siraj-ud-daulah's march on 405–7, 411
Cambridge, British warship 307
Camp-women 285
Campbell, John, Lieutenant General, 4th Earl Loudoun, British commander-in-chief 440–45, 450–56, 458
Campo Mayor, Portugal 443
Canada 3, 305
French Caribbean supplies from 302
French cession of 522
French forces in 313
French population in 47, 48
French possessions in 5
French troops in 7
governor general of 193
militia in 192, 200–203
Canadians 191–3
Candid Reflections on the Report (*As Published by Authority*) *of the General-Officers*, (anonymous pamphlet) 386–7, 395, 396
Cannibalism 250, 261
Cannon 182, 220
Canon law 110

Cantemirs of Moldavia 166
Canton, Hong merchants at 461
Cap Blanc, Mauritania 264
Cape Breton Island 80
  French cession of 522
Cape St. Nicholas 318
Caps, Swedish Diet party 140–41, 150, 162
Caracas, British attack on 298
Caribbean region:
  British naval power in 293
  conflict in xxvi, 293–323
  Dutch holdings in 296
  economic value of 297
  English interests in 296
  fortifications, in 298
  French trade privileges in 430
  geopolitics of 294
  and Spanish foreign policy 430–31
  as theatre of war 294
  military logistics 300
  naval forces in 299
  naval passage 294–5
  theatre of war 297
  West African labour in 296
Caribs 296
  extermination of 296
Carillon 207
Carinthia, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 526
Carnatic region, India 73–104, 399, 401, 419
  British arrangement with Muhammad Ali 415
  British forces in 92–3, 95, 97–9
  British involvement in 85–7
  French control of 85–6
  French forces in 92–3, 97–9, 103
  French involvement in 87
  French policy 410, 420
  geography of 90
  Indian princes in 75
  Indian regional governor in 76
  military logistics 90
  Muhammad Ali's forces in 91–2
  naval battles (1758) 93, 94
  outbreak of war in 91
  political situation in 74
  revenue collection from 85–8, 91–2, 104
  war in xxvi, xxxiii, liii, 73–104
Carolina, North 54, 326, 334
  Catawba fort in 330
Carolina, South 54, 326, 329, 334
  frontier of 331
  peace negotiations (1761) 342, 344
  South Carolina Gazette 351
  trade embargo in 332
Carolinas, boundary dispute 330
Caroline, daughter of Lord William Beauclerk and wife of William Draper 463
Carpenter, The, *see* Attakullakulla, Cherokee leader and diplomat
Cartagena de las Indias 293–5
  British expeditionary force at (1740) 298
  fortifications at 298
  Spanish naval squadron at 301
Carvajal y Lancaster, Nicolás de, Marquis de Sarriá, Spanish commander-in-chief 438, 439
  loss of command 446
Carvalho, Sebastiáo de, conde de Oeyras 433–8, 443–5, 453, 456–7
  Bourbon demands on 438
  diplomacy with Spain 436
  domestic policy 434,
Cas Navires Bay, Martinique 309, 314
Cassel, *see* Kassel
Caste conventions 81, 94
Castel, Charles-Irenée, Abbé Saint Pierre 28, 31, 34
  Project for Perpetual Peace (1713–17) 33
Castel d'Avide, Portugal 442–3, 448
Castel Branco 446–7
Catawbas, Native Americans 54, 326, 329–30, 346, 350
Catherine II (Catherine the Great), Empress of Russia xxxvii, 28, 166, 290, 504–6, 512–13, 517, 520, 529–30
Catholic League 123
Catholicism 109, 110
  conversion to 121
  anti-Catholicism 107
Catholics 107, 111–13, 129, 204, 453–4
Catholics: anti-catholics 112–13
Caucasus 167–9, 173
Cauvery River 84
Cavalry 82, 93, 95, 99–101, 145, 150, 153–6, 159, 161, 176–8, 181, 183, 186, 189, 218, 227, 232–3, 235, 265, 411, 416, 418, 437 n35, 443–4, *see also* Hussars
Cavendish, William, 4th Duke of Devonshire 303
Cavite:
  British attack on 474, 475
  dockyard at 465
  governor of 475
Cebecis, Ottoman armourers 178

Ceuta 429 n3
Champlain, Lake 305
Chandanagore 90, 92, 98
  British attack on xxxii
  capitulation of 414
  Council 403, 425
  French base at 103
  French commercial headquarters at 401
  French forces at 409
  presidency defences at 404, 405
Chandernagore, *see* Chandanagore
Charles I, King of England 26
Charles II, King of Spain 297
Charles III, King of Spain 301, 316, 321, 429–30, 459, 463, 492, 521
Charles XII, King of Sweden 139, 520
  Voltaire's biography of 28
Charles, Habsburg Archduke 372
Charleston 340
  Montgomery's transports at 335–6
Charlestown, Treaty of (1762) 354–6, 519–20
Charnock, John, naval commander 471
  Biographia Navalis 471
Chasseurs de Fischer, Jägerkorps 227 n52
Chatuga, South Carolina 337, 352
Chaves 438–9
Cherokee law 333
Cherokee Nation 325–7
Cherokee River 325
Cherokees, Native Americans 55–6, 331, 333–5
  allies of 327–31
  ambush of Montgomery's forces 338–40
  Anglo Cherokee War (1759–61) 325–356
  and British imperial policy 55
  conflict with Creeks 329
  enemies of 327–31
  Fort Loudon massacre 340–41
  Franco-Creek Cherokee alliance 328
  hunting grounds 331
  peace negotiations (1761) 34, 351–6
  prisoner exchanges 342
  punishment of 335
  raids by 330
  war parties 325
Chickasaws, Native Americans 326, 330–31, 343, 346, 350–52
  dependence on Britain 330
Children:
  in armed forces 438
  murder of 195, 254, 337
China:
  ancient 213
  British trade with 461
  merchants from 462
  Qing xxxvi–xxxviii, 534
  Zunghar campaign xxxix, xl
Chinglepet, India 97
Chippewas, Native Americans 63
Choctaws 55, 331, 340
Choiseul *see* Étienne-François, Comte de Stainville, Duc de Choiseul Etienne
Cholera 170 n8
Chota, South Carolina 352
Chota council 343–5, 348, 351
Chota Fire King 327–8
Chouagan, siege of 207
Chout (protection money) 76
Christendom 110
Christian Heinrich of Westphalia, *see* Westphalen, Christian Heinrich Philipp von
Christian territories 178
Christians 175, 188, 250, 253 n42
  Christian tribute children 175
Church:
  French 32
  in Germany 124
  secularization of 124–5
  tax-free status of 117
Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Armee 216 n15
Circars, Northern, coastal province of the Deccan 85, 90, 96–7, 401, 420
  Forde's military operations in (1758–9) 96
  French military operations in 92
Citizen soldier 35–6, 42, 44
Civil supremacy 79
Civilians:
  Deaths of 524
  and military actions 404
  murder of 253–4, 259
  opposition to military forces 258
  torture of 259
  under arms and fighting as irregular forces 390
  warfare's effects on 243
  see also Peasants
Cizye, non-Muslim poll tax 176, 179
Claireville, Sieur de 207–8
Clausewitz, Karl von 458
Clement XIII, Pope 118
Clerk, Robert, Colonel 442
Cleve-Mark-Mers Holdern, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
Cleves, French winter camps at 494 n28

Client states 166
Clive, Robert, British Governor of Calcutta xxxi, xxxii, xlviii, 75, 77–8, 85–6, 88–90, 92, 96, 98–9, 401, 408, 411–12, 415, 420, 424, 426, 485
at battle of Plassey 417, 418, 419
Calcutta expedition, (1756) 408
Chandanagore expedition 413, 414
coup against Siraj-ud-daulah 416
pact with Mir Jafar 415
Coalition and Coalition Building xlvii, xlviii, 51–6, 70–1, *see also* Alliance system
Coastal raids, and British political press 385–97
Coast-guard forces lvii
Coblenz, French winter camps at 494 n28
Cochineal 296
Cocoa 296
Codex Iurus Canonici (1582-amended) 110
Coffee 267, 296
Coimbra 446
Collateral damage 39
Cologne 111, 217
Archbishop of 115
Elector of 114–15
papal nuncio in 111, 115, 117
Colonialism 264–6
Colonists, Anglo-American 47
Columbia 294
Colville, Lord 312
Command:
operational-level xlviii, lii, 360 n3, 364, 378, 381, 385, 388–9, 392 n97, 393–4
strategic level xlix, liv, 360 n3, 369, 377, 379, 385, 391, 392 n97, 393–4
tactical-level xlviii, 360 n3, 388, 391, 393–4
Communications, military 223
Compagnie des Indes Orientales, *see* French East India Company
Company of Guides 445
Compass 220
Conde, Baron, *see* Alvito, Fernando Lobo
Condillac, Étienne Bonnot 30
Condore, French defeat at 421–2
Confessionalization, (institutionalization of religious groups) 110
Conflans, Marquis de, French commander 234, 420–21
Congress of Augusta (1763) 356
Conjeveram 97
Connecorte, Fire King of Chota 327–8
Connecticut 47
Conococheague Valley:
British supply depots in 66
Pennsylvania, multi-ethnic community in 57
Conscription 240, 458
Consumption 450
Contades, Marquis de, French commander 218
Convention of Kloster Zeven (1757) 18, 499
Convention of Reichenbach (1790) 173 n14
Convention of Westminster (1756) xxvi, 13–15, 17, 495 n35, *see also* Anglo-Prussian Alliance
Convoys, naval 318
Conway, Henry Seymour, Lieutenant-General 387–91, 396–7, 509–10
Coosawatchee Creek 328
Coote, Eyre, Major, Commander in Chief, Madras Army 75, 98–102, 416–17, 419
Copper, as sheathing for ships 300
Cornish, Samuel, Rear-Admiral 459, 466, 469, 470–73, 475, 480, 483, 485
Coromandel Coast 79–80, 93, 403
Corpus Evangelicorum 121, 124, 127, 130
Cosimbazar, British factory at 405
Cossacks: l, 166, 169
cruelty of 243
combat strength 246
Don Cossacks 246 n15, 247
effectiveness of 249–50
motivating factors 245
noble savages 257
Nobodisch Cossacks 246 n15
officers 247
Ragnit atrocities 251–57
and Russian irregular warfare 243–61
Tzugujevskien Cossacks 247
Zlobodian Cossacks 247
Cossimbazar 402
Law's forces at 414
seizure of British factory at 88
Cotisford, Captain Lieutenant, East India Company army 471
Cotton 296
Counter-Reformation 112
Courbe, la, Director of the French Company of the Indies 277
Couriers 230
Courland, government of 513
Couta, British army camp at 451
Covenant Chain, diplomatic system 59, 60, 64–5
Cowee River 348
Craig, John 54
Crawfurd, John 437–8, 445, 452, 455, 477
Cree, Native Americans 50

Creeks, Native Americans 326, 329, 340
conflict with Briar Creek settlement 328
conflict with Cherokees 327, 329
Creek-Cherokee War 332
Creek War (1813–14) 533
Creek-Cherokee peace (1753) 328
Franco-Creek Cherokee alliance 328
raids by 330
society 327–8
Crefeld, battle of (1758) *see* Krefeld, battle of (1758)
Creoles 271–2
Creole culture 268
Creolization 271
Crimean Peninsula 169, 184
Crimean War 167
Croghan, George, trader and Indian agent 70
Croix de St. Louis, medal 206
Cromwell, Oliver, Santo Domingo expedition 296
Crow's Creek, ambush of Montgomery's troops at 338–9
Crump, British colonel 312
Cuba 294–6, 300, 459, 521
Cugnot, Nicolas Joseph, Engineer 220 n26
Cumberland County, Pennsylvania 66
Cumberland Duke of 6, 18, 25, 40
defeat at Hastenbeck (1757) 304
North American military campaign 6, 7
Cummings, Thomas, British merchant 265–6
Curacao, island of 296
Cuttack, Sheobhat's invasion of (1759) xxxiii
Cutwa, fort of 416
Czernyshev, Zakhar Grigoryevitch, General 492, 495–6, 521

Dalregementet, Swedish army reinforcing militia infantry regiment 148 n27, 153 n37
Dalrymple, Alexander 461–2, 464 n5, 484
treaty with Sultan of Sulu 462
Dalrymple, William 457
Damascus 168, 188
Damatlik, practice of 170
Damgarten, town on Baltic coast 149, 156
Damiens, Francois 32
Danube, river 167, 169, 186–7, 496
Austrian forces on 185
fortresses on 187
Russian presence on 166
Danziger Beyträgen 254
Dardanelles 168
Darien Peninsula, Scottish settlement on 295
Darwinism, social 30
Daun, Leopold Josef Graf, Marshall 118
David, Pierre, Director of the French Company of the Indies 277
Dawsonne, William, Director of the East India Company 483
Deccan province, India 74, 90, 94, 399, 419
French involvement in 85, 87, 89, 410, 420
Indian princes in 75
Indian regional governor in 76
Subadar (Imperial Viceroy) of 74, 88, 399
Decorations, military 211
Deer hide, trade in 332
Defeatism 208–9
Defence, active 375
Delaware 47
Ohio Indians in 58
Delawares, Native Americans, xliv 49
raids by 66–7
support for France 65
and the Walking Purchase 59–60
Delhi 76, 168
Demeré, Paul, Captain 340
Demmin, Pomerania 149, 151–2, 154–6
Prussian garrison in 158
Swedish occupation of 135
Swedish attack on (1761) 160–61
Demobilization 146, 488–90, 508, 518
Demonization 258
Denationalization 244
Denmark 504–6, 520
Frederick II's campaigns against 504
navy of 141
neutrality league with Sweden 141
Rumyantsev's attack on 505
Russian foreign policy 496
Swedish fortification against 146
Deserters 215, 226, 228, 231–6, 241
amnesty for 233
compensation for 233–4
French 218, 406, 468–70
and intelligence gathering 218–9
Desertion 39, 216, 454
in Ottoman army 184
Desirade, island of 311
Detroit 56, 61
Devonshire, Duke, *see* Cavendish, William, 4th Duke of Devonshire
Diderot, Dennis 27
Dierdorf 121
Dieskau, Jean Amrond, Baron 193

Dinwiddie, Robert, Governor of Virginia 6, 48
Diplomacy, and peace making 68–69, 519–23, *see also* peacemaking, peace negotiations
Diplomatic Revolution (1756) xliii, xliv, 108–9, 115, 491, 520
Discipline, military 202, 204
Disease 81, 136, 156, 170 n8, 184, 186 n40, 251, 268, 278, 298–9, 304, 310–11, 320, 340, 440, 449–51
see also cholera, malaria, smallpox, yellow fever
Döbeln, military action at 503
Doctrine: primacy of 110
Dodington, George Bubb 386
Dominica 296, 311, 313–14
British attack on 313
French cession of 522
Donalitius, Royal Bailiff of Ragnit 252, 253 n42
Doreil, André, French General 198, 206
Douglas, James, Captain 313, 318
Douro River 439, 446
Dragon, British warship 293
Drake, Dawson, East India Company Governor Elect for Manila 472, 482–3
Drake, Roger, British Governor of Fort William, Calcutta 405–6
Draper, William, Brigadier General 459, 462–3, 470–5, 480–1, 485
conquest of Manila 463–9
knighthood of 485
Lieutenant-Governorship of Great Yarmouth 485
Dresden 19, 142, 503–4
Catholic court in 111
Peace of 10
Prussian-Austrian Treaty of 9
Prussian occupation of (1756) 20
Drill manuals 372
Drottningens (Queen's Own), Swedish army enlisted regiment 148 n27
Dumont, Jean 377, 396
The Military History of His Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Savoy 372
Dunkirk, British warship 283
Dunkirk, France:
French agreements on 522
Dupleix, Joseph, Governor General of French settlements in India 75, 83–7
Duquesne, French fort 5–6
Durand, James, British officer 365
Durrani, Ahmad Shah, *see* Ahmad Shah Durrani
Dutch 150, 171, 182, 202, 224, 265, 272 n21, 295–6, 364, 400 n4, 406, 440, 462, *see also* the Netherlands
Dutch East India Company xxxix, 405, 485

East India Companies:
conflict between xxvi,, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv n25; xxxix, xlii, 83–4
military power of 81
naval co-ordination 80–81
war objectives 82–3
East India Company, British xxvi, xxix n13, xxxix, xlii, xxxi, xli, liii, 74–5, 78–80, 86, 88–9, 95, 97, 103, 399–404, 411, 424
armed forces of 470–71
Committee of Secrecy 467–8
Court of Directors 467–9
Manila expedition 469
East India Company, Dutch xxxiii,, xxxiv, 423–4
East India Company, French (French Company of the Indies) xxvi, xliii, 74, 264, 267–9, 399–404, 427
and Bombay 403
as British target 269
British capture of 280–81
conflict with Waalo people 275–6
diplomacy of 277
governmental structure 403
labour force 275
Law's purchase of (1719) 267
links to French government 267
political status of 77–8
Senegal privileges 270
slave trade 270, 275
Easton, Pennsylvania:
conferences at (1756–58) 67
Echy 337
Edicts of Nantes, repeal of 107
Efze 501
Eger, Austrian military camp at 16
Egremont, Earl, *see* Wyndham, Charles, 2nd Earl Egremont
Egypt 167
annual tribute 168
Ehrensvärd, Augustin, Swedish Major General 158–61
El Moro Castle, Havana 318–19
Elbe, river 18, 149
Elizabeth (ship) 466, 475, 478
Elizabeth (Elizaveta Petrovna), Empress of Russia 10, 491, 495–6
illness of 497
death of 497, 503, 517, 520
Ellis, Henry, Governor of Georgia 334, 341

Elsfleth, Danish customs duties at 505
Elvas, Portugal 442, 448
Emanuel of Bavaria, Max 127
Emden 304
Encyclopédie (editors: Diderot / d'Alambert, 1751–72) 27, 31, 33, 38–40, 45
Engineer-geographers 215, 221–5, 229, 240
Engineers 182, 215, 221–5, 442
  artillery engineers 224
  fortification engineers 224
England, *see* Britain
English-Hanoverian Army, *see* Allied Army
English Harbour, Antigua 300
English Pilot, The (1675) 466
Enlightened Despots 28
Enlightenment xxx–xxxi, lvi, 23–4, 27, 31, 34, 40, 43, 108, 126, 213, 220, 458, 523, 529
Entick, John, author at the *Monitor* newspaper xxxv, 380 n65, 534
  A General History of the Late War 535
Epidemics 59
Erfurt, Thuringian 125
Erzurum 168
  Ottoman defence of 188
Espion 237
Espionage 238, 240
Etchoe:
  1st battle of 337–40
  2nd battle of 348–50
  evacuation of 349
Étienne-François, Comte de Stainville, Duc de Choiseul, French foreign minister 33, 74, 286, 321, 494, 499, 521
  naval policy 497, 506
Etoahatchee, Creek town at junction of Coosa River and Coosawatchee Creek 328
Eugen, Prince of Württemberg 159, 161
Eurafricans 271
Exchange tables 232
Exiles 725
Extermination terminology, Old Testament 111

Falkland Islands, British base on 486
Falklands War (1982) 486
Falmouth, British frigate 475, 478, 483–5
Family Compact (1761), offensive alliance between Spain and France 431–2, 459, 463
Fehrbellin, battle of (1675) 155
Feindaufklärung, concept of 214 n8
Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Prussian General and commander of the English Hannoverian Army 2, 12, 18, 215–7, 222–4, 382, 488–9, 493, 508–9
  military strategy 510
  peace negotiations 507
Ferdinand, Karl Wilhelm 232
Ferdinand VI, King of Spain 301, 316
Fermor, Vilim, Russian General 153
Ferrol naval squadron 301
Fersen, Fredrik Axel von, Lieutenant General 157–8
Feuquières, Antoine de Pas, Marquis de 376–7, 388–9
Fiefs 176
Filipina, Spanish galleon 481
Fire King of Chota-Connecorte 327
Firearms 248–9
Fischer, Jean-Chrétien, member of French information service 236
Fisheries: North Atlantic 1, 286, 321 n72, 382, 430, 506
Flanders 8, 19, 398, 463
  British army in 25
  German foreign regiments from 227
  military campaign (1703) 390 n95
  volunteer units from 229
  in War of the Spanish Succession 372–3
Fletcher, Captain, Major of Brigade, East India Company army 471, 477–8
Florida 321, 328, 431, 459, 522
  peace negotiations 321
  Spanish interests in 431
Florida Channel 294–5
Florissant, French warship 308
Folard, Jean Charles Chevalier, military treatise of 42
Fontenoy, battle of (1745) 27
Forbes, John, British General 49, 67–8
Forde, Colonel 96, 104, 420–22
  attack on Masulipatam 422–3
Foresters 227 n57
Fort Carillon, French defence of (1758) 196–200
Fort Chouagen 199
Fort Cumberland 66
Fort Dobbs, North Carolina 335
Fort Duquesne, Pittsburg 49, 53, 64, 66, 68, 312
Fort Frédéric 6
Fort Loudoun, South Carolina 332, 336, 338
  massacre at (1760) 340–41
  prisoners from 343
Fort Louis, Gaudeloupe, French surrender at 311–12
Fort Moore, South Carolina 331, 335

Fort Necessity 4
Fort Niagara 6, 69
Fort d'Orléans, Chandanagore 413–14
Fort Pitt 69–70
Fort Prince George, South Carolina 332, 335, 343–4
  atrocities at 335
Fort Royale Bay, Martinique 314–15
  battle at 308–10
Fort St. David, English East India Company's base on Coromandel Coast 84, 94
  capture of (1758) 95
Fort St. George, Madras 84, 92, 95, 403
  council at 103, 420, 470, 483
  siege of 407, 420, 422
Fort St. François, Gorée 284
Fort Toulouse 55, 326
  Cherokee contacts with 328
  negotiations at 343
Fort William, Calcutta 405
  Council at 406, 409, 420
Fort William Henry 210
  capitulation of (1757) 21, 52, 199
Fortifications 4–6, 18, 24, 35, 42, 83, 88, 94–6, 99, 102, 139, 146, 157, 176, 187, 267, 271, 284, 287–88, 291, 298–99, 301, 310, 315, 396 n110, 405, 415, 426–7, 437, 442–3, 446, 464, 467
Forty Mile River 355
Fougueux, British warship 283
Foundry men 182
Fountainebleau:
  armistice at 521
  peace negotiations at 448
Fox, Henry, Minister of War 7, 386
France and Vienna, convention of (1757) 233
France:
  alliance with Arkansas 331
  alliance with Austria 7, 10, 32, 108, 112–3
  alliance with Choctaws 331
  alliance with Spain 316
  alliance with Sweden 153
  Anglo-French peace talks 498–9
  Austrian ambassador 143
  battle deaths in 524
  Bengal policy 410
  borrowing in 528
  Caribbean colonies 301–2
  Caribbean neutrality treaty 297
  Caribbean policy 295, 431
  Carnatic policy 410
  cessions of 522
  church in 32
  claims to America 4
  coasts of, British attacks on xxxiii, 303, 385–96; *see also* Rochefort, Saint-Malo, Belle-Isle colonial empire of 263
  demobilization in 518
  Dépôt de la Guerre 221
  diplomacy 143
  economic cost of Seven Years War 528
  État-Major Général des Armées 222
  Family Compact 431–2, 459, 463
  force projection xlix–1, 459
  Franco-Creek Cherokee alliance 328
  and Iberian war 432
  Indian politics of 74, 83
  Indian trade 73–4
  ingénieurs géographes 222
  Louis XV's disgraced regime in 528
  Maréchal des logis des armées 222
  military costs in 499–500
  military policy of 192–3, 209–10, 263, 404
  Minister for War 143, 222
  Mississippi settlements 295
  monarchy 32
  National Debt 404, 528
  Native American alliances 47–53
  naval strategy 267
  navy of 93–4, 98, 192, 265
  Ohio valley policy 61
  Pitt's policy 303
  political climate in 11
  and Pomerania 143
  Revolution in (1789) 528
  Russian policy 517
  slave trade 70
  strategic advantages of 395, 498
  Swedish ambassador 143
  theatres of war 209
  treaties with Sweden 143
France, army of 217, 226–7, 229, 305
  Amerindian collaboration 193–5, 201
  Armée d'Allemagne 215
  foreign regiments 227
  at Krefeld (1758) 305
  logistics of 192
  officer corps lvi, 147–8
  priorities 208–9
  reconnaissance parties 226–7
Franco-Prussian War of (1870–71) 224
Franco-Swedish joint declaration, Regensburg (1757) 143
Frankfurt, political opinion in 132
Frankland, Charles Henry 453

Fraser, Simon 441–2
Frederick II, King of Prussia xxiv, xxxv, xlvii n49, 1–21, 40, 41, 108, 113, 115, 121, 130, 217, 487, 495, 531
alliance with Britain 13
Austrian policy 503, 514–5
and the end of the Seven Years War 514–17
foreign policy 511, 517–18
Hubertusburg peace treaty 131
military-political-diplomatic achievements 521
military strategy 504
negotiations with Ottomans xl, 172, 521
Pomeranian policy 149
post-war policies 530–31
Prussian participation in war 11
religious beliefs 119
Rétablissement policy 530
Russian policy 13, 497, 512–13
Saxony policy 18, 119, 120
separatism 124
Silesian campaign 504, 521
sister of 141–2
Swedish policies of 142, 520
tax policy of 117
Frederick, Charles Louis, Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz 451
Frederick William of Brandenburg, Great Elector, grandfather of Frederick II of Prussia 155
Fredriksten Fortress, Norway, siege of (1718) 139
Freedom fighters 258
Freiberg, battle at (1762) 506
Freikorps 226–7
French and Indian War 48
French Company of the Indies xxvi, xliii, 74, 264, 267–9, 399–404, 427
and Bombay 403
as British target 269
British capture of 280–81
conflict with Waalo people 275–6
diplomacy of 277
governmental structure 403
labour force 275
Law's purchase of (1719) 267
links to French government 267
political status of 77–8
Senegal privileges 270
slave trade 270, 275
French, Christopher, Captain 353
Freron, Major, commander of French Protestant volunteer force 317
Freytag, Colonel von 221, 227 n57, 239
Friedrich, Ewald, Count of Hertzberg 120
Fritsch, Karl Thomas von, Saxon Privy Councilor 522–3
Fry, Joshua 6
Fulda River 501
Fuller, Major 317
Fulta:
Bengal Council at 408
British defence of 407
British forces at 406–7
Fur trade 57
Fürstenberg, cavalry division 227 n53
Fürstenrat, Council of Lords 127
Fusiliers-Guides de Plinchamp, Jägerkorps 227 n52

Gadsen, Christopher 354, 356
Galam 273, 275
slave trade in 270–1
Galeones, fair of, Porto Bello 294
Galissonière, Marquis de, French Governor 5
Galitzin letter 505
Garampi, Guiseppe, Papal Envoy to Augsburg and Head of the Vatican Library 129
General Staff, German:
Der Siebenjährige Krieg, (1756–1763) 536
Gentleman's Magazine 364
Geographic range, and military strategy 371, *see also* Power Projection
George I, King of England 8
George II, King of England 8, 13–14, 16, 18, 107, 109, 305, 316, 332, 429
George III, King of England 432, 468, 493, 507–8
Georgia (America) 47, 326
Governor of 334
Georgia (Caucasus) 168
Gera 19
Germany 107–133, 213–41, 487–519
Catholicization of 111
end of the Seven Years War in 487–518
Imperial Court 115, 126, 131–2
religious conflict in 107
strategic thinking on 498
theatre of war xxviii, 229, 305, 369–84, 498–507, 518, 522
see also Hannover, Holy Roman Empire
Gibbon, Edward 36
Gibraltar, British return to Spain 429
Giessen:
French army at 502
French winter camps at 494 n28
prisoners at 516

Glatz, county of 488
Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig 257
Preussischen Kriegsliedern 257
pro-Frederick grenadier songs of 132
Glen, James, Governor of South Carolina 55, 331–2
Gnadenhütten, Moravian church community 57
Godeheu, Charles, French Governor 86–7
Goethe 132
Gold 266
Brazilian 432, 435
Goltz, Baron 512
Gore, Major, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Mecklenburg 448
Gorée, port of 277, 279, 283, 286–7
British attack on (1758) 263, 281–4
British cession of 522
British control of 282
fortifications at 288
urbanization of 271–9
Gotha 228
Prussians in 124
Gotland, island of 146
Swedish fortifications at 146
Göttingen 217
garrison at 501
Granby, John Manners, Marquis of, *see* Manners, John, Marquis of Granby, commander of the British forces in the Allied Army in Germany
Grand Terre, Guadeloupe 31–12
Grant, James, Lieutenant Colonel 336, 341–7, 350–6
expedition against Cherokees (1761) 331
peace negotiations 341, 342
Great Lakes 49, 51–2
Middle Ground at 272
Sixty Years War for 71
'Great Man' history xlvii
Great Nordic War (1700–21) 135, 145–6, 150
Great Tellico, town of, South Carolina 352
Greece:
ancient 203
corsairs from 168
Greenville, Treaty of (1794) 533
Greiffenheim, Johan August, Swedish representative at the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire 135, 144
Greifswald, university town 149
Grenada, surrender of (1762) 315
Grenadines, French cession of 522
Grenville, George 322, 485
Grimaldi, *see* Jeronimo, Pablo, Marquis de Grimaldi Palavicini y Spinola
Grimberg, Carl, Swedish historian 137
Grimm, Friedrich Melchior 30, 32, 40
Griot, Wolof praise-singer 274
Grocka 186
battle at (1739) 186
Grosses Torfmoor 218
Gross-Jägersdorf, military action at (1757) 21
Guadeloupe 286, 294, 296, 313
British capture of 308–12
British cession of 522
peace negotiations 320
Gueldres 488
Guerilla 51
Guernsey, British warship 472 n33
Guibert, Antoine Hippolyte de lvi, 43–4
Defense du systeme de guerre modern (1779) 44
General Essay on Tactics 43–4
Guides 54, 215
Gulf of St. Lawrence islands, French cession of 522
Gulf Stream 295
Gum arabic 263–6
Gum trade 263–4, 270
Gum War 265
Gunpowder 178, 182, 220, 475
Gustavus III, King of Sweden 163, 529
assassination of 530
Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden 520

Habitants, free and property owning Africans and Eurafricans xlvi, 271, 275–8, 284–8
and British conquest of Senegal 280–81
as slave dealers 276
Haddick, General 228
Hagler, King of the Catawbas 330
Hague Declaration (1759) 496 n37
Haidar Ali of Mysore 91, 101, 102, 427
Haji Bi Ming, Uzbek leader xxxviii
Halberstadt, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
Half King, *see* Tanaghrisson
Halifax, Nova Scotia:
British naval base at 4, 5
Halle-Aschersleben, military action at 20
Hälsinge, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27
Hamadan 187
Hamburg, Danish troops in 505
Hamburg, Treaty of (1762) 519 n3, 520
Hamilton, Gustaf Adolf, Lieutenant General 140, 151, 154–6
Hanbury, John, London merchant 60

Hannover 8, 14, 17–8, 124, 217
alliance with Britain 127
alliance with Prussia 127
British defence of 304
Elector of 17
French invasion of 304–5
peace negotiations 320
Pitt's policy on 303
Prussians in 124
union with England 216 n15
see also Germany, theatre of war
Hapsburg Empire 10, 111, 115, 120
double-conflict 167
geopolitical concerns of 167
Harwich, troop transport at 510
Harwich, British warship 279
Hasenkamp, Xaver von 256
Hastenbeck, battle of (1757) 18, 21, 40, 304
English-Hanoverian army at 217
Hats, Swedish Diet party 140–41, 150, 160, 162–3, 529
Havana 294, 459, 521
British cession of 522
capture of (1762) 316–20
fortifications at 298
geopolitical significance 316
peace negotiations 321
port of 295
shipbuilding at 300
Spanish fleet at 318
surrender of (1762) 293
Hawke, Edward 26
Heartland, inner part of the Eurasian landmass xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii
Hector, East India Company ship 484
Heinrich, Prince of Prussia 13
Heirarchical organisation, military 200–203
Helvétius, Claude Adrien 30, 32–3
De L'Esprit (1758) 32–3
Henry, Prince, brother of Frederick II King of Prussia 487, 503–4
Herbert, William, publisher of *Le Neptune Oriental* 466
Heretics 118, 122
Catholic actions against 110–12
Hervey, Augustus, Captain of the warship *Dragon* 293
Hervey, George William, 2nd Earl of Bristol, British ambassador to Madrid 432
Herz, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 526
Hesse 17, 500, 502
French army in 305
light units from 228
military action in 217
peace negotiations 320
Hesse-Darmstadt 17, 516
infantry regiment from 227 n53
Hesse-Kassel 12, 17, 216 n15, 516
English-Hanoverian troops from 217
see also Kassel
Hesse-Kassel, Friedrich von, Crown Prince 114–15
Hijaz 168
Hildesheim, diocese of 124
Hindus 402
caste conventions 81
Maratha clans 76
Hispaniola 296, 318
Hobbes, Thomas 34
Hochkirchen, battle of (1758) 118
Hogarth, William 109
Hohenlohe, Count of 121
Hohenzollern-Ansbach 127
Holbach, *see* Thiry, Paul-Henri
Holdernesse, Duke of, *see* Arcy, Robert d', Duke of Holdernesse
Holston River, Virginian forces at 341
Holy Roman Empire xxxi, li, liii, 17, 132–3, 135, 142, 167, 230
army of, *see* Reichsarmee
battle deaths in 524
communications centre in 239
Reichskreig of (1757) 21
theatres of war in 213, 216
Holy War 49, 123
Homburg 501
Honduras:
and Iberian War 432
logwood settlements 430
Honduras Bay 295
French cession of logwood privileges 522
Hong merchants 461
Honour 210
and prisoner release 232
Höpken, Anders Johan von (Swedish Chancery President) 143–4, 155, 162
Hopson, Peregrine, Major General 307–10, 315
Horne, Captain 461
Horses, smuggling of 436
Hotham, Charles, Captain 364–5, 368 n33
Hotham, William, Royal Navy Lieutenant 364
Houghton, East India Company ship 483
Howe, Thomas, captain of the *Winchelsea* 463

Hradiska, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 526
Hubertusburg, negotiations at 512, 515, 523
Treaty of (1763) 129, 131, 217, 487, 489, 518–19 n3, 523
Hughes, Robert, Captain 307–8
Hugli, fortified Mughal town, British assault on (1757) 409
Hugli, river 401, 402
Humanity, and warfare 37–9
Humbaracıs, Ottoman bombardiers 178
Hume, David 34
Hungary 166
Hunter, Robert 57, 58
Hurons, of Lorette 49
Hussars 228
in Allied Army 227
French Bercheny regiment of 229
Prussian 228
Russian irregular 247
Hyderabad 89

Iberian war (1762) 429–59
Anglo-Portuguese tensions in 452–3
British declaration of (1762) 432
military lessons from 456–9
supply logistics 442–6, 449
İbrail, fortress at 187
Ile de Bourbon 267
Ile de France (Mauritius) 80, 264, 267, 269, 275
governor of 278
Illinois Country 49
Illyrian War 392 n98
Imdad-i seferiye, special campaign taxes 181
Imperial Army, *see* Reichsarmee
Imperialism, and warfare 107–133
India xxviii, xxxi, 80, 82, 87, 90, 94, 97, 103 n59, 168, 209, 403, 404, 414, 417, 419, 426, 466–7, 469, 471, 482, 484, 490 n13, 522, 533–4
Ahmad Shah Durrani in 402
Anglo-French war in (1744–48) xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, 399–428
Arcot war in xxvi n6
British Empire in xxxiv, 104
British *farman* (grant, 1717) 405, 411
conflict in xxxiii
cotton production in 84
development of 31
French bases in 102
French cessions in 522
imperialistic politics in 87
indigenous military power in 76
mercenaries in 83
military power in 81, 103
Muslim rulers of 76
Nadir Shah's conquests in 174
naval power 80
operation-level decision-making in lii
politics of 75–8
strategic importance 73–4
subsidiary treaties 415
war scholarship on 73 n1
see also Bengal, Bihar, British East India Company, Carnatic, Deccan, East India Companies, French Company of the Indies, Madras, Northern Cicars, Oudh
India Act (1773) 79
Indian Ocean 167–8
Anglo-French peace negotiations 265
Indonesia, English posts in 463
Industrialization, of military technology 182
Inés, Francisco de Santa 463
Crónica de la provicia de San Gregorio Magno 463
Infantry 145, 148
Informants 215
Institution: Primacy of the Institution 110
Intelligence 396
field intelligence 214
military 214, 387–8
Iran (Persia) xxxvi, xli, 167–8, 173–4
relations with Ottomans 174
war with Ottomans 188
Iraq 174
Nadir Shah's attack on (1743) 174
Ireland, French landing in xxviii
Iron Gates, rapids on the Danube 185
Iroquois, Native Americans xliv, 3, 61, 64–5, 352
factions of 65
raids by 56, 326, 330
Walking Purchase 59, 60
Irregular forces xliv, xlvi, l, li, 188, 247, 312, 439 470, *see also* Cossacks; Kalmyks; Bashkirs
Isfahan 168
Islam 181
holy cities of 168
political traditions of 76
İsmail, fortress at 187
Istanbul 167–8, 170
diplomatic corps in 171
elites in 179
fire in 170 n8
Nadir Shah's embassy in 173

rebellion in, (1730) 169, 179
in Russo-Ottoman Wars 187
Ivory 266

Jacob Johan, assassin of Gustavus III of Sweden 529
Jacobite Rebellion 109
Jacobites 441
Jafari, fifth orthodox school of law 173, 174
Jägerkorps 226
Lieutenant-colonel von Hoym's 228 n58
Jalapa, Mexican fair at 294
Jalilis, family 188–9
Jamaica xl n41, 294–5
and Iberian war 432
Jang, Muzzafar, Indian prince and Subadar of the Deccan 83
Jang, Salabat, claimant to Mughal post of Subadar of the Deccan 399, 401
Jang, Shaukat, Governor of Purnea xxxii, 407
Janissaries, Ottoman standing army 170, 173, 174–83, 187–9
Jansenists 32
Jassy, Russian occupation of 178
Jaucourt, Chevalier 38–9, 45
Jeronimo, Pablo, Marquis de Grimaldi Palavicini y Spinola, Spanish ambassador, and negotiator 321, 521, 431
Jessaul, Russian irregular cavalry captain 247
Jesuits 32
expulsion from Portugal 531
Vatican's suppression of 531
Jews 188
Joal, port of 273
Johnson, Samuel 37–8
Johnson, Sir William, Superintendent for Indian Affairs 68
Jönköping, Swedish army reinforcing militia infantry regiment 153 n37
José, King of Portugal 432, 446, 453, 531
Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor 131, 530
Josephinism 117
Journal Historique 275–7
Jülich 217
Jumonville, Joseph Coulon de Villiers de, Ensign xlvii, 3–4
Just War, doctrine of 117
Justi, Johann Georg, political author and illustrator 122

Kahle, Ludwig, Prussian court official 121
Kahnawake. Native American tribe 49
Kajoor, Kingdom of (West Africa) 276
Kalmar, Swedish army reinforcing militia infantry regiment 153 n37
Kalmyks, and Russian irregular warfare l, liii, 243–61
Kanslipresidenten, Swedish Chancery President 143
Kant, Immanuel 28
Kant-shoe (Cossack whip) 249, 252, 254
Karikal, French coastal base at 95
Karim Khan Zand xxxix
Karl I, Duke of Brunswick 224
Karlowitz treaty (1699) 171
Karlsbad 19
Kars 168–9
Ottoman garrison at 187
Kartal, battle at (1770) 183
Kartelle, agreements regulating prisoner exchange 232
Kasan Tartars, Russian irregular 247
Kassel 501
garrison at 501
Prussians in 124
siege of 383, 502, 522
Kaunitz-Rietberg, Wenzel Anton von, State Chancellor of Austria 7, 9–10, 108–9, 495, 519, 521, 523
Kazakhs xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii
Kazakh Middle Horde xxxvii
Keene, Benjamin, British ambassador in Madrid 15
Keith, Francis Edward, Field Marshall 2
Keith, William 58
Kempenfelt, British captain 476
Keowee, chief of the Lower Towns 331
Keppel, Augustus, British naval commander 283, 293, 317–20
Keppel, George, Lieutenant General, 3rd Earl of Albemarle 459
Keppel, William, General 319
Khadem Husain Khan, governor of Purnea xxxiii
Khan, Alivardi, Mughal nawab 399, 400, 402
Khan, Mir Maden, Commander 417
cavalry of 418
Khan, Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic 84–6, 91, 92, 98, 104, 399, 412
French recognition of 427
Khan, Yar Lulf 417
Khyber Pass 76
Kiakhta, Treaty of (1728) 534
Kilpatrick, Major, at battle of Plassey 418
Kirkuk, capture of (1743) 188
Kittanning, village on Allegheny River 54

British raid on (1756) 54
Kleiner Krieg 214, 226, 229–30
Kleve 17
Klinggräffen, Joachim Wilhelm von, Frederick II's ambassador in Vienna 1–3
Knesebeck, Karl Friedrich von dem, Prussian military reformer 213
Knollis, Thomas Woods, Lieutenant 449–50, 452–3
Knowles, Charles, Sir, Admiral 317
Knyphausen, von, Prussian ambassador 12
Kolberg 495–7
Russian army at 502
siege of 494
Kolin, battle of (1757) 21, 117
Kondukteure, engineers 223–4
Konfessionalisierung, *see* Confessionalization
Königsegg, Austrian general 185
Königsmarck, cavalry division 227 n53
Kraina, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 526
Kraus, Johann Baptist, Abbot of St. Emmeram 128–9
Krefeld, battle of (1758) 305, 380, *see also* Crefeld
Kronoberg, Swedish army reinforcing militia infantry regiment 153 n37
Kronprinsens (Crown Prince's Own), Swedish army reinforcing enlisted infantry regiment 148 n27
Küçük Kaynarca Treaty 178
Kulturkampf, Prussian cultural conflicts 118
Kunersdorf, battle of (1759) 49, 498, 517
Kurdan, Treaty of (1746) 169, 174
Kurds 166
tribal confederacies 188
Kurmark, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
Kuruş, silver coin 179–80
Kuskuski, village, Ohio Valley 49, 60
Kuskuski Delawares, Native American tribe 49, 53

La Belle Famille, French fort 5
La Guiara, British attack on 298
La Mark, infantry regiment 227 n53
L'Orient, British attack on (1746) 394
La Vera Cruz, port city 294–5
fortifications at 298
naval detachment at 299
Labour system, maritime 264
Lagos (Portugal), naval battle at (1759) 225
Lahne River, allied withdrawal from 508
Lajos, Lajos Mihaly, engineer-geographer 229
Lake Champlain 52, 305
Lake Erie 3, 5
Lake George, battle of (1755) 65
Lally, Comte de, Lieutenant General and Commander-in-Chief of French forces in the Carnatic 92–100, 419–20
siege of Fort St George 422
Lambert, Hamilton, Brigadier General 441, 444
Lancaster, Treaty of (1748) 61
Lancaster County, Pennsylvania 66
Lances 248
Landmiliz, conscription system 458
Languedoc, allied landings (1710) 392 n98
Lansdowne, 1st Marquess of 361
Lantingshausen, Albrekt, Swedish General Lieutenant 151, 156–9
Laptots (slave sailors) 267, 269, 275–8
Latouche, French commander 314–5
Lauriston, Jean Law de, French Chief and Deputy Governor in Bengal xxxiv–xxxv, 402, 407, 409, 411, 414–5, 419
capture of (1761) 419 n58
Law, John, *see* Lauriston John Law de
Lawrence, Stringer, General 85–6, 95, 97, 469
Le Boeuf, French fort 5
Le Havre, port of 273
Le Neptune Oriental (1759) 466
League of Nations 31
Lediard, Thomas, civilian secretary to the Duke of Marlborough and military historian 363, 377–8, 382 n74, 396
The Life of John, Duke of Marlborough 372
Lee, Charles, Colonel 447, 458
Leeward Islands 300
38th Foot Battalion at 307
Lehwald, Hans von, General 152, 254–6
Lenape (Delaware), *see* Delawares, Native Americans
Lennox, George, Lord 441
Léonard, Émile, military historian 29, 35
Leuthen, military action at (1757) 21
Levans, director of the French Company of the Indies 275–6
Levend, soldiers 177
Levis, Charles de, French ambassador 8
Lichtfield, British warship 283
Lieder eines preußischen Grenadiers, song 123

Light of Reformation (pamphlets) 128
Light troops 150, 159, 214–6, 226–30, 241, 260 n74, 315
and military intelligence 228
see also Hussars
Lignery, François-Marie le Marchand de 49
Ligonier, John Louis, British Commander-in-Chief 306, 317, 364, 371, 373, 375, 379, 382, 392 n97, 436
Lincoln, Earl of 365
Lindenau, Martin, pastor of Ragnit, murder of 252
Lindsay, the Reverend 282–5
description of *signares* 285–6
and *habitants* 286
Lippe, *see* Schaumburg-Lippe, Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst
Lisbon 437–8, 446
earthquake (1755) 23, 434
Spanish advance on 446
Litchfield, British warship 472 n33
Little Carpenter, Cherokee diplomat, *see* Attakullakulla, Cherokee leader and diplomat
Little Keowee, civilian massacre at 337
Little River, tributary of Long Canes Creek 331
Little Tennessee, river 326
Livgardet (Royal Life Guard), Swedish army reinforcing enlisted infantry regiment 148 n27
Livregementet till Häst (Life Horse Guard), Swedish army reinforcing militia cavalry regiment 148 n27
Livregementet, Swedish army reinforcing militia cavalry regiment 153 n37
Lloyd, Henry, Austrian staff officer 42–4, 224
Continuation of the History of the Late War in Germany (1781) 43
History of the Late War in Germany (1766) 43, 535
Lobositz, battle of (1756) 20
Logan, James 58
Logistics, military 20, 21, 35, 86, 87, 90, 96–98, 101–102, 150, 161–2, 178, 184–5, 189, 258–60, 300, 351, 404, 444, 446
Logstown 61, 63
conference at (1752) 61
Logwood, (precious wood) 296
trade in 432
Loitz, Pomerania 135
London Chronicle 364, 380, 381, 384
London Gazette 364, 366, 383, 494, 506, 509–10, 514
as historical source 366
London Magazine 364–5
Long Canes Creek, South Carolina 331
murder of Cherokees at 333–4
Long Canes line 355
Long-Island-on-the-Holston, Treaty of (1761) 519
Long Peace 56–8
Looting 523
Loudoun, *see* Campbell, John
Louis XIV, King of France 29, 247, 206, 222, 376–7
wars of 395, 397
Louis XV, King of France 4, 29, 32, 83, 207, 463
daughter of 429
peace lobbying 521
united Bourbon front 431
Louisbourg, Cape Breton Island 304
capture of 305
French fortress at 4
Louise Ulrike, Queen of Sweden 10, 141–2, 520
Louisiana 202, 268, 459, 521
British attack on 305
French Caribbean supplies from 302
French cession of 522
French forces in 313
French possessions in 5
Law's rights purchase in (1717) 267
peace negotiations 321
Senegambian labour systems in 269
slave exports to 268
Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, French General 191
Loutre, Jean-Louis le, Father 49
Low Countries:
Marlborough's campaigns in 372
in War of the Spanish Succession 372
Löwendal, infantry regiment 227 n53
Löwenfels, Swedish army enlisted regiment 148 n27
Lower Towns, South Carolina 331, 344
Luc, Pierre le 277
Lucius Aemilius, amphibious capture of Pharos (219 B.C.E.) 392 n98
Luckner, Johann Nicolaus, hussar officer 229, 230
Lutterburg, battle at (1762) 501
Lutterell, Henry Lawes, Major, Deputy Adjutant-General of the British staff 441
Lybecker, Emil, Swedish major general 161

Lyttleton, William Henry, Governor of South Carolina 330–31, 334–5, 341

Machault, French fort 5
Maçoa, temporary hospital at 451
Madagascar 403
Madras 75, 91–3, 97, 102–4, 401, 403
  council at 88–9, 92, 101–4, 426–7, 470
  defence of 95–6, 420
  French capture of (1746) 79, 83, 90, 94, 95, 97
  and Treaty of Paris 80
Madura, India 84, 102
Magazines (publications) 364
Magdeburg 20
  population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
  Prussian magazine at 19
Mahé, French base on Malabar Coast 102
Mahmud I, sultan 170, 175 n19, 188
Mahmud II, sultan 183
Maiden Rawensburg, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
Mail, interception of 230
Maillebois, Comte de 229
Maine 47
Mainz 217
  electorate of 125
Malacca, Dutch post at 462
Malachi of Coweta, Creek leader 327
Malaria 299, 310
Malaya, Dutch in 463
Malchin 159
  Swedish attack on (1761) 160–61
Malikane, life-term tax farming 179
Malmström, August 137
  Sveriges politiska historia från Carl XII: s död till statshvälvningen (1772) 137
Malnutrition 268
Malplaquet, battle of (1709) 433
Malta, corsairs from 168
Mande, merchant caravans 271
Manihari, Battle of xxxii
Manila 461–86
  British attack on xli, 459, 475–9
  British expedition to 461–86
  British occupation of 482–4
  and British trading system 461
  governor of 475
  pillage of 480–81
  ransom of 481–3, 486
  Real Audiencia of 465, 481
  return to Spain under Peace of Paris 482
  Spanish fortifications at 464, 465
  strategic purpose to Britain 485
Mankiller of Tomotly 333–4
Manners, John, Marquis of Granby, commander of the British forces in the Allied Army in Germany 364, 382–3, 500
Mannevillette, Jean Baptiste d'Aprés de, captain and hydrographer 466
Manoeuvre, strategy of 213 n5
Manpower, shortages of liv *see also*: Labor System, maritime, Landmiliz
Manteuffel, Heinrich von, Prussian Lieutenant General 158
Maps 219–30
Maratha Confederation 88
Maratha wars (1779–1818) 534
Marathas: xxxiii, xlviii, 82, 99–101, 533
  Bengal raids by 402–3
  Deccan involvement 88
  see also Afghan-Maratha conflict
Marburg, French army at 502
Maria I, Queen of Portugal 531
Maria Theresa, Empress 1, 2, 3, 7, 109, 114, 119, 215 n14, 488–9, 503, 511, 518
Marie Galante, island of 311
  British cession of 522
Marie-Louise-Thérèse, Granddaughter of Louis XV 521
Marines, British 279
Marlborough, British warship 318
Marlborough, Duke of 363, 372, 376, 391 n97
  campaign in the Low Countries 372
Maroons, slave community, Jamaica 326
Martin, fictional character in *Candide* (Voltaire) 24
Martinique 286, 294, 296, 306
  British capture of (1762) 302, 306, 308, 313–16
  British cession of 522
  surrender of (1762) 315
Mascarene Islands, slave export to 270 n16
Mason, Major, British governor of St. Louis 281, 283
Massachusetts 54
Master of Five Churches 115
Masulipatam:
  British capture of 422–3
  coastal fort at 421–2
  Conflans' defences at 422
  French fortress at 96
Mathews, Thomas, Admiral 25
Mathison, Captain of the *Panther* 484

Mauduit, Israel 316 n56, 369–70, 373–6, 379–81, 384, 391
Considerations on the Present German War 369–70
Mauritania 264
Mauritius 80, 265, 267, 269, 275
French naval base at 97, 102, 414
maritime labour system at 267
naval refitting at 80
see also Ile de France
Mayr Volunteer Corps 116
McIntosh, Lachlan, Ensign 342–3
Mecklenburg 20, 127, 159
Russian army at 505
Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Duchy of 149–50, 161
Mediterranean Sea xxviii, 167
Mehadia, Ottoman capture of (1738) 185
Mehmed, İvaz, Ottoman commander in chief 185–6
Mehmed, Muhsinzade, Grand Vizier 173
Mehmed, Yeğen, Grand Vizier 185
Meiningen 515–18
Mendelssohn, Moses, theologian 122
Mennonites 67
Mercenaries 35
in Bengal 399
in India 76, 399, 427
Maratha 82, 85, 93
Ottoman 177, 180
Messengers 215, 220
Metscherjaks, Russian irregular 247
Mexicans li 465
Mexico 294
silver mines in 295
Spanish interests in 431
Mi'kmaq, native Americans 51
Miamis, raids by 66
Michell, Abraham Ludwig, secretary of the Prussian legation in London 13
Middle Ground, space between two cultures 272, 278–9, 286
in North America 272
Middle Towns, South Carolina, sacking of 350
Middleton, Thomas, Colonel, Commander of the South Carolina Regiment 350–51, 354, 356
dispute with Grant 350–51
Mikulen, Cossack advance at 259
Milice, untrained temporary soldiers 198
Militarism, and the monarchy 35
Military engineers *see* Engineers
Military Enlightenment 40
Military organization, hierarchical 200–203
Military service 35
Military strategy, and peace negotiations 381–2
Military thought, and British political press 359–97
Military writing lvi, 42–44, 363, 534–36
Militia forces lvii, 36, 148–9, 153, 192, 200–03, 177, 315
Swedish 145, 148
see also Milice
Mindanao, Philippine island 468
Minden, battle at (1759) 215, 232, 238, 218–221, 499
Miners 224
Minorca 24, 429 n3
French capture of (1756) xxvii, 263, 303
French cession of 522
French diplomacy 430 n4
peace negotiations 320
Miquelon, island of 321 n72
British cession of 522
Mir Jafar xxxiii, xxxix, xlviii, xlix, liv, 415, 417, 419–20
army of 416
debts of 424
diminishing authority of 425
Mir Mohanna, Bandar Rig xxxix
Mir Qasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar xxxiv, 425
Miranda:
British army attack on civilians 456
Spanish capture of (1762) 438
Mirepoix, Duc de 8
Mission communities 57
Mission Indians 49, 196
Missionaries:
Presbyterian 54
Mississippi River 61, 295
French agreements on 522
peace negotiations 321
Mitchell, Andrew, British minister to the Prussian court 16–18
Mobile, settlement of, North America 312
Mobility 215
Mohawks 351
Mohicans 54
Moitoi of Keowee 346
Moldavia:
client state 169
elites in 166
Ottoman logistics 178
Molla Ali Shah, governor of Bandar Abbas xxxix

Molyneux, Thomas More, Lieutenant Colonel 368, 393–7
Conjunct Expeditions 368, 393
Mona Passage 294
Monarchy, and militarism 35
Monckton, Robert, Brigadier General 313–15
army of 317
Monitor (newspaper) 379, 380–81, 384
Monson, George, Colonel, quarter-master general 471
Monsoon 80, 92
Montcalm, Louis Joseph, Marquis de, French commanding general 52–3, 191, 193, 195–9, 201–10
Montecuccoli, Raimondo, military treatise of 42
Montesquieu, *see* Secondat, Charles-Louis de
Montforte, Lippe's headquarters at 448
Montgomery, Archibald, Colonel 335, 340
Montgomery expedition (1762) 331
Monthly Review 365
Montreal 49–50, 305, 312
French defence of (1760) 70
Montreuil 207
Montserrat 296
Moore, John, Commodore 307–9
Moors, of Tzarza 279, 281
Morality, military 43
Morava valley 184
Moravia 19
population decline attributable to Seven Years' War 526
Prussian retreat from 305
Moravians 57
Morne Garnier, mountainous ridge, Martinique 315
Morne Tartenson, mountainous ridge, Martinique 315
Morris, Robert Hunter, governor of Pennsylvania 48
Mortar, British bomb-ketch 472 n33
Mortar, *see* Yahatustunagee of Okchay
Moscow 166
Moser, Württemberg family of court officials 124, 132
Mostyn, Jack, Lieutenant-General 365
Mosul:
military action at (1743) 168, 174, 187–9
troop strength at 188–9
Mughal Empire lii, 168
decline of 76
revenues liv
Multi-theatre conflicts 371–3, 378, 381, 384, 389
Münchhausen, Gerlach Adolf von, president of the privy council of Hanover 18
Münden 501
Munro, Hector, Colonel 82
Münster 509
British withdrawal from 509
diocese of 124
Murder 195, 259
of civilians 253–4
Murshidabad 402, 407
Mir Jafar's capture of 419
Nawab's court at 402
Muskets, flintlock 220
Muslims 165, 175, 253 n42
in India 76
Mustafa III, sultan 170, 190
Mutilation, of civilians 254
Mutiny 502
Mysore:
King of 85
seized by Haidar Ali Khan 76
Mysore wars (1766–1799) 534

Nadir Shah xxxix, xl, 168, 173–4, 187, 189
Namur, British warship 472 n33
Napier, Robert, Major General 368 n33
Naples, Prince Charles' transfer of 429
Napoleon Bonaparte 211, 213, 427, 491, 531
Napoleonic Wars 167
Naranha, Don Rodrigo de, Lieutenant General 453
Närike-Värmlands, Österbottens, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27, 153 n37
Nassau, British warship 279, 283
Nassau-Saarbrücken, cavalry division 227 n53
National debt, and warfare 36
Nauheim:
battle at (1762) 506
French army at 501
Negro Point, Martinique 309
Neipperg, Austrian commander 186
Nemirov, negotiations on Austro-Ottoman-Russian war 172
Neptune Oriental (atlas of small-scale charts of Asian waters, 1759) 466
Nequassee, evacuation of 349
Netherlands:
Bengal expeditionary force xxxiii, 423–4
and end of the Seven Years' War 507–08, 510

European alliances 8
and Iberian war 432
Indian trade 73
in War of the Spanish Succession 373, 376, 381
see also Dutch, Dutch East India Company
Neu Ruppin 155
Neuchâtel, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
Neuensund. Battle at (1761) 160
Neumark 19
civilian deaths in 524
population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
New England 54
New France 192, 200, 204
British conquest of 463
New Orleans 295, 313, 521
New Orsova 184
New Spain (modern Venezuela) 296
New York 314
naval facilities at 300
Newcastle, Duke of, *see* Pelham-Holles, Thomas
Newfoundland 286
fisheries lv, 506, 522
Spanish access to 430
Newspapers 360, 363–6, 368–9, 379, 381–4, 396
economics of 379
Nichelson, William, Master of the *Elizabeth* 466, 474
Sundry remarks and observations made in a voyage to the East-Indies 466
Nichols, John 455
Niger:
middle 271
upper 271
Nine Years War 195
Ninety Six, frontier settlement of 332, 335, 344, 355
Nivernais, Duke de 33
Noailles, Duc de 33
Norfolk, British warship 307, 480, 481
Norra Skånska, Swedish army reinforcing enlisted infantry regiment 148 n27
North East Trade Winds 294
North Equatorial Current 294–5
North, Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guildford; Lord North 79
North Sea 141
Northampton County, Pennsylvania 66
Norwich, bread riots in 529 n19
Nova Scotia 47
French fortifications in 6, 7
Nuncio system, papal 111
Nuraly, Kazakh Lesser Horde leader xxxvi
Nutimus, Delaware headman 58
Nylands, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27

O'Dunne, Jacques, French minister to Lisbon 433
O'Hara, Charles, Lieutenant Colonel 434, 437–9, 445
O'Hara, James, 2nd Baron Tyrawley (Irish) 433–4, 436–8
resignation of 440, 453
O'Reilly, Alessandro, General 438
Observational army 217
Ocaks, (Ottoman regiments) 175–6
Occonostota, Great Warrior, Cherokee war chief 327–8, 340, 343, 345–8, 351–3, 355
and Fort Prince George atrocity 335
peace delegation of 334
Ochakov 169, 184
fortress at 187
Oconee 337
Oder, river 141, 151, 159
Oeyras, *see* Carvalho, Sebastiáo de, Conde de Oeyras
Officers:
British 360–1, 363–9, 371, 397
Cossack 247, 260
French 191–211
Oglethorpe, James, General 364
Ohio Company of Virginia 60, 63, 64
Ohio Indians 61, 63, 65–6
Ohio River 49
Ohio Valley 5
British traders in 61, 62
conflict in xxvi
French control of 61–5
French forts in 63
Indian migration to 62
Native Americans in 56
Ohm River:
military action at 502
Prince Ferdinand's defence at, (1762) 383, 511 n125
Ohne river, allied withdrawal from 508
Ojibwas, Native Americans 1, 50, 63
Old Bahama Channel 317
Old Caesar of Chatuga 352
Old Estatoe 337
Old Hop, Fire King of Chota 327
Operational-level command xlviii, lii, 360 n3, 364, 378, 381, 385, 388–9, 392 n97, 393–4

Oporto 438
English wine merchants in 435
Spanish advance on 438
wine trade 432
Oran 429 n3
Order of the Black Eagle 504–5, 513
Orleans, Duke of, French candidate to Spanish throne 297
Orme, Robert, Madras civil servant 73 n1
Orsova Island 184–5
Ortmann, Adolf Dietrich, Prussian army chaplain 122, 124, 253
Patriotischen Briefen 253
Osman III, sultan 170
Osnabrück:
Bishop of 125
diocese of 124
Ossun, Pierre Paul, Marquis d', French ambassador to Madrid 431
Ost Friesland, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
Ostenaca, Mankiller of Tomotly 333–4, 340, 343, 352
visit to London (1762) 356
Östgöta, Swedish army reinforcing enlisted infantry regiment 148 n27
Östgöta, Swedish army reinforcing militia cavalry regiment 153 n37
Oswego, British post on Lake Ontario 51
Ottawas, native Americans 1, 50, 63
Ottoman Empire xxxvi, xxxix, xl, 165–90, 532
alliance with Sweden 171
army of 174–5, 182–3, 185
bankruptcy 175 n17
economy 174, 179–81
fortresses 176
fraud in 176
frontiers of 166–9, 187
geopolitical strategy 166–9
historical analyses 165
military diplomacy 169–74
military recruitment 177
military reform 181
military revolt (1807) 183
military system of 174–9
military technology 181–3
negotiations with Frederick II 172
negotiations with Persia 173
neutrality lv, 169–70, 173
New Order (1768) 175
non-Muslim poll tax 176
shares 180
taxation 174, 179–81
treaty with Austria 171
treaty with Persia 171
tribute-paying clients of 166
war with Persia 188
war with Russia 169
see also Russo-Ottoman wars
Ottoman-Tatar association 178
Oudh:
conflict in xxxiii, liv
Indian regional governor in 76
Wasir of 407
Overhill country, South Carolina 326–7

Pacifists 57, 67
Pack animals, provisioning for 449–50
Paderborn, diocese of 124
Palatinate, Catholic minority of 107
taxation in 117
German foreign regiments from 227
Palhares, Alexander, Governor of Almeida 446
Pamphleteers 360, 367, 385, 391, 396
Pamphlets 121, 128, 363–70, 384
Panama:
fortifications at 298
Isthmus of 295
Pandour bands, Croatian 244 n7
Pandurenkrieg (*Kleiner Krieg* in Habsburg monarchy between Hungary and Panduren) 227
Panipat, battle of, (1761) 533
Panther, British warship 310, 484
Papacy 110, 131
Paris 142
papal nuncio in 111
Swedish ambassador 143
Paris, Peace of (1763) xxviii, 217, 369 n34, 459, 482, 454–5, 502, 519, 522
and West Indies 320–21
Parker, British captain 476
Partisans 195, 226, 236
tactics of 202
Pas, Antoine de, Marquis de Feuquières, and British military strategy 374
Pasewalk 158–9
Pasha, Hekimoğlu Ali, Ottoman commander and Governor of Bosnia 184
Pasha, Husayn al-Jalili 188
Pasha, Koca Ragıb, *Reis* (minister of foreign affairs) 171
Pasig, river, Manila 465
Passarowitz, Treaty of (1718) 173–4
renewal of (1745) 173
Patriotism 211
autonomous 45

British 497
French 31
as motivating factor 203–4
Pattison, James, Colonel, Royal Artillery commander 444, 454
Paul I, Czar of Russia 530
assassination of 530
Paulmy, Marc Pierre de Voyer de, Comte d'Argenson, French secretary of war 199
Pavão, Portuguese reprisals at 456
Pays d'en haut (Upper Country) xlix, 50, 69
Peace making 520–3
Peace negotiations 499, 520–3
and military strategy 381–2
between the British and Cherokees 342–7, 351–4
in the Pomeranian War 161–2
public debate on 369 n34
Peace of Altranstädt (1707) 107, 113
Peace of Paris of (1763) xxviii, 217, 369 n34, 454–5, 459, 482, 502, 519, 522
and West Indies 320–21
Peace of Ryswik (1697) 107
Peace of Westphalia (1648) 107, 112–14, 124–7
Peasants 145
defence of Vigo (1719) 390 n95
drafting of 36
Iberian War 439, 445, 452
in Portugal 435
Swedish 139
Peene, river 149–52, 154–6, 158, 160
Peenemünde 149, 156
Prussian capture of 153
Swedish siege of (1758) 151, 154
Peenendam 135
Pegu, Kingdom of, Alaungpaya's campaigns in, xlii
Pelham-Holles, Thomas, 1st Duke of Newcastle, British Secretary of State and First Lord of the Treasury li, 6, 8, 11, 303–6, 322, 359, 362 n11, 432, 467
Penn, William 58
Pennsylvania 57, 68, 193–4
Catawba defence of 330
Delaware raids in 66
Indian attacks in 65
Native Americans in 56
negotiation with native Americans 67
Pensacola 293
Pensions 211
competition for 207–8
Pentarchy (Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia) 531
People's army, concept of 458
People's war, concept of 459
Pepper, Daniel, South Carolina Emissary 328
Persia, *see* Iran
Persian Gulf, regional conflict in xxxix, liv
Peter I (the Great), Tsar of Russia 28, 166
Peter III, Tsar of Russia 162, 247, 491, 512, 517, 520
accession of 497
and Austro-Prussian war 503
Danish policy 520
foreign policy 504–5
murder of 521
Prussian policy 520
Peterswalde, heights of 18
Petite Guerre 51, 195, 200, 202
Petite Terre, island of 311
Petty-Fitzmaurice, William, Earl of Shelburne and 1st Marquess of Lansdowne 361
Philadelphia 194
Philip V, King of Macedon, maritime raids against the Aetolians 392 n98
Philip V, King of Spain 301
Philippines 459
British interests in 461
Spanish 102
Philosophes:
and war 23–45
definition of 30
military 40–44
and Seven Years War 31–7
Pickawillany 63
Pigeon Island, Fort Royale Bay, Martinique 314
Pigot, George, Governor of Fort St. George, Madras 92, 95, 420, 462, 469, 484
Pilgrimages 168
Pillage 195, 523
Piracy 168, 171
Pirates 299
Pirna, Prussian attack on (1756) 20
Pitt, Thomas, gunsmith 284
Pitt William, the Elder liii, 74, 303–4, 306, 308, 311, 322, 359–62, 432, 468, 492–3
African policy of 279
as army officer 361–2, 371
borrowing program 526
government of 265
maritime policy 304
military policy 305, 379
negitiations with Choiseul 316
North American policy 303
Spanish mediation 493 n24
resignation of 316, 432, 467, 492–3

Rochefort raid 387
Pitt, William, the Younger 362 n9
Pitt-Newcastle government 359, 361, 380 n65
Plague 170 n8, 184
Planning, and reconnaissance 214
Plassey, battle of (1757) xxxi, xxxiv, xvliii, 21, 77, 90, 92, 99, 416–19
political consequences of 419, 424,
Plotho, Prussian legate 119, 126, 130
Plunder 252, 259
Pocock, George, Admiral 93–4, 98, 101, 317–18, 420–1, 459, 483
Podewils, Count, Prussian minister of state 16
Podor, fort at 270
Poland 169, 512, 532
Crimean Tatars in 503
domestic politics 513
nuncio in 111
taxation in 117
Polemic, political 366
Police, military 227
Polybius, Greek historian 380, 392
Pombaline System, ministerial dictatorship under Portuguese king's authority 434, 436
Pombalo, British army at 452–3
Pomerania 20, 142, 149–61
civilian deaths in 524
defence budget of 150
population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525
Prussian army in 149–61
Russian army in 305, 505
Swedish army in xxx, 145, 149
Pomeranian War 135–163
Franco-Swedish military operations 151–2
historical analyses 136–7
military operations in 150–54
as Swedish failure 137
Pommegorge, Pruneau de:
recollections of Saint-Louis 273–4
Pompey, civil war in 370
Pondicherry 91, 94, 97–9, 101–3, 401, 403, 410
British capture of (1761) 75
British influence in 399
council of 94
French civilian Governor General at 79
French commander at 93
French East India Company at 77
French troops at 403
siege of (1760–1) 79, 102, 426
supplies for 414
Poniatowski, Stanislas 513
election of 173
Ponickau, Saxon envoy and Director of the Corpus Evangelicus 127
Pontiac's War xxix n13, 69, 533
Poona, Hindu Maratha clans in 76
Pope 111, 117–20, 122
Pope, Alexander 23
Essay on Man 23
Port Louis, Hispaniola, British attack on (1747) 299
Port Mahon, British naval base, Minorca 24
British recovery of 429
Port Royal, Jamaica, earthquake at (1692) 300
Portalegre 452
British troops at 448
Portuguese reprisals at 456
Portendick, British naval squadron at 279–80
Porto Bello 294–5
British capture of (1739) 299
fortifications at 298
Porto Rico 294, 296
fortifications at 298
Portugal
alliance with Britain 433 n19, 436
army of 436–8, 440–42, 458
Bourbon army in 448
Brazilian trade 435
and British consumers 435
British expeditionary force in 440
catholicism in 453–4
economy 436
English merchants in 435–6, 439
exports 435
and Family Compact 433
and Iberian war 429–59
Indian trade 73
irregulars of xliv, xlvi
neo-absolutism in 531
nobility in 435
peasant uprising 439
peasantry in lvii, 435
Posses, Swedish army enlisted regiment 148 n27
Post, Christian Frederick, Moravian missionary 49
Postal services, and spying 237
Potawatomis, native Americans 53
raids by 66
Potemkin, Prince 247
Potomac River 66

Potosi, silver mines in 295
Potsdam 1, 2
  Frederick's palace at 531
Potter, Thomas 387–8, 390–91
Power, balance of 34
Power projection xlix, l, li
Prague:
  liberation of 117
  military action at (1757) 21
Prenzlau 151, 155, 159
Presque Isle, French fort 5
Press, British political:
  and coastal raids 385–97
  and German war 369–97
  and military thought 359–97
Pressburg 503
Preston, Peter, Captain, Portuguese Adjutant-General 453
Prince Edward, British warship 283
Prince Rupert's Bay, Dominica 311
Print culture 397
  print sub-culture 397
Print revolution 360
Prisoners of war 37, 215, 219, 226, 228, 231–6, 241
  exchange of 231–6
Privateers 299, 430
  in Caribbean 294
  French xxxix
Promotion 207–8, 211
Propaganda 121, 127–8, 211, 245, 250
Protestant succession, Britain, French acknowledgement of 522
Protestantism 110–11, 122, 124
Protestants 49, 109, 113, 119, 129–31, 454
  English 204
  French 195
  genocide of 202
  national groups of 121
  in Prussia 130–31
  Saxony 114
  Silesia 107
  Switzerland 107
Provisioning, and reconnaissance 214
Proxy War, India (1749–54) 85
Prussia 2, 17, 114, 124, 128, 143, 165
  absolutism in 530
  alliance with England 108, 216 n15, 217
  alliance with Hannover 127
  alliance with Sweden 141
  Austro-Prussian balance of power 497
  civilian deaths in 524
  economic cost of Seven Years War 527
  as European power xxiii
  French occupation of (1757) 217
  Hohenzollern officer corps rebellion 531
  invasion of Saxony 143
  Mayr Volunteer Corps of 116
  media in 131
  military bureaucracy 488
  naval forces 157
  Pitt's policy on 303
  Prince of 2
  propaganda of 119–125, 127–8
  protestants in 130, 131
  Régie, tax bureaucracy 530
  resource mobilization 136
  revolution in 531
  rivalry with Saxony 512
  Russian sovereignty in 496 n37
  Seven Years War consequences 530
  war economy 20
  see also Frederick II, King of Prussia
Public opinion 360, 364–5
  definition of 359 n2
  Mauduit's influence 370
Puerto Rico 318
Pugachev Revolt 530
Punic Wars:
  1st 392 n98
  2nd 380
Punjabi plains 76

Qataghanids xxxviii
Qianlong, Chinese emperor 534
Qing, Zunghar campaigns of xxxvi–xxxviii, 534, *see also* China
Quakers 57, 67, 279
Qualtchee, sacking of 337
Quebec 49, 52, 68, 204, 207, 209
  fall of (1759) 69, 199
  siege of 202, 312
Quebec campaign (1759) 52
Quiberon Bay, British victory at (1759) 463

Racism 250
Ragıb, Koca, Ottoman representative 172, 174, 187
Ragnit:
  Cantors of 252
  devastation of (1757) 251–7
Rai Dulabh, Siraj-ud-daulah's finance minister 417–18
Raiding parties:
  Indian 47–52
  Iroquois 56

Rainsford, Charles, Lieutenant Colonel 434, 436, 438, 447, 453
Raj, founding of 90, 415
Rajahmundry, British attack on 421–2
Ramillies, battle of (1706) 377–8
Rank, military, competition for 207
Ransom 232
Rape 195, 252
Rauschenberg, Germany 511
Ravensberg, Germany 17
Raybourn's Creek, massacre at 334
Raynal, Guillaume Thomas 30
Recknitz, river 149
Reconnaissance 240
at battle of Minden (1757) 218–19, 221
military 213–41
Red Sea 167–8
Reden, Johann Wilhelm von, Lieutenant-General 218–19, 222, 231
Redoubts, construction of 223
Regensburg 131, 135
Imperial Assembly in 119
Regensburg Diet 142–4
Reichenbach, Convention of (1790) 173 n14
Reichsarmee lii, 127, 129, 502, 515
Reichstag 126–7, 130–1
Religion:
and English throne 107
and militancy 110
and warfare 107–33
Religious Determination Law 114
Repnin, Prince, Russian envoy 513
Reports, military:
handwritten 220
oral 220
Republicanism 35
Resmi, Ahmed, Ottoman ambassador 172
Retzow, Friedrich August von 535
Nouveaux Mémoires Historiques sur la Guerre de Sept Ans (1803) 535
Revenge, East India Company ship 484
Rexin, Frederick II's secret envoy 172
Rhine, river 8, 111, 217, 221, 224, 391 n97, 488, 494, 499, 508–9, 521, 525
French army on 217, 305
Rhode Island 47
Rice 268
Richebé, Alexandre-Joseph 235
Richelieu, Duke of 24, 25
Rigaud, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada 47, 52, 191, 193–4, 197–8, 202–6, 210
Riksdagen, Swedish four-Estate Diet 139–40, 146, 160
Riksrådet Swedish Council of State 139
Rippon, British warship 310
Rivière, Poncet de la, French governor of Gorée 287
Roads 219–21
construction of 220
repair of 223
Rochefort 2273, 304, 395
raid on (1757) 385, 391
Rocher, M. du, French commander 422
Rochow, von, Lieutenant-General 2
Rodney, George Bridges, Sir, Admiral 314–15, 317–18
Rogers, Robert, Major 54
Rohan, Charles de, French commander 27
Rojo, Archbishop, Royal Governor of the Philippines 465, 474–5, 479–81
Roman Empire 203
Romania, Phanariot rule in 178
Romanticization 258
Rome 128, 130
diplomacy of 110–119
Imperial Court 128
and Protestants 111
religious intolerance in 111
religious-political program 111–12
and religious war 110–19
and Seven Years War 107–33
Rosen, Gustaf Fredrik von, Count and General-Lieutenant 152–3
Rossbach, battle of (1757) 21, 27, 39, 127, 152, 217–18, 232
Rouillé, Antoine-Louis, French foreign minister 8, 12
Rousseau, Jean Jacques 28, 30, 31–5, 42, 44
Confessions 32–3
Discours sur l'origine de l' inégalité (1755) 33
Discours sur le sciences et les arts (1750) 33
Émile (1761) 33
L'État de Guerre (1753–58) 34
La nouvelle Héloise (1761) 33
The Social Contract (1762) 33
Roy, William, officer, Prince Ferdinand's corps of engineers 224
Royal Bavière, infantry regiment 227 n53
Royal Deux Ponts, infantry regiment 227 n53
Royal Navy, *see* British Navy
Royal Pologne, infantry regiment 227 n53
Royal Suédois, infantry regiment 227 n53
Royal-Allemand, cavalry division 227 n53
Rufisque, port of 273

Rügen, island of 149, 158
Rügen, river 153
Rumyantsev, Peter Alexandrovitch, General 153, 183, 189, 505
Runners 223
Ruşcuk, fortress at 187
Ruse, fortress at 187
Russell, Wager, captain 454
Russia xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii n35, xliv, 9, 10–14, 28, 112, 131, 165, 167, 178, 230, 487, 495, 502–3, 513, 516, 518
  absolutism in 529
  alliance with Austria 21, 167, 173, 520
  army of 184, 243–61
  bankruptcy of 175 n17
  battle deaths in 524
  diplomacy 143, 496, 505
  economic cost of Seven Years War 527
  on European stage xxiii, 517–18
  foreign policy 497–8, 517
  geopolitical strategy 166–7, 495–6
  irregular warfare 243–61
  navy 168
  peace negotiations 502–3
  peasant rebellion 529–30
  and Ottoman Empire 169–70, 173–4
  and Poland 496
  Pugachev Revolt in 530
  Romanov 534
  subsidy treaty with England 11, 12
  and Sweden 141, 143, 162
  treaty with Austria 520
  wars of 135, 140, 146, 150
Russo-Ottomans Wars (1768–92) 178, 187
Russophobia 257
Russo-Prussian alliance 520–21
Russo-Turkish War (1768–74) 529, 532
Rustant, Joseph Vicente de 535
  Decadas de la Guerra de Alemania, e Inglaterra, Francia, España, y Portugal (1765) 535
Ryswik, Peace of (1697) 107

Saba 296
Sabres 248–9
Sachsen, Xaver von, son of Friedrich August II and Prince of Saxony and Poland 228
  infantry regiment of 228
Sachsen-Gotha, English-Hanoverian troops from 217
Sack, August Wilhelm, Berlin Court Preacher 122
Sacramento, Spanish capture of (1763) 459
Safavids, collapse of (1721) 168
Sahib, Chanda, Indian prince and Nawab of the Carnatic 83–6
  execution of 86
St. Cast Bay, battle at (1758) 306
St. Domingue, western third of Hispaniola 294–6, 318
  Blénac's naval squadron at 317
  slave revolt at (1792) 299 n14
  sugar production on 297
St. Emmeram, abbot of 128–9
St. Eustatius 296
St. Francis, Abenaki mission village 54
  British raid on (1759) 54
St. Germain, M. Renault de, French chief at Chandanagore 409
St. George's Field massacre (1769) 528
St. Jago de Cuba, British attack on (1748) 299
St. Joseph, Galam:
  fort at 270
  slave trading 270–71
St. Kitts 294, 296
  French claim to 297
St. Lawrence River 61, 68–9
  British blockade of 7
  British naval action (1755) 8
  cod fishery at 321 n72
St. Lawrence Valley 50, 52
St. Louis:
  British assault on (1758) 263
  British garrison at 285
  free colonial port 278
  French capitulation at 280
  French recapture, (1779) 263
  population of 271
  port of 266–7
  urbanization of 271–9
St. Lucia 296, 312–3
  and Anglo-French peace talks 499
  British cession of 522
  French recovery of 287
  peace negotiations 320–21, 506
  surrender of (1762) 315
St. Malo:
  allied defeat at 393
  British coastal raid on 305
St. Martin 296
St. Petersburg 10
  Treaty of (1762) 519 n3, 520
St. Pierre, island of 310, 321 n72
  British cession of 522
  surrender of (1762) 315
St. Vincent 296

French cession of 522
surrender of (1762) 315
Saintes, islands of 311
Salabat Jang 87–8, 96–7, 103 n60, 420, 423
army of 422
Salem, abbey at 129
San Anton, fort at 465
San Diego, church of, Manila 477–8
Sancaks, autonomous territories 166
Sanitation 184
Santarem:
hospital at 451
Portuguese uprising at 455
Santissima Trinidad, Spanish galleon 483
Santo Domingo, Spanish Hispaniola 294, 296
Cromwell's expedition to 296
Sappers 96, 182, 185, 222, 224
Prussian corps of 224
Sarica, musketeer bands 177
Sarmento, Francisco Joseph, Major General, Governor of Tras-os-Montes 439
Sarriá, *see* Carvajal y Lancaster, Nicolás de
Sauvages 191, 193–200
Säve, Teofron, Swedish historian 138
Saxe, Maurice de 27, 35, 42
Reveries on the Art of War (1757) 35
Saxe-Meiningen, Duchess of 516
Saxe-Coburg, troops from 515
Saxe-Gotha 516
troops from 515
Saxe-Hildburghausen, troops from 515
Saxon corps, von Sachsen's 228
Saxony 2, 20, 111–14, 131, 488
Austrian army in 502–3
court in 129
Dukes of 516
economy of 19
Frederick II's policies towards 514
Imperial army in 503
Prussian invasion of (1756) 3, 18–20, 119–20
religious rights in 114
rivalry with Prussia 512
Saxony-Gotha 17
Scalping 194–5, 333
Schaffgotsch, Philipp Gotthard von, Bishop of Breslau 113–14
Schantz, Gustav von, Secretary of Field Surveying Corps and historian 137
Scharnhorst, David Gerhard von 458
Schaumberg-Lippe 17
English-Hanoverian troops from 217
Schaumburg-Lippe, Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst, Graf von, commander-in-chief of allied forces in Portugal 439–40, 442–6, 448, 453, 456–7, 492
Schomberg, Duke of 395–6
Schulenburg, Count von der 227 n57
Schützenkorps 227 n57
Schweidnitz:
Austrian army at 502
battle at 494, 506
fall of 522
siege of 521
Schwerin, Kurt Christoph von, Field Marshal 2
Scorched earth tactics 195
Scouting 223, 229–30, 236
Scouts 54, 216, 221, 226, 240–1
Scurvy 310
Sea lanes 80
Seaford, British frigate 474, 476, 481, 483–4
Secondat, Charles-Louis de, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu 30, 31, 35, 42
Sectarianism 453–4
Secularization 125
Seinsheim, Adam Frederick von 116
Sekban, musketeer bands 177
Selim III, sultan 170, 174, 177, 183
Semendre 186
Seminole Wars (1818–43) 533
Sempeyoffee of Coweta 329
Senecas, Native Americans 5, 343–4
Senegal 286
British conquest of 279
gum supplies from 265
maritime labour system 267
slaves from 268, 270
Senegal Company 267
Senegal River 264
Senegambia 263–4, 269
Serbelloni, Gianbattista, Marshal 503–4
Serbia 184
Ottoman control of 185
Serfs 149
as cannon fodder 190
Seringapatam 102
Seroweh, Warrior of Estatoe 338, 342–3, 347–8
raid on Georgia 352
Seth family, Hindu bankers 402, 415
Settico, town of, South Carolina 345, 352
Shah Alam II, Mughal Emperor xxxiii–xxxv, liv, 425
Shahzada, *see* Shah Alam II

Shamokin, Susquehanna River, multi-ethnic community at 57
Shaukat Jang, Governor of Purnea xxxii
Shawnees, Native Americans xliv, 58, 60, 66, 352
  raids by 67, 326
  support for France 65
  Tuckabatchee 328
Shaykh Salman Al bu Naser, ruler of the Banu Ka'b region xxxix, xli
Shelburne, Earl of 361
Shem Town 354
Shenandoah Valley 57
Sheobhat xxxiii
Shiites, in Persia 173
Shingas, Delaware war captain 54
Shipwrights 182
Shock-and-Awe 256
Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh xxix n13, xxxiv
Shumen, fortress at 187
Sicily, Prince Charles' transfer of 429
Sidra Libya 171
Siege craft 42
Siege guns 182
Sieges, construction of 223
Signares 285, 288
  in Saint Louis and Gorée 272–4
Sikhs xxxviii
Silesia 108, 113–14, 133
  absorption into Prussian state 8
  Austrian recovery of 521
  Austrian troops in 496
  Catholic control of 114
  English guarantee for 13, 14
  Frederick II's campaign in 504
  population decline attributable to Seven Years War 525–6
  Protestants in 107
  religious freedom in 129
Silesian War, 3rd 216 n15
Silistre, fortress at 187
Silva e Meneses, Lourenço António de Sousa da, Conde de Santiago de Beduído 447
Silver:
  mines 295
  routes 301
  trade 295, 298
  Spanish 461
Sioux, native Americans 50–51
Sipahis:
  feudatory fief holders 176–7
  court cavalrymen 178
Siraj-ud-daulah, Nawab of Bengal xxxi, xxxii, xxxviii, xlviii, 77, 88, 400–403, 411–12, 415
  and Anglo-French conflict in India 404–5
  British declaration on war on (1757) 409
  Clive's coup against 416
  control of British factory at Cosimbazar 405
  death of 419
  and French leadership in Bengal 426
  march on British garrison at Calcutta 405–7
  nawab of Bengal 88
Six Nations, federation of Indian tribes 6
Skaraborg, Swedish army reinforcing militia infantry regiment 153 n37
Slave Catcher of Tomotly 352
Slave dealers, *habitant* 276
Slave rebellions xl n41
Slave sailors 264, 267
Slave ships 265
Slave trade 432
  French 266
  infrastructure 270
Slaves 263–4, 267–9, 271, 274, 277, 282, 299 n14
  Bambara 268–9, 271, 275–8
  in South Carolina 326
  in Mississippi navigation 269
  slave sailors 264
Smålands, Swedish army reinforcing enlisted infantry regiment 148 n27
Smålands, Swedish army reinforcing militia cavalry regiment 153 n37
Small arms 182
Small war 245
Smallpox 53, 310, 326, 334, 450–1, 534
Smith, Adam 36
Smith, Joseph, British Officer 85, 91
Södermanland Infantry, Swedish army unit 135, 151
Södermanlands, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27
Södra Skånska, Swedish army reinforcing enlisted infantry regiment 148 n27
Soldiers:
  citizen 35–6, 42, 44
  professional 35–6
Solms, Count von, ambassador 235, 512
Sommerville, Hugh, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 16th Light Dragoons 441

Sorbonne 32
Sotnie, Russian combat group 247
Sotnik, Russian irregular rank equivalent to lieutenant 247
Soubise, Prince de, French commander 27, 217, 382, 392 n97
South Carolina Gazette 351
Sovereign power 244
Spain 24, 102, 103 n59, 111, 297, 300–301, 321–2, 370, 373, 378 n62, 394, 429
  alliance with France 316
  American colonies 295–7
  Army of 43, 438
  battle deaths in 524
  bellicosity of 497
  and British conquest of Havanna (1762) 293
  British declaration of war 492
  Caribbean military policy 301
  Caribbean sovereignty 295–6
  Caesar's campaign in 370
  economic collapse 301
  embargo of British ships 432
  entry to Seven Years War 463
  force projection 459
  Family Compact 431–2, 459, 463
  French trade privileges in 430
  and Havana 316–20
  and Iberian war 429–60
  military objectives 438
  silver from 461
  theatre of war 506
  trade regulation 531
  treasure fleets of 299
  war with Britain (1739) 294, 301, 429
Spanish law of the Indies 461
Spanish Main 295
Spanish War of Succession (1702–1713) 34, 74, 79, 109, 150, 363, 371–3, 378, 381–4, 390 n95, 392, 394, 396
Spens, Swedish army enlisted regiment 148 n27
Spices 296
Spies 215, 235, 236–9
Spithead, British expeditionary force at 307–8
Spörcken, August Friedrich, Hanoverian General 508
Sprengtporten, Jacob Magnus, Swedish major 160–62
Springer, Christopher, burgher representative of Stockholm 139
Spying 216
Stamp Act 356
Ständerna, Swedish Estates 139
Standing Turkey 327–8, 352, 355
Stanley-Bussy negotiations 498, 511
Starvation 451
State formation 527
Stategy, military, influence of Antoine de Pas 374
Steam power 220 n26
Steeken, civilian defence of (1703) 390 n95
Steevens, Admiral 102
Steiner, Jean-Gorges 235
Sternberg, Ungern 140
Stettin (present-day Szczecin, Poland) 136, 141, 151, 155, 158
  Prussian garrison in 149
Stettiner Haff, freshwater lake 151, 157
Stevenson, Captain, East India Company army 471
Stirling Castle, British warship 472 n33
Stockbridge Indians 54
Stockhausen, Major von 227 n57
Stockholm 141
Stralsund, capital of Swedish Pomerania 149, 154–8
  Swedish navy at 151
Strategic distraction 373
Strategic level command xlix, liv, 360 n3, 369, 377, 379, 385, 391, 392 n97, 393–4
Strategic resiliency 377, 381
Strategy:
  battle orientated 376, 378
  military 360, 369, 374
Strong points, military strategy on 395
Stuart, John, 3rd Earl of Bute 432, 448, 468, 505, 521, 353
Stutterheim, Joachim Friedrich, Prussian Major General 158
Styria, population decline attributable to Seven Years War 526
Sugar 296–7
  Caribbean production 295
  trade in 302, 306, 432
Sugar Islands 286
Sugar Town, sacking of 337
Sullivan, Laurance, Chairman of the East India Company 467
Sulu, Sultanate of, Borneo archipelago xlii, 462
Sumatra 462
Şumnu, fortress at 187
Sunnis 173

Surveying 221
Susquehanna Delawares 65
Susquehanna Valley 66
Sveaborg, Finland, sea fortress at 146, 160
Sweden 135–63
  age of liberty in 139–40, 147, 163
  alliance with France 153
  alliance with Prussia 141
  ambassador to Paris 143
  aristocracy in 139
  army of 145–163
  autocracy in 140
  Baltic policy 135
  bankruptcy in 526–7
  battle deaths in 524
  borrowing 530
  Cap Party 140–41, 150, 162
  Chancery President of 143
  constitution 144
  Council of State 139–40, 142–3, 145, 151–6, 158, 162
  defence budget 146
  Diet in 520
  diplomacy 162
  economy of 136, 141
  entry to Seven Years War 135
  Estates of 139–42, 144, 148, 163
  foreign policy 135, 141, 144
  four-Estate Diet of 139–40, 142, 144, 147 n22, 148, 162
  French subsidy of 529 n21
  Hat Party 140–41, 150, 160, 162–3, 529
  and Holy Roman Empire 142
  inflation in 162, 529 n21
  iron exports 144
  military capability 136, 138–9
  military finances 161–2
  military objectives 136
  navy of 141, 149, 151, 157, 159–60
  neutrality league with Denmark 141
  parliamentary representation 139
  peace negotiations 520
  political context 139–44
  Pomeranian War 135–63
  post-war 529
  taxation 141
  treaties with France 143
  war with Russia 135
Swift, Jonathan 384
  Conduct of the Allies (pamphlet) 384
Swinemünde (present-day Swinoucije) 151–2
  siege of 158
Swinoucije 151–2, 158
Switzerland:
  German foreign regiments from 227
  Villmerger War (1712) in 107
Szczecin, Poland, *see* Stettin

Tabriz 187
  battle of (1732) 184
Tacky's War xl n41
Tactical-level command xlviii, 360 n3, 388, 391, 393–4
Tactics, military 189, 202
  linear 213 n5, 214
Tagus River, Portugal 446–7
Tahmasp II, Shah 168
Tail of Estatoe, Seroweh's right-hand man 346–7
Tanaghrisson, chief of the Ohio Senecas xlvii, 3–5, 64
Tanjore, Hindu kingdom of 84, 98
  Tanjorean cavalry 96
Tartars 250–51
Tassee, evacuation of 349
Tatars 169
  Crimean 178
Tax authorizations, papal 117
Taxation 36–7, 170 n8
Tax-farming, life-term 179
Technology 240
  and information transfer 220
  and reconnaissance 215
Teilke, Johann Gottlieb, Saxon artillery captain 246
Tempelhof, Georg Friedrich von 536
  Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges in Deutschland (1783–1801) 536
Teplitz 19
Terrain, and intelligence 220
Terrido navalis, wood-boring maritime worm 299–300
Thanjavur, French raid on (1758) 95
The Military Arguments in the Letter to a Right Honourable Author Fully Considered (pamphlet) 387, 390
Thevenot, Charles, *habitant* mayor 281–2
Thirty Years War 123, 142, 179, 244
Thiry, Paul-Henri, Baron d'Holbach 30
Thomas, Cumming, Quaker merchant 279
Thuringia, Frederick's policies towards 514
Ticonderoga, battle at (1758) 305
Tiddeman, Richard, Commodore, second in command to Admiral Cornish 469, 470, 474

Tielke, Johann Gottlieb 535
Mémoires pour servir à l'Art de l'Histoire de la Guerre de 1756 jusqu'à 1763 (1775–86) 535
Tilsit, Russian capture of (1757) 252
Timariots, fief-holders 176–7
Timars, (fiefs) 176–7, 180
Tinnevelly, India 84
Tistoe of Keowee, Lower Cherokee headman 337, 343, 352, 355
Tithes 117
Tobacco 296
French monopoly 267
Tobacco Eater, Cussita warrior 329
Tobago 296
French cession of 522
surrender of (1762) 315
Toby, John, Delaware hunter 57
Togulki, nephew of Malachi of Coweta 328
Tomassee 337
Topçus, Ottoman artillerymen 178
Topography 240
and reconnaissance 215
Torbay, British warship 283
Torgau 18, 19
Torgelow 151
Torre, Don Francisco de la, Brigadier 465
Torre, Juan Manuel Gómez de la 465
Torre de Mancorvo, Spanish capture of (1762) 438
Torrigiani, Papal Secretary to Clement XIII 119, 128
Torture 196, 259
Toulon, French naval squadrons at 301
Toulon campaign (1707) 378, 394
Townshend, George, Major General, 4th Viscount Townshend 440, 458
Toxaway, sacking of 337
Trade embargos 332
Trade winds 294–5
Translators 222
Transport, military 19, 80, 220
and demobilization 509–11
Transylvania 167
Trarza region, Arab speakers in 265
Tras-os-Montes, Portuguese province 439
Spanish control of 439
Treasure fleets 299, 301
Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle (1748) 4, 7–9, 61
Treaty of Broad River (1756) 333
Treaty of Charlestown (1762) 354–6, 519–20
Treaty of Greenville (1794) 533
Treaty of Hamburg (1762) 519 n3, 520
Treaty of Hubertusburg (1763) 129, 131, 217, 487, 489, 518–19 n3, 523
Treaty of Kiakhta (1728) 534
Treaty of Lancaster (1748) 61
Treaty of Long-Island-on-the-Holston (1761) 519
Treaty of Paris (1763) 70, 80, 518–9, 522
Treaty of St. Petersburg (1762) 519 n3, 520
Treaty of Utrecht (1713) 59, 60, 295, 297
Treaty of Versailles 15, 21
Trebel, river 149, 159
Trent, William, Captain 6
Tressan, Comte de 39, 40
Triangulation 221
Trichinopoly, fortress city, India 84–6, 91, 95, 98, 102
blockade of 85
French siege of 91
Trier 217
Trincomalee, Royal Navy East Indies Squadron at 469
Trinidad 295–6
Troupes de la marine, of French navy 192, 196, 200, 201, 205, 208
Tuckabatchee, South Carolina:
conference at 329
Creeks in 328
Tugaloo 337
Turenne, Vicomte de, military treatise of 42
Turkestan, Chinese 534
Turkku, Finland 139
Türkmen 166
Twelve Mile River 336–7
Twenty-Six Mile River, Cherokee lands by 344

Ücker 151, 158–9
Uckermark, Brandenburg province 149
Ückermünde 151
Ukraine 178
Russian territories in 189
Ulric, Anton, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen 515
Ulrika Eleonora, Queen of Sweden 139, 162
Ungern Sternberg, Mathias-Alexander von, Field Marshal, and Swedish commander-in-chief 150–52
Union, British warship 472 n33
United Nations 31
Upplands, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27
Usedom, island of 151, 156–8
Utilitarianism 32

Utrecht, Treaty of (1713) 59, 60, 295, 297
Utz, Johann Peter, poet 132
Uzbeks xxxviii

Val de Cunha, Portugal 446
Val de Mula, Portugal 446
Valencia, Spanish army at 446
Valencia d'Alcantara, Spanish camp at 453
Valory, Marquis de 16
Västerbottens, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27
Västgöta, Swedish army reinforcing enlisted infantry regiment 148 n27
  Swedish army reinforcing militia cavalry regiment 153 n37
Västgötadals, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27
Västmanlands, Swedish army militia regiment 148 n27
Vatican 128–9, 453
  diplomacy of xxxi
  suppression of Jesuit order 531
  see also Rome
Vattel, Emmerich von 37
  The Law of Nations 37
Vauban, Sébastien le Prestre de, fortress engineer 210
Vaudreuil, Rigaud, Pierre, Marquis de, *see* Rigaud, Pierre de, Marquis de Vaudreuil
Vehicles, steam powered 220 n26
Vellinghausen, battle at (1761) 381
Venezuela 296
Vernon, British admiral 299
Verri, Pietro, Italian *philosophe* 43
Versailles, Treaty of 15, 21
Vidin 187
Vienna 130, 142
  Collegium Theresianum at 122
  court of 107, 131, 133
  nuncio to 111, 115
  siege of (1683) 176
Vill Velha, Portugal 445, 447
  British attack on 447
Villeneuve, Geoffroy de, French ambassador and mediator 172, 288
Villiers, Joseph Coulon de 64
Villiers, Nicolas Antoine Coulon de 4
Villmerger War (1712) 107
Virgin Islands 294
Virginia 55–8, 61, 63–5, 326, 330, 333, 343, 351
  British army in 7
  Catawba defence of 330
  Governor of 6, 48
  Indian attacks in 65
  Indian communities in 57
  Ohio Company of 60
Viry-Solar correspondence 511
Vizagapatam, British factory at 420
Volley fire formations 182
Volontaires d'Alsace, volunteer corps 227 n52
Volontaires de Nassau-Saarbrück, volunteer corps 227 n52
Volontaires de Saxe, volunteer corps 227 n52
Volontaires de Schomberg, volunteer corps 227 n52
Volontaires Étrangers de Geschray, volunteer corps 227 n52
Volontaires Étrangers de Wurmser, volunteer corps 227 n52
Volontaires Royaux de Nassau, volunteer corps 227 n52
Volontaires Auxiliairs de Bronswick 228 n58
Voltaire 23–5, 27–31, 37, 40, 44, 45
  Candide 23, 24, 27, 28, 37
  Précis du siècle de Louis XV 28

Waalo 281
  inhabitants of 275–6
  Prince of 281
Wabash River 7
Wade, Ira 38
Walking Purchase (fraud), Pennsylvania 58–60, 66
Wall, Ricardo, state secretary of Spain 429, 430
Wallachia 166, 169, 178
Wallis, Austrian Commander-in-Chief 186
Walpole, Horace 4, 26
Walpole, Robert, Prime Minister of Britain 4
Wandiwash 97, 99
  battle at (1760) 81–2, 99–101
  fort at 91
War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) 1, 8, 10, 13, 19, 24, 31, 74, 79, 171, 191, 202, 227, 264, 372 n42, 375, 388
War:
  art of 40–41
  auxiliary 374 n47
  books on 360
  civil 374 n47
  as crime 38
  defensive 374–5

entropy of 388, 391, 394
equal powers 374–5
Feuquières five species of 374 n47
holy war 49
offensive 374–5
Philosophes and 23–45
religious war 107–8, 125–6, 128
and succession 35
total war 261
War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–79) 41
War of the League of Augsburg (1698–97) 296
War of the Quills 131
War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13) 34, 74, 79, 127, 150, 296, 363, 390 n95
and military strategy 371, 381–2
historians of 396
histories of 372–3, 378, 392
military literature on 383–4
Toulon campaign (1707) 394
Warde, William 445
Warsaw, Catholic court in 111
Washington, George 3, 4, 6, 64, 193
capitulation to French (1754) 6
Waterways, in military communication 223
Watson, Admiral 86, 89, 93, 401, 409–10, 412, 415
Chandanagore expedition 413, 414
strategy of 426
Weak points, attack on 395
Weapons, Cossack 247 n18, 248–9
Weather, and military operations 223–4
Wedel, Carl Heinrich von, Prussian major general 154–5
Wellington, Duke of 491
Werner, Hans Paul von, Prussian cavalry general 159, 503–4
Werner, Theodor, Vice-Burgermeister of Ragnit 252
Weser, river 218, 488, 521
Wesley, John 37
West Africa 263–88
West Indies 73, 284, 293–323
Anglo-French relations 294–303
capture of Guadeloupe 303–12
economic importance of 293–4
military strategy 322
military operations in 298
Peace of Paris 320–21
post war economy 322
Westerlies, trade wind 295
Westminster, Convention of Westminster xxvi
Westphalen, Christian Heinrich Philipp von, private secretary and advisor of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick 222
Westphalia 217, 500
French army in 305
see also Germany, theatre of war
Westphalia, Peace of, (1648) 107, 112–14, 124–7
Wetzlar, Germany 518
attacked by Hesse-Darmstadt's troops 516
Weymouth, British warship 472 n33
Wid-Runckel, Count of 121
Wiehengebirge 218
Wilhelm, August, Duke of Brunswick-Bevern 437
Wilhelmine, sister of Frederick the Great 116
Wilhelmstein, officers academy at 458
Wilhelmsthal, battle of (1762) 382, 501, 522
Wilkes, John 528
Willemstad 508, 510
Winchelsea, East India Company ship 462–3
Windward Passage 295–6, 300
Wine, trade in 432
Winterfeldt, General 13
Wismar, Germany 505
Wittenberg, Germany 18–19
Wolfe, James P., British General 209
Wolgast, Germany 141, 149, 152, 158
Wollin, island of 151–2, 156–8
Women:
anonymous authors of pamphlets 368 n33
murder of 195, 337
Wood, Robert 468
Worge, Major General, Colonel, 86th Foot Regiment and Governor of Senegal 281–3, 287
Wounds 208
Wraxhall, Peter, Indian secretary of New York 59
Württemberg:
cavalry division 227 n53
German foreign regiments from 227
Würzburg, Bishop of 116
Wyandots, raids by 66
Wyndham, Charles, 2nd Earl Egremont, Secretary of State of the Southern Department 315 n54, 322, 436, 452, 466–7

Xinjiang, formerly Chinese Turkestan 534
Yadkin River, Cherokee murder of settlers on 330
Yahatustunagee of Okchay, Upper Creek leader xlvii n51, xlviii, 328–9
Yellow Fever 298, 310
Yorke, Joseph, Sir, British ambassador at The Hague 15, 362 n11, 382–3, 396, 508–10
Yucatan Channel 294
Yucatan Peninsula 295
Z, anonymous informant of Allied army 238
Zand, Karim Khan, *see* Karim Khan Zand
Zunghar(ia) Qing (Chinese) campaigns in (1755–58) xxxvi, 534
Ziegenhain 502
  French evacuation of 508
  siege of 507
Zittau, heights of 18
Zorndorf, battle of (1758) 154
Zuhab, Treaty of (1639) 174